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THE HISTORY

OF

ENGLISH POETRY,

FROM THE

CLOSE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

TO THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

THREE DISSERTATIONS:

1. OF THE ORIGIN OF ROMANTIC FICTION IN EUROPE.
2. ON THE INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING INTO ENGLAND.
3. ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM

BY

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SECTION XXXVI.

View of the Revival of Learning in England, continued. Reformation of Religion. Its effects on Literature in England. Application of this digression to the main subject.

SOON after the year 1500, Lillye, the famous grammarian, who had learned Greek at Rhodes, and had afterwards acquired a polished Latinity at Rome under Johannes Sulpicius and Pomponius Sabinus, became the first teacher of Greek at any public school in England. This was at saint Paul's school in London, then newly established by dean Colet, and celebrated by Erasmus; and of which Lillye, as one of the most exact and accomplished scholars of his age, was appointed the first master[a]. And that antient prejudices were now gradually wearing off, and a national taste for critical studies and the graces of composition began to be diffused, appears from this circumstance alone: that from the year one thousand five hundred and three to the reformation, there were more grammar schools, most of which at present are perhaps of little use and importance, founded and endowed in England, than had been for three hundred years before. The practice of educating our youth in the monasteries growing into disuse, near twenty new grammar schools were established within this period: and among these, Wolsey's school at Ipswich, which soon fell a sacrifice to the resentment or the avarice of Henry the Eighth, deserves particular notice, as it rivalled those of Winchester and Eton. To give splendor to the institution, beside the

[a] Knight, Life of Colet, p. 19. Pace, above mentioned, in the Epistle dedicatory to Colet, before his Treatise *De fructu qui ex Doctrina percipitur*, thus compliments Lillye, edit. Basil. ut supr. 1517. p. 13. "Ut politiorem Latinitatem, et ipsam Romanam linguam, in Britanniam nostram introduxisse videatur.—Tanta[ei] eruditio, ut extrusa barbarie, in qua nostri adolescentes solebant fere ætatem consumere," &c. Erasmus says, in 1514, that he had taught a youth, in three years, more Latin than he could have acquired in any school in England, *ne Liliana quidem excepta*, not even Lillye's excepted. Epistol. 165. p. 140. tom. iii.

scholars, it consisted of a dean, twelve canons, and a numerous choir[l]. So attached was Wolsey to the new modes of instruction, that he did not think it inconsistent with his high office and rank, to publish a general address to the schoolmasters of England, in which he orders them to institute their youth in the most elegant literature[k]. It is to be wished that all his edicts had been employed to so liberal and useful a purpose. There is an anecdote on record, which strongly marks Wolsey's character in this point of view. Notwithstanding his habits of pomp, he once condescended to be a spectator of a Latin tragedy of DIDO, from Virgil, acted by the scholars of saint Paul's school, and written by John Rightwise, the master, an eminent grammarian[l]. But Wolsey might have pleaded the authority of pope Leo the Tenth, who more than once had been present at one of these classical spectacles.

It does not however appear, that the cardinal's liberal sentiments were in general adopted by his brother prelates. At the foundation of saint Paul's school above mentioned, one of the bishops, eminent for his wisdom and gravity, at a public assembly, severely censured Colet the founder for suffering the Latin poets to be taught in the new structure, which he therefore styled a house of pagan idolatry[m].

In the year 1517, Fox, bishop of Winchester, founded a college at Oxford, in which he constituted, with competent stipends, two professors for the Greek and Latin languages[n]. Although some slight idea of a classical lecture had already appeared at Cambridge in the system of collegiate discipline[o], this philological establishment may justly be looked upon, as the first conspicuous instance of an attempt to depart from the narrow plan of education, which had hitherto been held sacred in the universities of England. The course of the Latin professor, who is expressly directed to extirpate BARBARISM from the new society[p], is not confined to the private limits of the college, but open to the students of Oxford in general. The Greek lecturer is ordered to explain the best Greek classics; and the poets, historians, and orators, in that language, which the judicious founder, who seems to have consulted the most intelligent scholars of the times, recommends by name on this

[l] Tanner, Notit. Mon. p. 520.

[k] "Elegantissima literatura." Fiddes's Wolsey. Coll. p. 105.

[l] Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 15. See what is said of this practice, vol. ii. Sect. xxxiv.

[m] "Episcopum quendam, et eum qui habetur a SAPIENTIORIBUS, in magno hominum conventu, nostram scholam blasphemasse, dixisseque, me erexisse rem inutilem, imo malam, imo etiam, ut illius verbis utar, *Domum Idololatriæ*," &c. [Coletus Erasmo. Lond. 1517.] Knight's Life of Colet, p. 319.

[n] Statut. C.C.C. Oxon. dat. Jun. 20. 1517. cap. xx. fol. 51. Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. I. 56.

[o] At Christ's college in Cambridge, where, in the statutes given in 1506, a lecturer is established; who, together with logic and philosophy, is ordered to read, "vel ex poetarum, vel ex oratorum operibus." Cap. xxxvii. In the statutes of King's at Cambridge, and New college at Oxford, both much more antient, an instructor is appointed with the general name of INFORMATOR only, who taught all the learning then in vogue. Rotul. Comput. vet. Coll. Nov. Oxon. "Solut. Informatoribus sociorum et scolarium, iv l. xii s. ii d."

[p] "Lector seu professor artium humaniorum . . . BARBARIEM a nostro alveario extirpet." Statut. ut supr.

occasion, are the purest, and such as are most esteemed even in the present improved state of antient learning. And it is at the same time worthy of remark, that this liberal prelate, in forming his plan of study, does not appoint a philosophy-lecturer in his college, as had been the constant practice in most of the previous foundations: perhaps suspecting, that such an endowment would not have coincided with his new course of erudition, and would have only served to encourage that species of doctrine, which had so long choaked the paths of science, and obstructed the progress of useful knowledge.

These happy beginnings in favour of a new and rational system of academical education, were seconded by the auspicious munificence of cardinal Wolsey. About the year 1519, he founded a public chair at Oxford, for rhetoric and humanity, and soon afterwards another for teaching the Greek language; endowing both with ample salaries[q]. About the year 1524, king Henry the Eighth, who destroyed or advanced literary institutions from caprice, called Robert Wakefield, originally a student of Cambridge, but now a professor of humanity at Tubingen in Germany, into England, that one of his own subjects, a linguist of so much celebrity, might no longer teach the Greek and oriental languages abroad: and when Wakefield appeared before the king, his majesty lamented, in the strongest expressions of concern, the total ignorance of his clergy and the universities in the learned tongues; and immediately assigned him a competent stipend for opening a lecture at Cambridge, in this necessary and neglected department of letters[r]. Wakefield was afterwards a preserver of many copies of the Greek classics, in the havoc of the religious houses. It is recorded by Fox, the martyrologist, as a memorable occurrence[s], and very deservedly, that about the same time, Robert Barnes, prior of the Augustines at Cambridge, and educated at Louvain, with the assistance of his scholar Thomas Parnell, explained within the walls of his own monastery, Plautus, Terence, and Cicero, to those academics who saw the utility of philology, and were desirous of deserting the Gothic philosophy. It may seem at first surprising, that Fox, a weak and prejudiced writer, should allow any merit to a catholic: but Barnes afterwards appears to have been one of Fox's martyrs, and was executed at the stake in Smithfield for a defence of Lutheranism.

But these innovations in the system of study were greatly discouraged and opposed by the friends of the old scholastic circle of sciences, and the bigoted partisans of the catholic communion, who stigmatised the Greek language by the name of heresy. Even bishop Fox, when he founded the Greek lecture above mentioned, that he might not appear to countenance a dangerous novelty, was obliged to cover his excellent

[q] Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon. i. 245. 246. But see Fiddes's Wolsey, p. 197.

[r] Wakefield's Oratio de Laudibus trium Linguarum, &c. Dated at Cambridge, 1524. Printed for W. de Worde, 4to. *Signat.* C. ii. See also Fast. Acad. Lovan. by Val. Andreas, p. 284. edit. 1650.

[s] Act. Mon. fol. 1192. edit. 1583.

institution under the venerable mantle of the authority of the church. For as a seeming apology for what he had done, he refers to a canonical decree of pope Clement the Fifth, promulged in the year 1311, at Vienne in Dauphine, which enjoined, that professors of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, should be instituted in the universities of Oxford, Paris, Bononia, Salamanca, and in the court of Rome[t]. It was under the force of this ecclesiastical constitution, that Gregory Typhernas, one of the learned Greek exiles, had the address to claim a stipend for teaching Greek in the university of Paris[u]. We cannot but wonder at the strange disagreement in human affairs between cause and effect, when we consider, that this edict of pope Clement, which originated from a superstitious reverence annexed to two of these languages, because they composed part of the superscription on the cross of Christ, should have so strongly counteracted its own principles, and proved an instrument in the reformation of religion.

The university of Oxford was rent into factions on account of these bold attempts; and the advocates of the recent improvements, when the gentler weapons of persuasion could not prevail, often proceeded to blows with the rigid champions of the schools. But the facetious disposition of sir Thomas More had no small share in deciding this singular controversy, which he treated with much ingenious ridicule[w]. Erasmus, about the same time, was engaged in attempting these reformations at Cambridge: in which, notwithstanding the mildness of his temper and conduct, and the general lustre of his literary character, he met with the most obstinate opposition. He expounded the Greek grammar of Chrysoloras in the public schools without an audience[x]: and having, with a view to present the Grecian literature in the most specious and agreeable form by a piece of pleasantry, translated Lucian's lively dialogue called ICAROMENIPPUS, he could find no student in the university capable of transcribing the Greek with the Latin[y]. His edition of the Greek Testament, the most commodious that had yet appeared, was absolutely proscribed at Cambridge; and a programma was

[t] "Quem præterea in nostro Alveario collocavimus, quod SACROSANCTI CANONES commodissime pro bonis literis, et imprimis christianis, instituerunt ac jusserunt, eum in hac universitate Oxoniensi, perinde ac paucis aliis celeberrimis gymnasiis, nunquam desiderari." Statut. C.C.C. Oxon. ut supr. The words of this statute which immediately follow, deserve notice here, and require explanation. "Nec tamen Eos hac ratione excusatos volumus, qui Græcam lectionem in eo SUIS IMPENSIS sustentare debent." By Eos, he means the bishops and abbots of England, who are the persons particularly ordered in pope Clement's injunction to sustain these lectures in the university of Oxford. Bishop Fox, therefore, in founding a Greek lecture, would be understood, that he does not mean to absolve or excuse the other prelates of England from doing their proper duty in this necessary business. At the same time a charge on their negligence seems to be implied.

[u] Naud. i. 3. p. 234. This was in 1472.

[w] See, among other proofs, his *Epistola Scholasticis quibusdam Trojanos se appellantibus*, published by Hearne, 1716, 8vo.

[x] Erasmi Epist. Ammonio, dat. 1512. Ep. 123. Op. tom. iii. p. 110.

[y] Ibid. Epist. 139. dat. 1512. p. 120. Henry Bullock, called Bovillus, one of Erasmus's friends, and much patronised by Wolsey, printed a Latin translation of Lucian, *περι Διψαδων*, at Cambridge, 1521, quarto.

issued in one of the most ample colleges, threatening a severe fine to any member of the society, who should be detected in having so fantastic and impious a book in his possession[z]. One Henry Standish, a doctor in divinity and a mendicant friar, afterwards bishop of Saint Asaph, was a vehement adversary of Erasmus in the promotion of this heretical literature; whom he called in a declamation, by way of reproach, *Græculus iste,* which soon became a synonymous appellation for an heretic[a]. Yet it should be remembered, that many English prelates patronised Erasmus; and that one of our archbishops was at this time ambitious of learning Greek[b].

Even the public diversions of the court took a tincture from this growing attention to the languages, and assumed a classical air. We have before-seen, that a comedy of Plautus was acted at the royal palace of Greenwich in the year 1520. And when the French ambassadors with a most splendid suite of the French nobility were in England for the ratification of peace in the year 1514, amid the most magnificent banquets, tournaments, and masques, exhibited at the same palace, they were entertained with a Latin interlude; or, to use the words of a cotemporary writer, with such an "excellent Interlude made in Latin, that I never heard the like; the actors apparel being so gorgious, and of such strange devices, that it passes my capacitie to relate them[c]."

Nor was the protection of king Henry the Eighth, who notwithstanding he had attacked the opinions of Luther, yet, from his natural liveliness of temper and a love of novelty, thought favourably of the new improvements, of inconsiderable influence in supporting the restoration of the Greek language. In 1519, a preacher at the public church of the university of Oxford, harangued with much violence, and in the true spirit of the antient orthodoxy, against the doctrines inculcated by the new professors: and his arguments were canvassed among the students with the greatest animosity. But Henry, being resident at the neighbouring royal manor of Woodstock, and having received a just detail of the merits of this dispute from Pace and More, interposed his uncontrovertible authority; and transmitting a royal mandate to the university, commanded that the study of the scriptures in their original languages should not only be permitted for the future, but received as a branch of the academical institution[d]. Soon afterwards, one of the king's chaplains preaching at court, took an opportunity to censure the genuine interpretations of the scriptures, which the Grecian learning had introduced. The king, when the sermon was ended, to which he had listened with a smile of contempt, ordered a solemn disputation to

[z] Ibid. Epist. 148. dat. 1513. p. 126.

[a] See Erasmi Opera, tom. ix. p. 1440. Even the priests, in their confessions of young scholars, cautioned against this growing evil. "Cave a *Græcis* ne fias *hæreticus.*" Erasm. Adag. Op. ii. 993.

[b] Erasm. Epist. 301.

[c] Cavendish, Mem. Card. Wolsey, p. 94. edit. 1708. 8vo.

[d] Erasm. Epist. 380. tom. iii.

be held, in his own presence: at which the unfortunate preacher opposed, and sir Thomas More, with his usual dexterity, defended, the utility and excellence of the Greek language. The divine, who at least was a good courtier, instead of vindicating his opinion, instantly fell on his knees, and begged pardon for having given any offence in the pulpit before his majesty. However, after some slight altercation, the preacher, by way of making some sort of concession in form, ingenuously declared, that he was now better reconciled to the Greek tongue, because it was derived from the Hebrew. The king, astonished at his ridiculous ignorance, dismissed the chaplain, with a charge, that he should never again presume to preach at court[e]. In the grammatical schools established in all the new cathedral foundations of this king, a master is appointed, with the uncommon qualification of a competent skill in both the learned languages[f]. In the year 1523, Ludovicus Vives, having dedicated his commentary on Austin's DE CIVITATE DEI to Henry the Eighth, was invited into England, and read lectures at Oxford in jurisprudence and humanity; which were countenanced by the presence, not only of Henry, but of queen Catharine and some of the principal nobility[g]. At length antient absurdities universally gave way to these encouragements. Even the vernacular language began to be cultivated by the more ingenious clergy. Colet, dean of saint Paul's, a divine of profound learning, with a view to adorn and improve the style of his discourses, and to acquire the graces of an elegant preacher, employed much time in reading Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, and other English poets, whose compositions had embellished the popular diction[h]. The practice of frequenting Italy, for the purpose of acquiring the last polish to a Latin style both in eloquence and poetry, still continued in vogue; and was greatly promoted by the connections, authority, and good taste, of cardinal Pole, who constantly resided at the court of Rome in a high character. At Oxford, in particular, these united endeavours for establishing a new course of liberal and manly science, were finally consummated in the magnificent foundation of Wolsey's college, to which all the accomplished scholars of every country in Europe were invited; and for whose library, transcripts of all the valuable manuscripts which now fill the Vatican, were designed[i].

But the progress of these prosperous beginnings was soon obstructed. The first obstacle I shall mention, was, indeed, but of short duration. It was however an unfavourable circumstance, that in the midst of this

[e] Erasm. Epist. p. 408.

[f] Statuimus præterea, ut per Decanum, etc. unus [Archididascalus] "eligatur, Latine et *Græce* doctus, bonæ famæ," &c. Statut. Eccles. Roffens. cap. xxv. They were given Jun. 30, 1545. In the same statute the second master is required to be only *Latine doctus*. All the statutes of the new cathedrals are alike. It is remarkable, that Wolsey does not order Greek to be taught in his school at Ipswich, founded 1528. See Strype, Eccl. Mem. i. Append. xxxv. p. 94. seq.

[g] Twyne, Apol. lib. ii. § 210. seq. Probably he was patronised by Catharine as a Spaniard.

[h] Erasm. Epistol. Jodoco Jonæ. Ibid. Jun. 1521.

[i] Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon. i. 249.

career of science, Henry, who had ever been accustomed to gratify his passions at any rate, sued for a divorce against his queen Catharine. The legality of this violent measure being agitated with much deliberation and solemnity, wholly engrossed the attention of many able philologists, whose genius and acquisitions were destined to a much nobler employment; and tended to revive for a time the frivolous subtleties of casuistry and theology.

But another cause which suspended the progression of these letters, of much more importance and extent, ultimately most happy in its consequences, remains to be mentioned. The enlarged conceptions acquired by the study of the Greek and Roman writers seem to have restored to the human mind a free exertion of its native operations, and to have communicated a certain spirit of enterprise in examining every subject: and at length to have released the intellectual capacity of mankind from that habitual subjection, and that servility to system, which had hitherto prevented it from advancing any new principle, or adopting any new opinion. Hence, under the concurrent assistance of a preparation of circumstances, all centring in the same period, arose the reformation of religion. But this defection from the catholic communion alienated the thoughts of the learned from those pursuits by which it was produced, and diverted the studies of the most accomplished scholars to inquiries into the practices and maxims of the primitive ages, the nature of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the authority of scripture and tradition, of popes, councils, and schoolmen: topics, which men were not yet qualified to treat with any degree of penetration, and on which the ideas of the times, unenlightened by philosophy, or warped by prejudice and passion, were not calculated to throw just and rational illustrations. When the bonds of spiritual unity were once broken, this separation from an established faith ended in a variety of subordinate sects, each of which called forth its respective champions into the field of religious contention. The several princes of christendom were politically concerned in these disputes; and the courts in which poets and orators had been recently caressed and rewarded, were now filled with that most deplorable species of philosophers, polemical metaphysicians. The public entry of Luther into Worms, when he had been summoned before the diet of that city, was equally splendid with that of the emperor Charles the Fifth[k]. Rome in return, roused from her deep repose of ten centuries, was compelled to vindicate her insulted doctrines with reasoning and argument. The profound investigations of Aquinas once more triumphed over the graces of the Ciceronian urbanity; and endless volumes were written on the expediency of auricular confession, and the existence of purgatory. Thus the cause of polite literature was for awhile abandoned; while the noblest abilities of Europe were wasted in theological specu-

[k] Luther, Op. ii. 412. 414.

lation, and absorbed in the abyss of controversy. Yet it must not be forgotten, that wit and raillery, drawn from the sources of elegant erudition, were sometimes applied, and with the greatest success, in this important dispute. The lively colloquies of Erasmus, which exposed the superstitious practices of the papists, with much humour, and in pure Latinity, made more protestants than the ten tomes of John Calvin. A work of ridicule was now a new attempt: and it should be here observed, to the honour of Erasmus, that he was the first of the literary reformers who tried that species of composition, at least with any degree of popularity. The polite scholars of Italy had no notion that the German theologists were capable of making their readers laugh: they were now convinced of their mistake, and soon found that the German pleasantry prepared the way for a revolution, which proved of the most serious consequences to Italy.

Another great temporary check given to the general state of letters in England at this period, was the dissolution of the monasteries. Many of the abuses in civil society are attended with some advantages. In the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly: while the benefit arising from the change is the slow effect of time, and not immediately perceived or enjoyed. Scarce any institution can be imagined less favourable to the interests of mankind than the monastic. Yet these seminaries, although they were in a general view the nurseries of illiterate indolence, and undoubtedly deserved to be suppressed under proper restrictions, contained invitations and opportunities to studious leisure and literary pursuits. On this event, therefore, a visible revolution and decline in the national state of learning succeeded. Most of the youth of the kingdom betook themselves to mechanical or other illiberal employments, the profession of letters being now supposed to be without support and reward. By the abolition of the religious houses, many towns and their adjacent villages were utterly deprived of their only means of instruction. At the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, Williams, speaker of the house of commons, complained to her majesty, that more than a hundred flourishing schools were destroyed in the demolition of the monasteries, and that ignorance had prevailed ever since[1]. Provincial ignorance, at least, became universal, in consequence of this hasty measure of a rapacious and arbitrary prince. What was taught in the monasteries, was

[1] Strype, Ann. Ref. p. 212. sub ann. 1562. The greater abbies appear to have had the direction of other schools in their neighbourhood. In an abbatial Register of Bury abbey there is this entry: "Memorand. quod A.D. 1418. 28 Jul. Gulielmus abbas contulit regimen et magisterium scholarum grammaticalium in villa de Bury S. Edmundi magistro Johanni Somerset, artium et grammaticæ professori, et baccalaureo in medicina, cum annua pensione xl. solidorum." MS. Cotton. Tiber. B. ix. 2. This John Somerset was tutor and physician to king Henry the Sixth, and a man of eminent learning. He was instrumental in procuring duke Humphrey's books to be conveyed to Oxford. Registr. Acad. Oxon. Epist. F. 179. 202. 218. 220. And in the foundation of King's college at Cambridge. MSS. Cott. Julius, F. vii. 43.

not always perhaps of the greatest importance, but still it served to keep up a certain degree of necessary knowledge[m]. Nor should it be forgot, that many of the abbots were learned, and patrons of literature; men of public spirit, and liberal views. By their connections with parliament, and the frequent embassies to foreign courts in which they were employed, they became acquainted with the world, and the improvements of life: and, knowing where to choose proper objects, and having no other use for the superfluities of their vast revenues, encouraged in their respective circles many learned young men. It appears to have been customary for the governors of the most considerable convents, especially those that were honoured with the mitre, to receive into their own private lodgings the sons of the principal families of the neighbourhood for education. About the year 1450, Thomas Bromele, abbot of the mitred monastery of Hyde near Winchester, entertained in his own abbatial house within that monastery, eight young gentlemen, or *gentiles pueri*, who were placed there for the purpose of literary instruction, and constantly dined at the abbot's table. I will not scruple to give the original words, which are more particular and expressive, of the obscure record which preserves this curious anecdote of monastic life. "Pro octo gentilibus pueris apud dominum abbatem studii causa perhendinantibus, et ad mensam domini victitantibus, cum garcionibus suis ipsos comitantibus, hoc anno, xvii l. ix s. Capiendo pro...[n]" This, by the way, was more extraordinary, as William of Wykeham's celebrated seminary was so near. And this seems to have been an established practice of the abbot of Glastonbury; "whose apartment in the abbey was a kind of well-disciplined court, where the sons of noblemen and young gentlemen were wont to be sent for virtuous education, who returned thence home excellently accomplished[o]." Richard Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury, who was cruelly executed by the king, during the course of his government, educated near three hundred ingenuous youths, who constituted a part of his family; beside many others whom he liberally supported at the universities[p]. Whitgift, the most excellent and learned archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was educated under Robert Whitgift his uncle, abbot of the Augustine monastery of black canons at Wellhow in Lincolnshire; "who," says Strype, "had several other young gentle-

[m] I do not, however, lay great stress on the following passage, which yet deserves attention, in Rosse of Warwickshire, who wrote about the year 1480: "To this day, in the cathedrals and some of the greater collegiate churches, or monasteries, [quibusdam nobilibus collegiis,] and in the houses of the four mendicant orders, useful lectures and disputations are kept up; and such of their members as are thought capable of degrees, are sent to the universities. And in towns where there are two or more fraternities of mendicants, in each of these are held, every week by turns, proper exercises of scholars in disputation." Hist. Reg. Angl. edit. Hearne, p. 74. [See vol. ii. note[m], near the commencement of Sect. xxxiii.]

[n] From a fragment of the Computus Camerarii Abbat. Hidens. in Archiv. Wulves. apud Winton. ut supr.

[o] Hist. and Antiq. of Glastonbury, Oxon. 1722. 8vo. p. 98.

[p] Reyner, Apostolat. Benedict. Tract. i. sect. ii. p. 224. Sanders de Schism. pag. 176.

men under his care for education[q]." That, at the restoration of literature, many of these dignitaries were eminently learned, and even zealous promoters of the new improvements, I could bring various instances. Hugh Farringdon, the last abbot of Reading, was a polite scholar, as his Latin epistles addressed to the university of Oxford abundantly testify[r]. Nor was he less a patron of critical studies. Leonard Coxe, a popular philological writer in the reign of Henry the Eighth, both in Latin and English, and a great traveller, highly celebrated by the judicious Leland for his elegant accomplishments in letters, and honoured with the affectionate correspondence of Erasmus, dedicates to this abbot, his ARTE OR CRAFTE OF RHETORICKE, printed in the year 1524, at that time a work of an unusual nature[s]. Wakefield above mentioned, a very capital Greek and oriental scholar, in his DISCOURSE ON THE EXCELLENCY AND UTILITY OF THE THREE LANGUAGES,[t] written in the year 1524, celebrates William Fryssell, prior of the cathedral Benedictine convent at Rochester, as a distinguished judge and encourager of critical literature. Robert Shirwoode, an Englishman, but a professor of Greek and Hebrew at Louvaine, published a new Latin translation of ECCLESIASTES, with critical annotations on the Hebrew text, printed at Antwerp in 1523[u]. This, in an elegant Latin epistle, he dedicates to John Webbe, prior of the Benedictine cathedral convent at Coventry; whom he styles, for his singular learning, and attention to the general cause of letters, MONACHORUM DECUS. John Batmanson, prior of the Carthusians in London, controverted Erasmus's commentary on the New Testament with a degree of spirit and erudition, which was unhappily misapplied, and would have done honour to the cause of his antagonist[w]. He wrote many other pieces; and was patronised by Lee, a learned archbishop of York, who opposed Erasmus, but allowed Ascham a pension[x]. Kederminster, abbot of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, a traveller to Rome, and a celebrated preacher before king Henry the Eighth, established regular lectures in his monastery, for explaining both scriptures in their original languages; which were so generally frequented, that his little cloister acquired the name and reputation of a new university[y]. He was master

[q] Strype's Whitgift, b. i. ch. i. p. 3.

[r] Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. F. fol. 101. —125.

[s] See Leland, Collectan. vol. v. p. 118. vol. vi. p. 187. And Encom. p. 50. edit. 1589. Erasm. Epistol. p. 886.

[t] cited above, vol. ii. note [s], near the end of Sect. xxiv.

[u] quarto.

[w] Theodor. Petreus, Bibl. Carthus. edit. Col. 1609. p. 157.

[x] Ascham, Epistol. lib. ii. p. 77. a. edit. 1581. [See also iii. p. 86. a.] On the death of the archbishop, in 1544, Ascham desires, that a part of his pension then due might be paid out of some of the archbishop's Greek books: one of these he wishes may be Aldus's Decem Rhetores Græci, a book which he could not purchase or procure at Cambridge.

[y] "Non aliter quam si fuisset altera NOVA UNIVERSITAS, tametsi exigua, claustrum Wynchelcombense tunc temporis se haberet." From his own Historia, as below. Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon. i. p. 248. There is an Epistle from Colet, the learned dean of St. Paul's, to this abbot, concerning a passage in St. Paul's Epistles, first printed by Knight, from the original manuscript at Cambridge. Knight's Life, p. 311.

of a terse and perspicuous Latin style, as appears from a fragment of the HISTORY OF WYNCHOMB ABBEY, written by himself[z]. His erudition is attested in an epistle from the university to king Henry the Eighth[a]. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the most elegant preacher of his time, in the dedication to Kederminster, of five quadragesimal sermons, delivered at court, and printed by Pinson in the year 1517, insists largely on his SINGULARIS ERUDITIO, and other shining qualifications.

Before we quit the reign of Henry the Eighth, in this review of the rise of modern letters, let us turn our eyes once more on the universities; which yet do not always give the tone to the learning of a nation[b]. In the year 1531, the learned Simon Grynaeus visited Oxford. By the interest of Claymund, president of Corpus Christi college, an admirable scholar, a critical writer, and the general friend and correspondent of the literary reformers, he was admitted to all the libraries of the univer-

[z] Printed by Dugdale, before the whole of the original was destroyed in the fire of London. Monast. i. 188. But a transcript of a part remains in Dodsworth, MSS. Bibl. Bodl. lxv. 1. Compare A. Wood, ut supr. and Athen. Oxon. i. 28.

[a] Registr. Univ. Oxon. F. F. fol. 46.

[b] It ought not here to be unnoticed, that the royal library of the kings of England, originally subsisting in the old palace at Westminster, and lately transferred to the British Museum, received great improvements under the reign of Henry the Eighth; who constituted that elegant and judicious scholar, John Leland, his librarian, about the year 1530. Tanner, Bibl. pag. 475. Leland, at the dissolution of the monasteries, removed to this royal repository a great number of valuable manuscripts; particularly from St. Austin's abbey at Canterbury. Script. Brit. p. 299. One of these was a manuscript given by Athelstan to that convent, a Harmony of the Four Gospels. Bibl. Reg. MSS. i. A. xviii. See the hexasthic of Leland prefixed. See also Script. Brit. ut supra, V. ATHELSTANUS. Leland says, that he placed in the Palatine library of Henry the Eighth the Commentarii in Matthæum of Claudius, Bede's disciple. Ibid. V. CLAUDIUS. Many of the manuscripts of this library appear to have belonged to Henry's predecessors; and if we may judge from the splendour of the decorations, were presents. Some of them bear the name of Humphrey duke of Gloucester. Others were written at the command of Edward the Fourth. I have already mentioned the librarian of Henry the Seventh. Bartholomew Traheron, a learned divine, was appointed the keeper of this library by Edward the Sixth, with a salary of twenty marcs, in the year 1549. See Rymer's Fœd. xv. p. 351. Under the reign of Elizabeth, Hentzner, a German traveller, who saw this library at Whitehall in 1598, says, that it was well furnished with Greek, Latin, Italian, and French books, all bound in velvet of different colours, yet chiefly red, with clasps of gold and silver; and that the covers of some were adorned with pearls and precious stones. Itinerar. Germaniæ, Angliæ, &c. Noringb. 1629. 8vo. p. 188. It is a great mistake, that James the First was the first of our kings who founded a library in any of the royal palaces; and that this establishment commenced at St. James's palace, under the patronage of that monarch. This notion was first propagated by Smith in his life of Patrick Junius, Vit. Quorund. etc. Lond. 1707. 4to. pp. 12. 13. 34. 35. Great part of the royal library, which indeed migrated to St. James's under James the First, was partly sold and dispersed, at Cromwell's accession; together with another inestimable part of its furniture, 12000 medals, rings, and gems, the entire collection of Gorlæus's Dactyliotheca, purchased by prince Henry and Charles the First. It must be allowed, that James the First greatly enriched this library with the books of lord Lumley and Casaubon, and sir Thomas Roe's manuscripts brought from Constantinople. Lord Lumley's chiefly consisted of lord Arundel's, his father-in-law, a great collector at the dissolution of monasteries. James had previously granted a warrant to sir Thomas Bodley, in 1613, to choose any books from the royal library at Whitehall, over the *Queen's Chamber*. [Reliq. Bodl. p. Hearne, p. 205. 286. 320.]

sity; which, he says, were about twenty in number, and amply furnished with the books of antiquity. Among these he found numerous manuscripts of Proclus on Plato, many of which he was easily permitted to carry abroad by the governors of the colleges, who did not know the value of these treasures[c]. In the year 1535, the king ordered lectures in humanity, institutions which have their use for a time, and while the novelty lasts, to be founded in those colleges of the university, where they were yet wanting: and these injunctions were so warmly approved by the scholars in the largest societies, that they seized on the venerable volumes of Duns Scotus and other irrefragable logicians, in which they had so long toiled without the attainment of knowledge, and tearing them in pieces, dispersed them in great triumph about their quadrangles, or gave them away as useless lumber[d]. The king himself also established some public lectures with large endowments[e]. Notwithstanding, the number of students at Oxford daily decreased; insomuch, that in 1546, not because a general cultivation of the new species of literature was increased, there were only ten inceptors in arts, and three in theology and jurisprudence[f].

As all novelties are pursued to excess, and the most beneficial improvements often introduce new inconveniencies, so this universal attention to polite literature destroyed philosophy. The old philosophy was abolished, but a new one was not adopted in its stead. At Cambridge we now however find the antient scientific learning in some degree reformed, by the admission of better systems.

In the injunctions given by Henry to that university in the year 1535, for the reformation of study, the dialectics of Rodolphus Agricola, the great favourite of Erasmus, and the genuine logic of Aristotle, are prescribed to be taught, instead of the barren problems of Scotus and Burlaeus[g]. By the same edict, theology and casuistry were freed from many of their old incumbrances and perplexities: degrees in the canon law were forbidden; and heavy penalties were imposed on those academics, who relinquished the sacred text, to explain the tedious and unedifying commentaries on Peter Lombard's scholastic cyclopede of divinity, called the SENTENCES, which alone were sufficient to constitute a moderate library. Classical lectures were also directed, the study of words was enforced, and the books of Melancthon, and other solid and elegant writers of the reformed party, recommended. The politer studies, soon afterwards, seem to have risen into a flourishing state at Cambridge. Bishop Latimer complains, that there were now but few

[c] During his abode in England, having largely experienced the bounty and advice of sir Thomas More, he returned home, fraught with materials which he had long sought in vain, and published his Plato, viz. "Platonis Opera, cum commentariis Procli in Timæum et Politica, Basil. 1534." fol. See the Epistle Dedicatory to sir Thomas More. He there mentions other pieces of Proclus, which he saw at Oxford.

[d] See Dr. Layton's letter to Cromwell. Strype's Eccl. Mem. i. 210.

[e] Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon. i. 26. ii. 36.

[f] Wood, ibid. sub anno.

[g] Collier, Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 110.

who studied divinity in that university[h]. But this is no proof of a decline of learning in that seminary. Other pursuits were now gaining ground there; and such as in fact were subservient to theological truth, and to the propagation of the reformed religion. Latimer himself, whose discourses from the royal pulpit appear to be barbarous beyond their age, in style, manner, and argument, is an example of the necessity of the ornamental studies to a writer in divinity. The Greek language was now making considerable advances at Cambridge, under the instruction of Cheke and Smith; notwithstanding the interruptions and opposition of bishop Gardiner, the chancellor of the university, who loved learning but hated novelties, about the proprieties of pronunciation. But the controversy which was agitated on both sides with much erudition, and produced letters between Cheke and Gardiner equal to large treatises, had the good effect of more fully illustrating the point in debate, and of drawing the general attention to the subject of the Greek literature[i]. Perhaps bishop Gardiner's intolerance in this respect was like his persecuting spirit in religion, which only made more heretics. Ascham observes, with no small degree of triumph, that instead of Plautus, Cicero, Terence, and Livy, almost the only classics hitherto known at Cambridge, a more extensive field was opened; and that Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, and Isocrates, were universally and critically studied[k]. But Cheke being soon called away to the court, his auditors relapsed into dissertations on the doctrines of original sin and predestination; and it was debated with great obstinacy and acrimony, whether those topics had been most successfully handled by some modern German divines or saint Austin[l]. Ascham observes, that at Oxford, a decline of taste in both languages was indicated, by a preference of Lucian, Plutarch, and Herodian, in Greek, and of Seneca, Gellius, and Apuleius, in Latin, to the more pure, antient and original writers of Greece and Rome[m]. At length, both universities seem to have been reduced to the same deplorable condition of indigence and illiteracy.

It is generally believed, that the reformation of religion in England, the most happy and important event of our annals, was immediately succeeded by a flourishing state of letters. But this was by no means the case. For a long time afterwards an effect quite contrary was produced. The reformation in England was completed under the reign of

[h] Sermons, &c. p. 63. Lond. 1584. 4to. Sermon before Edward the Sixth, in the year 1550. His words are, "It would pitty a man's heart to hear that I hear of the state of Cambridge: what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. There be few that study divinity but so many as of necessitie must furnish the colledges."

[i] Ascham. Epistol. ut modo infr. p. 65 a. Ascham calls Gardiner, "omnibus literarum, prudentiæ, consilii, authoritatis, præsidiis ornatissimus, *absque hac una re esset* literarum et academiæ nostræ patronus amplissimus." But he says, that Gardiner took this measure, "quorundam *invidorum hominum* precibus victus." ibid. p. 64 b.

[k] Strype's Cranmer, p. 170. Ascham. Epistol. L. ii. p. 64 b. 1581.

[l] Ascham. Epist. lib. ii.

[m] Epistol. lib. i. p. 18 b. Dat. 1550. edit. 1581.

Edward the Sixth. The rapacious courtiers of this young prince were perpetually grasping at the rewards of literature; which, being discouraged or despised by the rich, was neglected by those of moderate fortunes. Avarice and zeal were at once gratified in robbing the clergy of their revenues, and in reducing the church to its primitive apostolical state of purity and poverty[n]. The opulent see of Winchester was lowered to a bare title: its amplest estates were portioned out to the laity; and the bishop, a creature of the protector Somerset, was contented to receive an inconsiderable annual stipend from the exchequer. The bishoprick of Durham, almost equally rich, was entirely dissolved. A favourite nobleman of the court occupied the deanery and treasurership of a cathedral with some of its best canonries[o]. The ministers of this abused monarch, by these arbitrary, dishonest, and imprudent measures, only provided instruments, and furnished arguments, for restoring in the succeeding reign that superstitious religion, which they professed to destroy. By thus impoverishing the ecclesiastical dignities, they countenanced the clamours of the catholics; who declared, that the reformation was apparently founded on temporal views, and that the protestants pretended to oppose the doctrines of the church, solely with a view that they might share in the plunder of its revenues. In every one of these sacrilegious robberies the interest of learning also suffered. Exhibitions and pensions were, in the mean time, subtracted from the students in the universities[p]. Ascham, in a letter to the marquis of Northampton, dated 1550, laments the ruin of grammar schools throughout England; and predicts the speedy extinction of the universities from this growing calamity[q]. At Oxford the public schools were neglected by the professors and pupils, and allotted to the lowest purposes[r]. Academical degrees were abrogated as antichristian[s]. Reformation was soon turned into fanaticism. Absurd refinements, concerning the inutility of human learning, were superadded to the just and rational purgation of christianity from the papal corruptions. The spiritual reformers of these enlightened days, at a visitation of the last-mentioned university, proceeded so far in their ideas of a superior rectitude, as totally to strip the public library, established by that munificent patron Humphrey duke of Gloucester, of all its books and manuscripts[t].

I must not, however, forget, as a remarkable symptom of an attempt now circulating to give a more general and unreserved diffusion of science, that in this reign, Thomas Wilson, originally a fellow of King's

[n] See Collier's Eccl. Hist. Records, lxvii. p. 80.

[o] Burnet, Rep. P. ii. 8.

[p] Wood, sub ann. 1550. See also Strype's Cranmer, Append. N. xciii. p. 220. viz. A letter to secretary Cecil, dat. 1552.

[q] Epistol. lib. un. Commendat. p. 194 a. Lond. 1581. "Ruinam et interitum publicarum scholarum," &c.—"Quam gravis hæc universa scholarum calamitas," &c. See p. 62 b. p. 210 a.

[r] Wood, ut supr. p. 12.

[s] Catal. MSS. Angl. fol. edit. 1697. in Hist. Bibl. Bodl. Præfat.

[t] See vol. ii. Sect. xx.

college in Cambridge, preceptor to Charles and Henry Brandon dukes of Suffolk, dean of Durham, and chief secretary to the king, published a system of rhetoric and of logic, in English[u]. This display of the venerable mysteries of the latter of these arts in a vernacular language, which had hitherto been confined within the sacred pale of the learned tongues, was esteemed an innovation almost equally daring with that of permitting the service of the church to be celebrated in English: and accordingly the author, soon afterwards happening to visit Rome, was incarcerated by the inquisitors of the holy see, as a presumptuous and dangerous heretic.

It is with reluctance I enter on the bloody reign of the relentless and unamiable Mary; whose many dreadful martyrdoms of men eminent for learning and piety, shock our sensibility with a double degree of horror, in the present softened state of manners, at a period of society when no potentate would inflict executions of so severe a nature, and when it would be difficult to find devotees hardy enough to die for difference of opinion. We must, however, acknowledge, that she enriched both universities with some considerable benefactions: yet these donations seem to have been made, not from any general or liberal principle of advancing knowledge, but to repair the breaches of reformation, and to strengthen the return of superstition. It is certain, that her restoration of popery, together with the monastic institution, its proper appendage, must have been highly pernicious to the growth of polite erudition. Yet although the elegant studies were now beginning to suffer a new relapse, in the midst of this reign, under the discouragement of all these inauspicious and unfriendly circumstances, a college was established at Oxford, in the constitution of which, the founder principally inculcates the use and necessity of classical literature; and recommends it as the most important and leading object in that system of academical study, which he prescribes to the youth of the new society[w]. For, beside a lecturer in philosophy appointed for the ordinary purpose of teaching the scholastic sciences, he establishes in this seminary a teacher of humanity. The business of this preceptor is described with a particularity not usual in the constitutions given to collegiate bodies of this kind, and he is directed to exert his utmost diligence in tincturing his auditors with a just relish for the graces and purity of the Latin language[x]; and to explain critically, in the public hall, for the space of two hours every day, the Offices, De Oratore, and rhetorical treatises of Cicero, the institutes of Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Plautus, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Livy, and Lucan; together with

[u] First printed in the reign of Edward the Sixth. See Preface to the second edition of the Rhetoric, in 1560. He translated the three Olynthiacs, and the four Philippics, of Demosthenes, from the Greek into English. Lond. 1570. 4to.

[w] In the year 1554.

[x] "Latini sermonis ornatu et elegantia imbuendos diligenter curabit," &c. Statut. Coll. Trin. Oxon. cap. iv. Again, "Cupiens et ego Collegii mei juventutem *in primis* Latini sermonis *puritate* ac *ingenuarum* artium rudimentis, convenienter erudiri," &c. Ibid. cap. xv.

the most excellent modern philological treatises then in vogue, such as the ELEGANCIES of Laurentius Valla, and the MISCELLANIES of Politian, or any other approved critical tract on oratory or versification[y]. In the mean time, the founder permits it to the discretion of the lecturer, occasionally to substitute Greek authors in the place of these[z]. He moreover requires, that the candidates for admission into the college be completely skilled in Latin poetry; and in writing Epistles, then a favourite mode of composition[a], and on which Erasmus[b], and Conradus Celtes the restorer of letters in Germany[c], had each recently published a distinct systematical work. He injoins, that the students shall be exercised every day, in the intervals of vacation, in composing declamations, and Latin verses both lyric and heroic[d]: and in his prefatory statute, where he describes the nature and design of his foundation, he declares, that he destines the younger part of his establishment, not only to dialectics and philosophy, but to the more polite literature[e]. The statutes of this college were submitted to the inspection of cardinal Pole, one of the chief protectors of the revival of polite letters in England, as appears from a curious passage in a letter written by the founder, now remaining; which not only displays the cardinal's ideas of the new erudition, but shows the state of the Greek language at this period. "My lord Cardinalls grace has had the overseeinge of my statutes. He muche lykes well, that I have therein ordered the Latin tonge [Latin classics] to be redde to my schollers. But he advyses me to order the Greeke to be more taught there than I have provyded. This purpose I well lyke: but I fear *the tymes will not bear it now*. I remember when I was a young scholler at Eton[f], the Greeke tonge was growing apace; the studie of which is now alate much decaid[g]." Queen Mary was herself eminently learned. But her accomplishments in letters were darkened or impeded by religious prejudices. At the desire of queen Catharine Parr, she translated in her youth Erasmus's paraphrase on saint John. The preface is written by Udall, master of Eton school: in which he much extols her distinguished pro-

[y] Statut. Coll. Trin. Oxon. cap. xv. A modern writer in dialectics, Rodolphus Agricola, is also recommended to be explained by the reader in philosophy, together with Aristotle.

[z] Ibid. cap. xv. It may be also observed here, that the philosophy reader is not only ordered to explain Aristotle, but Plato. Ibid. cap. xv. It appears by implication in the close of this statute, that the public lectures of the university were now growing useless, and dwindling into mere matters of form, viz. "Ad hunc modum Domi meos LECTIONIBUS erudiri cupiens, eos a publicis in Academia lectionibus avocare nolui.—Verum, si temporis tractu, et magistratuum incuria, adeo a primario instituto degenerent Magistrorum regentium Lectiones ordinariæ, ut inde nulla, aut admodum exigua, auditoribus accedat utilitas," &c. Ibid. cap. xv

[a] Ibid. cap. vii.

[b] De Ratione conscribendi Epistolas.

[c] About the year 1500. At Basil, 1522. It was reprinted at Cambridge by Siberch, and dedicated to bishop Fisher, 1521. 4to.

[d] Ibid. cap. xv. Every day after dinner "Aliquis scholarium, a Præsidente aut Lectore Rhetorico jussus, de themate quodam proposito, ad edendum *ingenii* ac profectus sui specimen, diligenter, *ornate*, ac breviter dicat," &c. Ibid. cap. x.

[e] "Cæteri autem, *scholares* nuncupati, POLITIORIBUS Literis," &c. Ibid. cap. i.

[f] About the year 1520.

[g] Dated 1556. See Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 226.

ficience in literature[h]. It would have been fortunate, if Mary's attention to this work had softened her temper, and enlightened her understanding. She frequently spoke in public with propriety, and always with prudence and dignity.

In the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, which soon followed, when the return of protestantism might have been expected to produce a speedy change for the better, puritanism began to prevail; and, as the first fervours of a new sect are always violent, retarded for some time the progress of ingenuous and useful knowledge. The scriptures being translated into English, and every man assuming a right to dictate in matters of faith, and to choose his own principles, weak heads drew false conclusions, and erected an infinite variety of petty religions. Such is the abuse which attends the best designs, that the meanest reader of the New Testament thought he had a full comprehension of the most mysterious metaphysical doctrines in the christian faith; and scorned to acquiesce in the sober and rational expositions of such difficult subjects, which he might have received from a competent and intelligent teacher, whom it was his duty to follow. The bulk of the people, who now possessed the means of discussing all theological topics, from their situation and circumstances in life, were naturally averse to the splendor, the dominion, and the opulence of an hierarchy, and disclaimed the yoke of episcopal jurisdiction. The new deliverance from the numerous and burthensome superstitions of the papal communion drove many pious reformers into the contrary extreme, and the rage of opposition ended in a devotion entirely spiritual and abstracted. External forms were abolished, as impediments to the visionary reveries of a mental intercourse with heaven; and because the church of Rome had carried ceremonies to an absurd excess, the use of any ceremonies was deemed unlawful. The love of new doctrines and a new worship, the triumph of gaining proselytes, and the persecutions which accompanied these licentious zealots, all contributed to fan the flame of enthusiasm. The genius of this refined and false species of religion, which defied the salutary checks of all human authority, when operating in its full force, was attended with consequences not less pernicious to society, although less likely to last, than those which flowed from the establishment of the antient superstitions. During this unsettled state of things, the English reformed clergy who had fled into Germany from the menaces of queen Mary, returned home in great numbers: and in consideration of their sufferings and learning, and their abilities to vindicate the principles of a national church erected in opposition to that of Rome, many of them were preferred to bishopricks, and other eminent ecclesiastical stations These divines brought back with them into England those narrow principles concerning church-government and ceremonies, which they had imbibed in the petty states and republics abroad, where the Calvinistic dis-

[h] Lond. 1548. fol.

cipline was adopted, and where they had lived like a society of philosophers; but which were totally inconsistent with the nature of a more extended church, established in a great and magnificent nation, and requiring an uniform system of policy, a regular subordination of officers, a solemnity of public worship, and an observance of exterior institutions. They were, however, in the present circumstances, thought to be the most proper instruments to be employed at the head of ecclesiastical affairs; not only for the purpose of vindicating the new establishment by argument and authority, but of eradicating every trace of the papal corruptions by their practice and example, and of effectually fixing the reformation embraced by the church of England on a durable basis. But, unfortunately, this measure, specious and expedient as it appeared at first, tended to destroy that constitution which it was designed to support, and to counteract those principles which had been implanted by Cranmer in the reformed system of our religion. Their reluctance or refusal to conform, in a variety of instances, to the established ceremonies, and their refinements in theological discipline, filled the church with the most violent divisions; and introduced endless intricate disputations, not on fundamental doctrines of solid importance to the real interests of christianity, but on positive points of idle and empty speculation, which admitting no elegance of composition, and calling forth no vigour of abilities, exercised the learning of the clergy in the most barbarous and barren field of controversial divinity, and obstructed every pursuit of polite or manly erudition. Even the conforming clergy, from their want of penetration, and from their attachment to authorities, contributed to protract these frivolous and unbecoming controversies: for if, in their vindication of the sacerdotal vestments, and of the cross of baptism, instead of arguing from the jews, the primitive christians, the fathers, councils, and customs, they had only appealed to common sense and the nature of things, the propriety and expediency of those formalities would have been much more easily and more clearly demonstrated. To these inconveniencies we must add, that the common ecclesiastical preferments were so much diminished by the seizure and alienation of impropriations, in the late depredations of the church, and which continued to be carried on with the same spirit of rapacity in the reign of Elizabeth, that few persons were regularly bred to the church, or, in other words, received a learned education. Hence, almost any that offered themselves were, without distinction or examination, admitted to the sacred function. Insomuch that in the year 1560, an injunction was directed to the bishop of London from his metropolitan, requiring him to forbear ordaining any more artificers and other illiterate persons who exercised secular occupations[i]. But as the evil was unavoidable, this caution took but little effect[k]. About the year 1563,

[i] Strype's Grindal, B. i. ch. iv. b. 40.

[k] Numerous illuminated artificers began early to preach and write in defence of the reformed religion. The first mechanic who left his lawful calling to vindicate the cause of the catholics, was one Miles Hoggard,

there were only two divines, and those of higher rank, the president of Magdalen college[l], and the dean of Christ Church, who were capable of preaching the public sermons before the university of Oxford[m]. I will mention one instance of the extreme ignorance of our inferior clergy about the middle of the sixteenth century. In the year 1570, Horne, bishop of Winchester, enjoined the minor canons of his cathedral to get by memory, every week, one chapter of saint Paul's epistles in Latin: and this formidable task, almost beneath the abilities of an ordinary school-boy, was actually repeated by some of them, before the bishop, dean, and prebendaries, at a public episcopal visitation of that church[n]. It is well known that a set of homilies was published to supply their incapacity in composing sermons; but it should be remembered that one reason for prescribing this authorized system of doctrine, was to prevent preachers from disturbing the peace of the church by disseminating their own novel and indigested opinions.

The taste for Latin composition in the reign of Elizabeth, notwithstanding it was fashionable both to write and speak in that language, was much worse than in the reign of Henry the Eighth, when juster models were studied, and when the novelty of classical literature excited a general emulation to imitate the Roman authors. The Latinity of Ascham's prose has little elegance. The versification and phraseology of Buchanan's Latin poetry are splendid and sonorous, but not marked with the chaste graces and simple ornaments of the Augustan age. One is surprised to find the learned archbishop Grindal, in the statutes of a school which he founded, and amply endowed, recommending such barbarous and degenerate classics as Palingenius, Sedulius, and Prudentius, to be taught in his new foundation[o]. These, indeed, were the classics of a reforming bishop: but the well-meaning prelate would have contributed much more to the success of his intended reformation, by directing books of better taste and less piety. That classical literature, and the public instruction of youth, were now in the lowest state, we may collect from a provision in archbishop Parker's foundation of three scholarships at Cambridge, in the year 1567. He orders that the scholars, who are appointed to be elected from three the most consider-

a shoe-maker or hosier, of London; who, in the reign of queen Mary, wrote a pamphlet entitled, *The Displaying of protestants, and sundry their practices*, &c. Lond. 1556. 12mo. This piece soon acquired importance by being answered by Lawrence Humphrey, and other eminent reformers. He printed other pieces of the same tendency. He was likewise an English poet; and I am glad of this opportunity of mentioning him in that character, as I could not have ventured to give him a place in the series of our poetry. He wrote the Mirrour of Love, Lond. 1555. 4to. Dedicated to queen Mary. Also the Pathway to the Towre of Perfection, Lond. 1556. 4to. with some other pieces.

[l] Doctor Lawrence Humphrey, mentioned in the last note. Of whom it will not be improper to observe further in this place, that about the year 1553, he wrote an *Epistola de Græcis literis et Homeri lectione et imitatione ad præsidem et socios collegii Magdalenæ, Oxon.* In the Cornucopia of Hadrian Junius, Basil. 1558. fol.

[m] Wood, ut supr. i. 285.

[n] Registr. Horne, Episc. Winton. fol. 80. b.

[o] Strype's Grindal, B. ii. ch. xvii. p. 312. This was in 1583.

able schools in Kent and Norfolk, shall be "the *best* and *aptest* schollers, well instructed in the grammar, and, *if it may be*, such as *can make a verse*[p]." It became fashionable in this reign to study Greek at court. The maids of honour indulged their ideas of sentimental affection in the sublime contemplation of Plato's Phaedo: and the queen, who understood Greek better than the canons of Windsor, and was certainly a much greater pedant than her successor James the First, translated Isocrates[q]. But this passion for the Greek language soon ended where t began: nor do we find that it improved the national taste, or influenced the writings, of the age of Elizabeth.

All changes of rooted establishments, especially of a national religion, are attended with shocks and convulsions, unpropitious to the repose of science and study. But these unavoidable inconveniencies last not long. When the liberal genius of protestantism had perfected its work, and the first fanaticisms of well-meaning but misguided zealots had subsided, every species of useful and elegant knowledge recovered its strength, and arose with new vigour. Acquisitions, whether in theology or humanity, were no longer exclusively confined to the clergy: the laity eagerly embraced those pursuits from which they had long been unjustly restrained: and, soon after the reign of Elizabeth, men attained that state of general improvement, and those situations with respect to literature and life, in which they have ever since persevered.

But it remains to bring home, and to apply, this change in the sentiments of mankind, to our main subject. The customs, institutions, traditions, and religion of the middle ages, were favorable to poetry. Their pageants, processions, spectacles, and ceremonies, were friendly to imagery, to personification and allegory. Ignorance and superstition, so opposite to the real interests of human society, are the parents of imagination. The very devotion of the Gothic times was romantic. The catholic worship, besides that its numerous exterior appendages were of a picturesque and even of a poetical nature, disposed the mind to a state of deception, and encouraged, or rather authorised, every species of credulity: its visions, miracles, and legends, propagated a general propensity to the Marvellous, and strengthened the belief of spectres, demons, witches, and incantations. These illusions were heightened by churches of a wonderful mechanism, and constructed on such principles of inexplicable architecture as had a tendency to impress the soul with every false sensation of religious fear. The savage pomp and the capricious heroism of the baronial manners, were replete with incident, adventure, and enterprise: and the intractable genius of the feudal policy, held forth those irregularities of conduct, discordancies of interest, and dissimilarities of situation, that framed rich materials for the minstrel-muse. The tacit compact of fashion, which pro-

[p] Blomefield's Norfolk, ii. 224.

[q] Ascham's Scholemaster, p. 19. b. edit. 1589. And Epistol. lib. i. p. 19. ut supr.

motes civility by diffusing habits of uniformity, and therefore destroys peculiarities of character and situation, had not yet operated upon life: nor had domestic convenience abolished unwieldy magnificence. Literature, and a better sense of things, not only banished these barbarities, but superseded the mode of composition which was formed upon them. Romantic poetry gave way to the force of reason and inquiry; as its own inchanted palaces and gardens instantaneously vanished, when the christian champion displayed the shield of truth, and baffled the charm of the necromancer. The study of the classics, together with a colder magic and a tamer mythology, introduced method into composition: and the universal ambition of rivalling those new patterns of excellence, the faultless models of Greece and Rome, produced that bane of invention, IMITATION. Erudition was made to act upon genius. Fancy was weakened by reflection and philosophy. The fashion of treating every thing scientifically, applied speculation and theory to the arts of writing. Judgment was advanced above imagination, and rules of criticism were established. The brave eccentricities of original genius, and the daring hardiness of native thought, were intimidated by metaphysical sentiments of perfection and refinement. Setting aside the consideration of the more solid advantages, which are obvious, and are not the distinct object of our contemplation at present, the lover of true poetry will ask, what have we gained by this revolution? It may be answered, much good sense, good taste, and good criticism. But, in the mean time, we have lost a set of manners, and a system of machinery, more suitable to the purposes of poetry, than those which have been adopted in their place. We have parted with extravagancies that are above propriety, with incredibilities that are more acceptable than truth, and with fictions that are more valuable than reality.

SECTION XXXVII.

Petrarch's sonnets. Lord Surrey. His education, travels, mistress, life, and poetry. He is the first writer of blank-verse. Italian blank-verse. Surrey the first English classic poet.

OUR communications and intercourse with Italy, which began to prevail about the beginning of the sixteenth century, not only introduced the studies of classical literature into England, but gave a new turn to our vernacular poetry. At this period, Petrarch still continued the most favorite poet of the Italians; and had established a manner, which was universally adopted and imitated by his ingenious countrymen. In

the mean time, the courts both of France and England were distinguished for their elegance. Francis the First had changed the state of letters in France, by mixing gallantry with learning, and by admitting the ladies to his court in company with the ecclesiastics[a]. His carousals were celebrated with a brilliancy and a festivity unknown to the ceremonious shows of former princes. Henry the Eighth vied with Francis in these gaieties. His ambition, which could not bear a rival even in diversions, was seconded by liberality of disposition and a love of ostentation. For Henry, with many boisterous qualities, was magnificent and affable. Had he never murdered his wives, his politeness to the fair sex would remain unimpeached. His martial sports were unincumbered by the barbaric pomp of the antient chivalry, and softened by the growing habits of more rational manners. He was attached to those spectacles and public amusements, in which beauty assumed a principal share; and his frequent masques and tournaments encouraged a high spirit of romantic courtesy. Poetry was the natural accompaniment of these refinements. Henry himself was a leader and a chief character in these pageantries, and at the same time a reader and a writer of verses. The language and the manners of Italy were esteemed and studied. The sonnets of Petrarch were the great models of composition. They entered into the genius of the fashionable manners: and in a court of such a complexion, Petrarch of course became the popular poet. Henry Howard earl Surrey, with a mistress perhaps as beautiful as Laura, and at least with Petrarch's passion if not his taste, led the way to great improvements in English poetry, by a happy imitation of Petrarch, and other Italian poets, who had been most successful in painting the anxieties of love with pathos and propriety.

Lord Surrey's life throws so much light on the character and subjects of his poetry, that it is almost impossible to consider the one, without exhibiting a few anecdotes of the other. He was the son and grandson of two lords treasurers dukes of Norfolk; and in his early childhood discovered the most promising marks of lively parts and an active mind.

While a boy, he was habituated to the modes of a court at Windsor-castle; where he resided, yet under the care of proper instructors, in the quality of a companion to Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, a natural son of king Henry the Eighth, and of the highest expectations.

This young nobleman, who also bore other titles and honours, was the child of Henry's affection; not so much on account of his hopeful abilities, as for a reason insinuated by lord Herbert, and at which those who know Henry's history and character will not be surprised, because he equally and strongly resembled both his father and mother.

A friendship of the closest kind commencing between these two illustrious youths, about the year 1530, they were both removed to Cardinal Wolsey's college at Oxford, then universally frequented, as well

[a] See supra, vol. ii. Sect. xxxv.

for the excellence as the novelty of its institution; for it was one of the first seminaries of an English university, that professed to explode the pedantries of the old barbarous philosophy, and to cultivate the graces of polite literature. Two years afterwards, for the purpose of acquiring every accomplishment of an elegant education, the earl accompanied his noble friend and fellow-pupil into France, where they received king Henry, on his arrival at Calais to visit Francis the First, with a most magnificent retinue. The friendship of these two young noblemen was soon strengthened by a new tie; for Richmond married the lady Mary Howard, Surrey's sister. Richmond, however, appears to have died in the year 1536, about the age of seventeen, having never cohabited with his wife[b]. It was long, before Surrey forgot the untimely loss of this amiable youth, the friend and associate of his childhood, and who nearly resembled himself in genius, refinement of manners, and liberal acquisitions.

The FAIR GERALDINE, the general object of lord Surrey's passionate sonnets, is commonly said to have lived at Florence, and to have been of the family of the Geraldi of that city. This is a mistake, yet not entirely without grounds, propagated by an easy misapprehension of an expression in one of our poet's odes, and a passage in Drayton's heroic epistles. She was undoubtedly one of the daughters of Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare. But it will be necessary to transcribe what our author himself has said of this celebrated lady. The history of one who caused so memorable and so poetical a passion naturally excites curiosity, and will justify an investigation, which, on many a similar occasion, would properly be censured as frivolous and impertinent.

From Tuskane came my ladies worthy race;
Faire Florence was sometyme her[c] auncient seate:
The westerne yle, whose pleasant shore doth face
Wild Camber's cliffs, furst gave her lively heate:
Fostred she was with milke of Irishe brest;
Her sire an earle: her dame of princes blood:
From tender yeres in Britain did she rest
With a kinges child, who tasteth ghostly food.
Honsdon did first present her to mine eyen:
Bright is her hewe, and Geraldine she hight.
Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine,
And Windsor, alas! doth chase me from her sight[d].

These notices, it must be confessed, are obscure and indirect. But a late elegant biographer* has, with the most happy sagacity, solved

[b] Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 68.
[c] i. e. their. [d] Fol. 5. edit. 1557.
* [Horace Walpole, afterwards earl of Orford, whose ingenious fabric of hypothetical illustration has been levelled like that of Alnaschar by the awakening force of fact. See Life of Lord Surrey in the edit. of English Poets by Mr. Alex. Chalmers, and Dr. Nott's Memoirs before the works of Surrey and Wyatt.—PARK.]

the difficulties of this little enigmatical ode, which had been before either neglected and unattempted as inexplicable, or rendered more unintelligible by false conjectures. I readily adopt Mr. Walpole's key to the genealogy of the matchless Geraldine[e].

Her poetical appellation is almost her real name. Gerald Fitzgerald, above mentioned, earl of Kildare in the reign of Henry the Eighth, married a second wife, Margaret daughter of Thomas Gray, marquis of Dorset: by whom he had three daughters, Margaret, Elisabeth, and Cicely. Margaret was born deaf and dumb; and a lady who could neither hear nor answer her lover, and who wanted the means of contributing to the most endearing reciprocations, can hardly be supposed to have been the cause of any vehement effusions of amorous panegyric. We may therefore safely pronounce Elisabeth or Cicely to have been Surrey's favorite. It was probably Elisabeth, as she seems always to have lived in England.

Every circumstance of the sonnet evidently coincides with this state of the case. But, to begin with the first line, it will naturally be asked, what was lady Elisabeth Gerald's connection with Tuscany? The beginnings of noble families, like those of nations, often owe somewhat to fictitious embellishment: and our genealogists uniformly assert, that the family of Fitzgerald derives its origin from Otho, a descendant of the dukes of Tuscany: that they migrated into England under the reign of king Alfred, whose annals are luckily too scanty to contradict such an account; and were from England speedily transplanted into Ireland. Her father was an Irish earl, resident at his earldom of Kildare; and she was consequently born and nursed in Ireland. Her mother, adds the sonnet, was of princely parentage. Here is a no less exact correspondence with the line of the lady's pedigree: for Thomas, marquis of Dorset, was son of queen Elizabeth Gray, daughter of the duchess of Bedford, descended from the royal house of Luxemburgh. The poet acquaints us, that he first saw her at Hunsdon. This notice, which seems of an indifferent nature and quite extraneous to the question, abundantly corroborates our conjecture. Hundsdon-house in Hertfordshire was a new palace built by Henry the Eighth, and chiefly for the purpose of educating his children. The lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald was second cousin to Henry's daughters the princesses Mary and Elisabeth, who were both educated at Hunsdon[f]. At this royal nursery she therefore *tasted of costly foode with kinges childe*, that is, lived while a girl with the young princesses her relations, as a companion in their education. At the same time, and on the same plan, our earl of Surrey resided at Windsor-castle, as I have already remarked, with the young duke of Richmond. It is natural to suppose, that he sometimes visited the princesses at Hunsdon, in company with the young duke their brother, where he must have also seen the fair Geraldine: yet by the

[e] Catal Roy and Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 105. edit. 1759.

[f] Strype, Eccl Mem. vol. i. Append. Numb 71.

nature of his situation at Windsor, which implied a degree of confinement, he was hindered from visiting her at Hunsdon so often as he wished. He therefore pathetically laments.

Windsor, alas, doth chase me from her sight!

But although the earl first beheld this lady at the palace of Hunsdon, yet, as we further learn from the sonnet, he was first struck with her incomparable beauty, and his passion commenced, at Hampton-court.

Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine!

That is, and perhaps on occasion of some splendid masque or carousal, when the lady Elisabeth Fitzgerald, with the princesses Mary and Elisabeth, and their brother Richmond, with the young lord Surrey, were invited by the king to Hampton-court.

In the mean time we must remember, that the lord Leonard Gray, uncle to lord Gerald Fitzgerald, was deputy of Ireland for the young duke of Richmond: a connection, exclusive of all that has been said, which would alone account for Surrey's acquaintance at least with this lady. It is also a reason, to say no more, why the earl should have regarded her from the first with a particular attention, which afterwards grew into the most passionate attachment. She is supposed to have been maid of honour to queen Catharine. But there are three of Henry's queens of that name. For obvious reasons, however, we may venture to say, that queen Catharine Howard was Geraldine's queen.

It is not precisely known at what period the earl of Surrey began his travels. They have the air of a romance. He made the tour of Europe in the true spirit of chivalry, and with the ideas of an Amadis; proclaiming the unparalleled charms of his mistress, and prepared to defend the cause of her beauty with the weapons of knight-errantry. Nor was this adventurous journey performed without the intervention of an enchanter. The first city in Italy which he proposed to visit was Florence, the capital of Tuscany, and the original seat of the ancestors of his Geraldine. In his way thither, he passed a few days at the emperor's court; where he became acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa, a celebrated adept in natural magic. This visionary philosopher showed our hero, in a mirror of glass, a living image of Geraldine, reclining on a couch, sick, and reading one of his most tender sonnets by a waxen taper[g]. His imagination, which wanted not the

[g] Drayton, Her. Epist.—Howard to Geraldine, v. 57.

[Mr. Warton certainly seems to speak as though this visionary display of the fair Geraldine had been an actual exhibition; whereas it was the romantic invention of Tom Nash in his fanciful Life of Jacke Wilton, printed in 1594. Nash under the character of his hero professes to have travelled in company with Lord Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, as his page. On proceeding to the Emperor's court it was agreed between them to change names and characters, that the earl might take more liberty of behaviour; and becoming familiarly acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa, "I, (says Nash,) because I was his suborned Lorde and Master, desired him to see the lively image of Geraldine, his love, in the glasse, and what at that

flattering representations and artificial incentives of illusion, was heated anew by this interesting and affecting spectacle. Inflamed with every enthusiasm of the most romantic passion, he hastened to Florence: and, on his arrival, immediately published a defiance against any person who could handle a lance and was in love, whether Christian, Jew, Turk, Saracen, or Canibal, who should presume to dispute the superiority of Geraldine's beauty*. As the lady was pretended to be of Tuscan extraction, the pride of the Florentines was flattered on this occasion: and the grand duke of Tuscany permitted a general and unmolested ingress into his dominions of the combatants of all countries, till this important trial should be decided. The challenge was accepted, and the earl victorious[h]. The shield which he presented to the duke before the tournament began, is exhibited in Vertue's valuable plate of the Arundel family, and was actually in the possession of the late duke of Norfolk[i].

These heroic vanities did not, however, so totally engross the time which Surrey spent in Italy, as to alienate his mind from letters: he studied with the greatest success a critical knowledge of the Italian tongue, and that he might give new lustre to the name of Geraldine, attained a just taste for the peculiar graces of the Italian poetry.

He was recalled to England for some idle reason by the king, much sooner than he expected: and he returned home, the most elegant traveller, the most polite lover, the most learned nobleman, and the most accomplished gentleman, of his age. Dexterity in tilting, and gracefulness in managing a horse under arms, were excellencies now viewed with a critical eye, and practised with a high degree of emulation. In 1540, at a tournament held in the presence of the court at Westminster, and in which the principal of the nobility were engaged, Surrey was distinguished above the rest for his address in the use and exercise of arms. But his martial skill was not solely displayed in the parade and ostentation of these domestic combats. In 1542, he marched into Scotland, as a chief commander in his father's army: and was conspicuous

instant she did and with whom she was talking. He showed her us without more ado, sicke, weeping on her bedde, and resolved all into devoute religion for the absence of her lorde. At the sight thereof he could in no wise refrayne, though he had tooke upon him the condition of a servant, but he must forthwith frame an extemporal dittee." This ditty Nash provided: it begins:

All soule, no earthly flesh, why dost thou fade? PARK.]

* [Hooker thus alludes to this challenge in his Amanda, &c. 1653.

Were *Surrey* travel'd now to Tuskanie
Off'ring to reach his gauntlet out for thee;
If on the guilt tree in the list he set
Thy pretty, lovely, pretty counterfeit[1];
All planet-struck with those two stars, thy eyne,
(Out-shining farre his heav'nly *Geraldine*)
There w[d] no staffe be shiver'd—none w[d] dare
A beautie with Amanda's to compare.
p. 73. PARK.]

[h] Wood, ubi supr.

[i] Walpole, Anecd. Paint. i. 76. [The shield is still preserved at Norfolk House. Dr. Nott, who rejects the story of the tournament as an idle fable, conceives the shield to have been a later acquisition of the Norfolk family.—PRICE.]

[1] i. e. *picture*.

for his conduct and bravery at the memorable battle of Flodden-field, where James the Fourth of Scotland was killed*. The next year, we find the career of his victories impeded by an obstacle which no valour could resist. The censures of the church have humiliated the greatest heroes: and he was imprisoned in Windsor-castle for eating flesh in Lent. The prohibition had been renewed or strengthened by a recent proclamation of the king. I mention this circumstance, not only as it marks his character, impatient of any controul, and careless of very serious consequences which often arise from a contempt of petty formalities, but as it gave occasion to one of his most sentimental and pathetic sonnets[k]. In 1544, he was field-marshal of the English army in the expedition to Bologne, which he took. In that age, love and arms constantly went together: and it was amid the fatigues of this protracted campaign, that he composed his last sonnet called the FANSIE of a *wearied Lover*[l].

But as Surrey's popularity increased, his interest declined with the king; whose caprices and jealousies grew more violent with his years and infirmities. The brilliancy of Surrey's character, his celebrity in the military science, his general abilities, his wit, learning, and affability, were viewed by Henry with disgust and suspicion. It was in vain that he possessed every advantageous qualification, which could adorn the scholar, the courtier, and the soldier. In proportion as he was amiable in the eyes of the people, he became formidable to the king. His rising reputation was misconstrued into a dangerous ambition, and gave birth to accusations equally groundless and frivolous. He was suspected of a design to marry the princess Mary; and, by that alliance, of approaching to a possibility of wearing the crown. It was insinuated, that he conversed with foreigners, and held a correspondence with cardinal Pole.

The addition of the escocheon of Edward the Confessor to his own, although used by the family of Norfolk for many years, and justified by the authority of the heralds, was a sufficient foundation for an impeachment of high treason. These motives were privately aggravated by those prejudices, with which Henry remembered the misbehaviour of Catharine Howard, and which were extended to all that lady's relations. At length, the earl of Surrey fell a sacrifice to the peevish injustice of a merciless and ungrateful master. Notwithstanding his eloquent and masculine defence, which even in the cause of guilt itself would have proved a powerful persuasive, he was condemned by the prepared suffrage of a servile and obsequious jury, and beheaded on Tower-hill in the year 1547[m]. In the mean time we should remember, that Surrey's

* [The battle of Flodden-field was fought in 1513.—PRICE.]

[k] Fol. 6. 7.

[l] Fol. 18. See Dugd. Baron. ii. p. 275.

[m] See Stowe, Chron. p. 592. Chalconer, de Republ. Angl. instaurand. lib. ii. p. 47.

[The earl's body was conveyed to Framlingham in Suffolk, and a Latin epitaph placed on his tomb, which dates his immature decease in 1546. See Hist. Anecd. of the Howards, p. 28.—PARK.]

public conduct was not on all occasions quite unexceptionable. In the affair of Bologne he had made a false step. This had offended the king. But Henry, when once offended, could never forgive. And when Hertford was sent into France to take the command, he could not refrain from dropping some reproachful expressions against a measure which seemed to impeach his personal courage. Conscious of his high birth and capacity, he was above the little attentions of caution and reserve; and he too frequently neglected to consult his own situation, and the king's temper. It was his misfortune to serve a monarch, whose resentments, which were easily provoked, could only be satisfied by the most severe revenge. Henry brought those men to the block, which other monarchs would have only disgraced.

Among these anecdotes of Surrey's life, I had almost forgot to mention what became of his amour with the fair Geraldine. We lament to find that Surrey's devotion to this lady did not end in a wedding, and that all his gallantries and verses availed so little! No memoirs of that incurious age have informed us whether her beauty was equalled by her cruelty; or whether her ambition prevailed so far over her gratitude, as to tempt her to prefer the solid glories of a more splendid title and ample fortune, to the challenges and the compliments of so magnanimous, so faithful, and so eloquent a lover. She appears, however, to have been afterwards the third wife of Edward Clinton, earl of Lincoln. Such also is the power of time and accident over amorous vows, that even Surrey himself outlived the violence of his passion. He married Frances, daughter of John earl of Oxford, by whom he left several children. One of his daughters, Jane countess of Westmoreland, was among the learned ladies of that age, and became famous for her knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages[n].

Surrey's poems were in high reputation with his cotemporaries, and for many years afterwards. He is thus characterised by the author of the old ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, whose opinion remained long as a rule of criticism. "In the latter end of the same kinges [Henry] raigne, spronge up a new company of courtly makers, of whom sir Thomas Wyat the elder and Henry earle of Surrey were the two CHIEFTAINES, who having travailed into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian poesie, as novices newly crept out of the schooles of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesie from that it had bene before, and for that cause may justly be sayd the first reformers of our English meeter and stile[o]." And again, towards the close of the same chapter. "Henry earle of Surrey, and sir Thomas Wyat, between whom I finde very little difference, I repute them (as before) for the two chief lanternes of light to all others that have since employed their pennes upon English poesie: their conceits were loftie, their stiles stately, their con-

[n] Dugd. Baron. i. 533. ii. 275. [o] Lib. i. ch. xxxi. p. 48. edit. 1589.

veyance cleanly, their termes proper, their meetre sweete and well-proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and studiously their maister Francis Petrarcha[p]." I forbear to recite the testimonies of Leland, Sydney, Turberville, Churchyard, and Drayton*. Nor have these pieces, although scarcely known at present, been without the panegyric of more recent times. Surrey is praised by Waller and Fenton; and he seems to have been a favourite with Pope. Pope, in WINDSOR-FOREST, having compared his patron lord Granville with Surrey, he was immediately reprinted, but without attracting many readers[q]. It was vainly imagined, that all the world would eagerly wish to purchase the works of a neglected antient English poet, whom Pope had called *the* GRANVILLE *of a former age*. So rapid are the revolutions of our language, and such the uncertainty of literary fame, that Philips, Milton's nephew, who wrote about the year 1674, has remarked, that in his time Surrey's poetry was antiquated and totally forgotten[r].

Our author's SONGES AND SONNETTES, as they have been stiled, were first collected and printed at London by Tottell, in 1557[s]. As it happens in collections of this kind, they are of various merit. Surrey is said, by the ingenious author [editor] of the MUSES LIBRARY, to have been the first who broke through the fashion of stanzas, and wrote in the heroic couplet. But all Surrey's poems are in the alternate rhyme; nor, had this been true, is the other position to be granted. Chaucer's Prologues and most of the Canterbury Tales are written in long verse: nor was the use of the couplet resumed, till late in the reign of Elisabeth†.

[p] Ibid. p. 50.

* [Other early testimonials were offered by Tusser, Harvey, Whitney, Googe, Peacham and R. Fletcher. I cite the first and last of these on account of the rarity of the books in which they occur.

What lookest thou here for to have?
Trim verses, thy fansie to please?
Of SURRY, so famous, that crave;
Looke nothing but rudeness in these.

Preface to A hundreth good Pointes of Husbandry, edit. 1570.

Had your (P. Henry's) praise been limn'd with learned pen
Of princely SURREY, once a poet sweet,
Sir *Thomas Wyat*, or like gentlemen,
They on this theame discoursers had beene meet.

R. Fletcher's Nine English Worthies, 1606. 4to. p. 51.—PARK.]

[q] By Sewell 1717. Reprinted by Curl, ib.

[r] Theatr. Poetar. p. 67. edit. 1674. 12mo.

[s] In quarto. It is extraordinary, that A. Wood should not have known this edition. Another edition appeared in 1565. Others, in 1574.—1585.—1587.—Others appeared afterwards.

[Dr. Nott has ascertained that there were two editions in 1557. Others not included by Mr. Warton appeared in 1567 and 1569. The reprint by Meares, published with Sewell's biography of Surrey, is one of the most slovenly and defective books that has appeared.—PARK.]

† [A passing tribute both to Chaucer and Surrey may here be noticed from a very rare miscellany published in 1578, and entitled "A Gorgeous Gallery of gallant Inventions."

If CHAUCER yet did lyve
Whose English tongue did passe
Who sucked dry Parnassus spring
And dranke the juice there was:
If Surrey had not scalde
The height of Jove his throne
Unto whose head a pillow softe
Became Mount Helicon;
They with their Muses could
Not have pronounct the fame
Of D. faire dame, &c.—PARK.]

In the sonnets of Surrey, we are surprised to find nothing of that metaphysical cast which marks the Italian poets, his supposed masters, especially Petrarch. Surrey's sentiments are for the most part natural and unaffected; arising from his own feelings, and dictated by the present circumstances*. His poetry is alike unembarrassed by learned allusions, or elaborate conceits. If our author copies Petrarch, it is Petrarch's better manner: when he descends from his Platonic abstractions, his refinements of passion, his exaggerated compliments, and his play upon opposite sentiments, into a track of tenderness, simplicity, and nature. Petrarch would have been a better poet had he been a worse scholar. Our author's mind was not too much overlaid by learning.

The following is the poem above mentioned, in which he laments his imprisonment in Windsor Castle. But it is rather an elegy than a sonnet.

So cruell prison, how could betyde, alas,
As proude Windsor[t]! where I, in lust and joy[u],
Wyth a kynges sonne[w] my childyshe years did passe,
In greater feastes than Priam's sonnes of Troye.

Where eche swete place returnes a taste full sower:
The large grene courtes where we were wont to hove[x],
Wyth eyes cast up into the mayden's tower[y],
And easy sighes, such as folke drawe in love:

* [Dr. Henry observes that English poetry, till refined by Surrey, degenerated into metrical chronicles or tasteless allegories. Hist. of Eng. xii. 292. Dr. Anderson deems his love verses equal to the best in our language; while in harmony of numbers, perspicuity of expression, and facility of phraseology, they approach so near the productions of the present age, as hardly to be believed they could have been produced in the reign of Henry VIII. Brit. Poets, i. 593.—PARK.]

[t] How could the stately castle of Windsor become so miserable a prison?—[Rather: what prison could be so miserable as the stately castle of Windsor, &c.—PRICE.]

[u] In unrestrained gaiety and pleasure.

[w] With the young duke of Richmond.

[x] To hover, to loiter in expectation. So Chaucer, Troil. and Cress. B. 5. ver. 33.

But at the yate there she should outride
With certain folk he *hovid* her t'abide.

[y] Swift's joke about the Maids of honour being lodged at Windsor in the round tower, in queen Anne's time, is too well known and too indelicate to be repeated here. But in the present instance, Surrey speaks loosely and poetically in making the MAIDEN-TOWER, the true reading, the residence of the women. The maiden-tower was common in other castles, and means the principal tower, of the greatest strength and defence. MAIDEN is a corruption of the old French *Magne*, or *Mayne*, great. Thus Maidenhead (properly Maydenhithe) in Berkshire, signifies the *great* port or wharf on the river Thames. So also, *Mayden-Bradley* in Wiltshire is the *great Bradley*. The old Roman camp near Dorchester in Dorsetshire, a noble work, is called *Maiden castle*, the capital fortress in those parts. We have Maiden-down in Somersetshire with the same signification. A thousand other instances might be given. Hearne, not attending to this etymology, absurdly supposes, in one of his Prefaces, that a strong bastion in the old walls of the city of Oxford, called the MAIDEN-TOWER, was a prison for confining the prostitutes of the town. [*Mai Dun* are two ancient British words signifying a *great hill*. Thus the Maiden Castle (Edinburgh) is not Castra Puellarum, but a castle upon a high hill. Bradley (though Saxon) is comparatively a modern adjunct. See Baxter's Glossary, 109–163.—RITSON.]

The stately seates, the ladies bright of hewe,
The daunces shorte, long tales of great delight,
With wordes and lookes that tygers could but rewe[z];
Where ech of us dyd pleade the others right.

The palme-play[a], where, dispoyled for the game[b],
With dazed eyes[c] oft we by gleames of love,
Have myst the ball, and got sight of our dame,
To bayte[d] her eyes whych kept the leads above[e].

The gravell grounde[f], wyth sleves tied on the helme[g],
On fomyng horse, with swordes and frendly hartes;
Wyth chere[h] as though one should another whelme[i],
Where we have fought and chased oft with dartes.—

The secret groves, which ofte we made resounde
Of pleasaunt playnt, and of our ladies prayse,
Recordyng ofte what grace[k] eche one had found,
What hope of speede[l], what dreade of long delayes.

The wylde forest, the clothed holtes with grene[*],
With raynes avayled[m], and swift ybreathed horse,
With cry of houndes, and merry blastes betwene
Where we did chase the fearful harte of force.

[z] pity. [a] at ball.

[b] rendered unfit, or unable, to play. [Despoiled, is the *spogliato* of the Italian: stripped for the game.—NOTT.]

[c] dazzled eyes.

[d] to tempt, to catch.

[e] The ladies were ranged on the leads, or battlements, of the castle to see the play.

[f] The ground, or area, was strown with gravel, where they were trained in chivalry.

[g] At tournaments they fixed the sleeves of their mistresses on some part of their armour.

[h] looks. [i] destroy.

[k] favour with his mistress.

[l] or, success.

[*] the holtes, or thick woods, clothed in green. So in another place he says, fol. 3.

My specled cheeks with Cupid's hue.

That is, "Cheeks speckled with," &c.

[m] With loosened reins. So, in his fourth Aeneid, the fleet is "ready to *avale*." That is, to *loosen* from shore. So again, in Spenser's Februarie:

They wont in the wind wagge their wriggle tayles
Pearke as a peacocke, but now it AVAYLES.

"*Avayle* their tayles," to drop or lower. So also in his December:

By that the welked Phebus gan AVAYLE
His wearie waine.———

And in the Faerie Queene, with the true spelling, i. 1. 21. Of Nilus:

But when his latter ebbe gins to AVALE.

To VALE, or *avale, the bonnet*, was a phrase for lowering the bonnet, or pulling off the hat. The word occurs in Chaucer, Troil. and Cress. iii. 627.

That such a raine from heaven gan AVAILE.

And in the fourth book of his Boethius, "The light fire ariseth into height, and the hevie yerthes AVAILEN by their weightes." pag. 394. col. 2. edit. Urr. From the French verb AVALER, which is from their adverb AVAL, *downward*. See also Hearne's Gloss. Rob. Br. p. 524. Drayton uses this word, where perhaps it is not properly understood. Ecl. iv. p. 1404. edit. 1753.

With that, she gan to VALE her head,
Her cheeks were like the roses red,
But not a word she said, &c.

That is, she did not *veil*, or cover, but *vale*, held down her head for shame.

Spite drave me into Boreas' raigne[u],
Where hory frostes the frutes do bite;
When hilles were spred and every plaine
With stormy winter's mantle white.[w]

In an Elegy on the elder sir Thomas Wyat's death, his character is delineated in the following nervous and manly quatraines.

A visage, sterne and milde; where both did growe,
Vice to contemne, in vertue to rejoyce;
Amid great stormes, whom grace assured so,
To live upright, and smile at fortune's choyce.—

A toung that serv'd in forein realmes his king,
Whose courteous talke to vertue did enflame
Eche noble harte; a worthy guide to bring
Our English youth by travail unto fame.

An eye, whose judgment none affect[x] could blind,
Frendes to allure, and foes to reconcyle:
Whose persing[y] looke did represent a mynde
With vertue fraught, reposed, voyde of gile.

A hart, where dreade was never so imprest
To hide the thought that might the troth avance;
In neither fortune lost, nor yet represt,
To swell in welth, or yeld unto mischance.[z]——

The following lines on the same subject are remarkable.

Divers thy death do diversly bemone:
Some that in presence of thy livelyhede
Lurked, whose brestes envy with hate had swolne,
Yeld Cesar's teares upon Pompeius' head.[a]

There is great dignity and propriety in the following Sonnet on Wyat's PSALMS.

The great Macedon, that out of Persie chased
Darius, of whose huge power all Asia rong,
In the riche ark[b] Dan Homer's rimes he placed,
Who fained gestes of heathen princes song.
What holy grave, what worthy sepulchre[c],
To Wiattes Psalmes should Christians then purchàse?
Where he doth paint the lyvely faith and pure;
The stedfast hope, the sweete returne to grace
Of just David by perfite penitence.
Where rulers may see in a mirrour clere
The bitter frute of false concupiscence:
How Jewry bought Uria's deth ful dere.

[u] Her anger drove me into a colder climate.
[w] Fol. 12.
[x] affect.
[y] piercing.
[z] Fol. 16.
[a] Fol. 17.
[b] chest.

In princes hartes God's scourge imprinted depe
Ought them awake out of their sinful slepe.[d]

Probably the last lines may contain an oblique allusion to some of the king's amours.

Some passages in his *Description of the restlesse state of a Lover*, are pictures of the heart, and touched with delicacy.

I wish for night, more covertly to plaine,
And me withdraw from every haunted place;
Lest by my chere[e] my chaunce appeare too plaine.
And in my minde I measure, pace by pace,
To seke the place where I myself had lost,
That day, when I was tangled in the lace,
In seming slack that knitteth ever most.———
Lo, if I seke, how I do finde my sore!
And if I flee, I carry with me still
The venom'd shaft, which doth its force restore
By haste of flight. And I may plaine my fill
Unto myself, unlesse this carefull song
Print in your hart some parcel of my tene[f].
For I, alas, in silence all too long,
Of mine old hurt yet fele the wound but grene.[g]

Surrey's talents, which are commonly supposed to have been confined to sentiment and amorous lamentation, were adapted to descriptive poetry and the representations of rural imagery. A writer only that viewed the beauties of nature with poetic eyes, could have selected the vernal objects which compose the following exquisite ode.[h]

The soote season, that bud and blome forth brings,
With grene hath clad the hill, and eke the vale;
The nightingale with fethers new she sings;
The turtle to her mate hath tolde her tale:
Somer is come, for every spray now springs.
The hart hath hong his old hed on the pale*:
The buck in brake his winter coate he flings:
The fishes flete with new repayred scale;
The adder all her slough away she slings:
The swift swallow pursueth the flies smale:
The busy bee her hony now she mings.
Winter is worne that was the flowers bale[i].

[d] Fol. 16. [e] behaviour, looks. [f] sorrow. [g] Fol. 2. [h] Fol. 2.

* [The following lines from Turberville's poems, 1567, denote a close attention to Surrey.

Since snakes do cast their shrivelled skinnes
And bucks hange up their heads on pale;
Since frisking fishes lose their finnes
And glide with new repaired scale;
Then I of force, with greedie eie
Must hope to finde to ease my smart,
Since eche annoy in spring doth die,
And cares to comfort doe convart.
f. 110.—PARK.]

[i] destruction.

We cleft the walles, and closures of the towne,
Whereto all helpe: and underset the feet
With sliding rolles, and bound his neck with ropes.
This fatall gin thus overclambe our walles,
Stuft with armd men: about the which there ran
Children and maides[s], that holy carolles sang.
And well were they whoes hands might touch the cordes!
With thretning chere, thus slided through our town
The subtil tree, to Pallas temple-ward.
O native land, Ilion, and of the goddes
The mansion place! O warlik walles of Troy!
Fowr times it stopt in thentrie of our gate,
Fowr times the harnesse[t] clattred in the womb.

The shade of Hector, in the same book, thus appears.

Ah me! What one? That Hector how unlike,
Which erst returnd, clad with Achilles spoiles!
Or when he threw into the Grekish shippes
The Trojan flame! So was his beard defiled,
His crisped lockes al clustred with his blood:
With all such wounds as many he received,
About the walls of that his native town!
Whome franckly thus, methought, I spake unto,
With bitter teres, and dolefull deadly voice.
"O Troyan light! O only hope of thine!
What lettes so long thee staid? Or from what costes,
Our most desired Hector, doest thou come?
Whom, after slaughter of thy many frends,
And travail of the people, and thy towne,
Alweried, (lord!) how gladly we behold!
What sory chaunce hath staind thy lively face?
Or why see I these woundes, alas so wide?"
He answeard nought, nor in my vain demaundes
Abode: but from the bottom of his brest
Sighing he sayd: "Flee, flee, O goddesse son!
And save thee from the furie of this flame!"

This was a noble attempt to break the bondage of rhyme. But blank verse was now growing fashionable in the Italian poetry, the school of Surrey. Felice Figlinei, a Sanese*, and Surrey's cotemporary, in his

[s] That is, Boys and girls, *pueri innuptæque puellæ*. Antiently *Child* (or *Children*) was restrained to the young of the male sex. Thus, above, we have, "the *Child* Iulus," in the original *Puer* Ascanius. So the *Children* of the chapel signifies the *Boys* of the king's chapel. And in the royal kitchen, the *Children*, i. e. the *Boys* of the Scullery. In the western counties, to this day, *Maid* simply and distinctly means *Girl:* as, "I have got a Boy and a *Maid*."—"My wife is brought to bed of a *Maid*," &c. &c.

[t] arms, armour.

* [Or Sianese; a native of Sienna in Tuscany.—ASHBY.]

admirable Italian commentary on the ETHICS of Aristotle, entitled FILOSOFIA MORALE SOPRA IL LIBRI D'ETHICA D'ARISTOTILE, declaims against the barbarity of rhyme, and strongly recommends a total rejection of this Gothic ornament to his countrymen. He enforces his precept by his own example; and translates all Aristotle's quotations from Homer and Euripides into verse without rhyme. Gonsalvo Perez, the learned secretary to Philip of Spain, had also recently translated Homer's Odyssey into Spanish blank-verse. How much the excellent Roger Ascham approved of Surrey's disuse of rhyme in this translation from Virgil, appears from the following passage in his SCHOLEMASTER, written about the year 1564[u]. "The noble lord Thomas earle of Surrey, FIRST OF ALL ENGLISHMEN, in translating the fourth [and second] booke of Virgill; and Gonsalvo Perez, that excellent learned man, and secretarie to king Philip of Spayne[w], in translating the ULYSSES of Homer out of Greeke into Spanish, have both by good judgement avoyded the FAULT OF RYMING.—The spying of this fault now is not the curiositie of English eyes, but even the good judgement also of the best that write in these dayes in Italie.—And you, that be able to understand no more than ye find in the Italian tong; and never went further than the schoole of PETRARCH and ARIOSTO abroade, or else of CHAUCER at home, though you have pleasure to wander blindlie still in your foule wronge way, envie not others, that seeke, as wise men have done before them, the FAYREST and RYGHTEST way.—And therefore, even as Virgill and Horace deserve most worthie prayse, that they, spying the unperfitness in Ennius and Plautus, by trewe imitation of Homer and Euripides, brought poetrie to the same perfectnes in Latin as it was in Greeke, even so those, that by the same way would BENEFIT THEIR TONG and country, deserve rather thankes than disprayse[x]."

The revival of the Greek and Roman poets in Italy, excited all the learned men of that country to copy the Roman versification, and consequently banished the old Leonine Latin verse. The same classical idea operated in some degree on the vernacular poetry of Italy. In

[u] I know of no English critic besides, who has mentioned Surrey's Virgil, except Bolton, a great reader of old English books. Hypercrit. p. 237. Oxon. 1772.

[Meres had spoken of it with commendation before Bolton; but his words are nearly a repetition of those uttered by Ascham. See Wits Treasury, 1598. An anonymous writer, in 1644, thus introduced Surrey with several of his successors in vindication of the English as a poetic language. "There is no sort of verse, either ancient or modern, which we are not able to equal by imitation. We have our *English Virgil*, Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Juvenal, Martial and Catullus; in the *Earl of Surry*, Daniel, Jonson, Spencer, Don, Shakespear, and the glory of the rest, Sandys and Sydney." Vindex Anglicus.—PARK.]

[w] Among Ascham's Epistles, there is one to Perez, inscribed *Clarissimo viro D. Gonsalvo Perisio Regis Catholici Secretario primario et Consiliario intimo, Amico meo carissimo.* In which Ascham recommends the embassador sir William Cecil to his acquaintance and friendship. Epistol. Lib. Un. p. 228. b. edit. Lond. 1581.

[x] B. ii. p. 54. b. 55. a edit. 1589. 4to.

the year 1528*, Trissino published his ITALIA LIBERATA DI GOTI, or ITALY DELIVERED FROM THE GOTHS, an heroic poem, professedly written in imitation of the Iliad, without either rhyme, or the usual machineries of the Gothic romance. Trissino's design was to destroy the TERZA RIMA of Dante. We do not, however, find, whether it be from the facility with which the Italian tongue falls into rhyme, or that the best and established Italian poets wrote in the stanza, that these efforts to restore blank-verse produced any lasting effects in the progress of the Italian poetry. It is very probable, that this specimen of the Eneid in blank-verse by Surrey, led the way to Abraham Fleming's blank-verse translation of Virgil's Bucolics and Georgics, although done in Alexandrines, published in the year 1589[y].

Lord Surrey wrote many other English poems which were never published, and are now perhaps entirely lost. He translated the ECCLESIASTES of Solomon into English verse. This piece is cited in the Preface to the Translation of the Psalms†, printed at London in [about] 1567. He also translated a few of the Psalms into metre. These versions of Scripture show that he was a friend to the reformation. Among his works are also recited, a Poem on his friend the young duke of Richmond, an Exhortation to the citizens of London, a Translation of Boccace's Epistle to Pinus, and a sett of Latin epistles‡. Aubrey has preserved a poetical Epitaph, written by Surrey on sir Thomas Clere, his faithful retainer and constant attendant, which was once in Lambeth-church[z]; and which, for its affection and elegance, deserves to be printed among the earl's poems. I will quote a few lines.

Shelton for love, Surrey for lord thee chase[a]:
(Aye me, while life did last that league was tender!)
Tracing whose steps, thou sawest Kelsall blase,
Laundersey burnt, and batterd Bulleyn's render[b]:
At Mortrell gates[c], hopeless of all recure,
Thine earle halfe dead gave in thy hand his Will;
Which cause did thee this pining death procure,
Ere summers foure tymes seven thou couldst fulfill.
Ah, Clere! if love had booted care or cost,
Heaven had not wonne, nor earth so timely lost[d]!

John Clerc, who travelled into Italy with Pace, an eminent linguist of those times, and secretary to Thomas duke of Norfolk, father of lord

* [Dr. Nott conceives Surrey could not have seen this poem, as it was not printed till after his death.—PRICE.]

[y] London, 4to.

† [Ascribed hereafter to archbishop Parker.—PARK.]

‡ [The book of Epistles and the translation of Boccace's Epistle to Pinus have not hitherto been discovered.—DR. NOTT.]

[z] See Aubrey's Surrey, V. 247.

[a] chose. [b] surrender.

[c] Towns taken by lord Surrey in the Bologne expedition, [except Kelsal, which was burnt during the incursion into Scotland.—NOTT.]

[d] He died in 1545. See Stowe's Chron. p. 586. 588. edit. 1615.

Surrey, in a dedication to the latter, prefixed to his TRETISE OF NOBILITIE, printed at London in 1543[e], has mentioned, with the highest commendations, many translations done by Surrey, from the Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish languages. But these it is probable were nothing more than juvenile exercises.

Surrey, for his justness of thought, correctness of style, and purity of expression, may justly be pronounced the first English classical poet. He unquestionably is the first polite writer of love-verses in our language. It must, however, be allowed, that there is a striking native beauty in some of our love-verses written much earlier than Surrey's. But in the most savage ages and countries, rude nature has taught elegance to the lover.

SECTION XXXVIII.

Sir Thomas Wyat. Inferior to Surrey as a writer of Sonnets. His Life. His Genius characterised. Excels in Moral Poetry.

WITH Surrey's Poems, Tottel has joined, in his editions of 1557 and 1565, the SONGES and SONNETTES of sir Thomas Wyat the elder[a], and of Uncertain Auctours.

Wyat was of Allington-castle in Kent, which he magnificently repaired, and educated in both our universities. But his chief and most splendid accomplishments were derived from his travels into various parts of Europe, which he frequently visited in the quality of an envoy. He was endeared to king Henry the Eighth, who did not always act from caprice, for his fidelity and success in the execution of public business, his skill in arms, literature, familiarity with languages, and lively conversation. Wood, who degrades every thing by poverty of style and improper representation, says, that "the king was in a high manner delighted with his *witty jests*[b]." It is not perhaps improbable, that Henry was as much pleased with his repartees as his politics. He is reported to have occasioned the reformation by a joke, and to have planned the fall of cardinal Wolsey by a seasonable story[c]. But he had almost lost his popularity, either from an intimacy with queen Anne

[e] Lond. 12mo. A translation from the French.

[a] Wyat's begin at fol. 19.

[b] Ath. Oxon. i. 51.

[In Sloane MS. 1523, some maxims and sayings of sir T. Wyat are preserved. A letter occurs in the Harleian MSS. Ascham in his "discourse of the state of Germanie," has the following tributary remark. "A knight of England of worthy memorie for wit, learnyng and experience, old syr *Thomas Wiat*, wrote to his sonne that the greatest mischief amongst men, and least punished, is unkyndnes."—PARK.]

[c] See Miscellaneous Antiquities, Numb. ii. pag. 16. Printed at Strawberry-hill, 1772. 4to.

Boleyn, which was called a connection, or the gloomy cabals of bishop Bonner, who could not bear his political superiority. Yet his prudence and integrity, no less than the powers of his oratory, justified his innocence. He laments his severe and unjust imprisonment on that trying occasion, in a sonnet addressed to sir Francis Bryan; insinuating his solicitude, that although the wound would be healed, the scar would remain, and that to be acquitted of the accusation would avail but little, while the thoughts of having been accused were still fresh in remembrance[d]. It is a common mistake, that he died abroad of the plague in an embassy to Charles the Fifth. Being sent to conduct that emperor's embassador from Falmouth to London, from too eager and a needless desire of executing his commission with dispatch and punctuality, he caught a fever by riding in a hot day, and in his return died on the road at Shirburn, where he was buried in the great conventual church, in the year 1541. The next year, Leland published a book of Latin verses on his death, with a wooden print of his head prefixed, probably done by Holbein[e]. It will be superfluous to transcribe the panegyrics of his cotemporaries, after the encomium of lord Surrey, in which his amiable character owes more to truth than to the graces of poetry, or to the flattery of friendship*.

We must agree with a critic above quoted, that Wyat cooperated with Surrey, in having corrected the roughness of our poetic style. But Wyat, although sufficiently distinguished from the common versifiers of his age, is confessedly inferior to Surrey in harmony of numbers, perspicuity of expression, and facility of phraseology†. Nor is he equal to Surrey in elegance of sentiment, in nature and sensibility. His feelings are disguised by affectation, and obscured by conceit. His declarations of passion are embarrassed by wit and fancy; and his style is not intelligible, in proportion as it is careless and unadorned. His compliments, like the modes of behaviour in that age, are ceremonious and strained. He has too much art as a lover, and too little as a poet. His gallantries are laboured, and his versification negligent. The truth is, his genius was of the moral and didactic species: and his poems abound more in good sense, satire, and observations on life, than in pathos or imagination. Yet there is a degree of lyric sweetness in the following lines to his lute‡, in which, *The lover complaineth the unkindness of his love.*

[d] Fol. 44.

[e] NÆNIÆ *in Mortem T. Viati*, Lond. 1542. 4to. See also Leland's Encom. p. 358.

* [The following epitaph from Leland, as it is short and the book very scarce, may here be appended:

Urna tenet cineres ter magni parva *Viati*;
Fama per immensas sed volat alta plagas. PARK.]

† [Mr. Headley, a very able critic, was of opinion that sir T. Wyat deserves equally of posterity with Surrey, for the diligence with which he cultivated polite letters, although in his verses he seems to have wanted the judgement of his friend, who in imitating Petrarch resisted the contagion of his sweets.—PARK.]

‡ [This harmonious and elegant poem, in one of the Harrington MSS. dated 1564, is ascribed to viscount Rochford, for an ac-

My Lute awake, performe the last
Labour, that thou and I shall wast;
And end that I have now begonne:
And when this song is sung and past,
My lute be still, for I have done.

As to be heard where care is none,
As leade to grave in marble stone;
My song may pearse her hart as sone.
Should we then sigh, or sing, or mone?
No, no, my lute, for I have done.

The rockes do not so cruelly
Repulse the waves continually,
As she my sute and affection:
So that I am past remedy.
Whereby[f] my lute and I have done.

Proude of the spoile that thou has gotte
Of simple hartes, through Loves shot,
By whom unkind! thou hast them wonne;
Thinke not he hath his bow forgot,
Although my lute and I have done.

Vengeance shall fall on thy disdaine,
That makest but game on earnest paine:
Thinke not alone under the sunne
Unquit[g] to cause thy lovers plaine:
Although my lute and I have done.

May chaunce thee[h] lie withered and olde
In winter nightes that are so colde,
Plaining in vaine unto the mone[i]:
Thy wishes then dare not be tolde:
Care then who list, for I have done.

And then may chaunce thee to repent
The time that thou hast lost and spent,
To cause thy lovers sigh and swowne;
Then shalt thou know beautie but lent,
And wish and want as I have done.

Now cease my lute, this is the last
Labour, that thou and I shall wast;
And ended is that that we begonne.
Now is this song both sung and past,
My lute be still, for I have done.[k]

count of whom, see the following section. Mr. Ashby remarks that it is almost a translation from Horace. Dr. Nott conceives it does not belong to lord Rochford, but to sir Thomas Wyatt. See his edition of Surrey, &c.—PARK.]

[f] wherefore.
[g] unacquitted, free.
[h] It may chance you may, &c.
[i] moon.
[k] Fol. 33.

Our author has more imitations, and even translations, from the Italian poets than Surrey; and he seems to have been more fond of their conceits*. Petrarch has described the perplexities of a lover's mind, and his struggles betwixt hope and despair, a subject most fertile of sentimental complaint, by a combination of contrarieties, a species of wit highly relished by the Italians. I am, says he, neither at peace nor war. I burn, and I freeze. I soar to heaven, and yet grovel on the earth. I can hold nothing, and yet grasp every thing. My prison is neither shut, nor is it opened. I see without eyes, and I complain without a voice. I laugh, and I weep. I live, and am dead. Laura, to what a condition am I reduced, by your cruelty!

Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra;
E temo, e spero, ed ardo, e son en un ghiaccio:
E volo sopra 'l cielo, e giaccio in terra:
E nulla stringo, e tutto 'l mondo abraiccio.
Tal m' ha in prigion, che non m' apre nè serra[l];
Nè per suo mi rittien, ne scioglie il laccio;
E non m' uccide Amor, e non mi sferra;
Nì mi vuol vivo, nì mi trae d'impaccio.
Veggio senz' occhi, e non ho lingua, e grido;
E bramo di perir, e cheggio aita;
Ed ho in odio me stesso, ed amo altrui:
Pascomi di dolor, piangendo rido.
Egualmente mi spiace morte, e vita:
In questo stato son, Donna, per vui.[m]

* [These conceits found a later imitator in Cowley.—ASHBY.]

[l] This passage is taken from Messen Jordi, a Provencial poet of Valencia.

[Mossen, not Messen, Jorge de Sant Jorde (not a Provencial but a Limosin poet, whether of Valencia or Catalonia does not appear), was posterior to Petrarch by almost a couple of centuries. See Sarmiento, § 365. 503. RITSON. MS. note. I am pretty well satisfied, he adds, that no such person as Mess*en* Jordi ever existed, Obs. p. 30. By the late masterly poet and elegant scholar, Thomas Russell, fellow of New Coll. Oxon. the self-satisfaction here expressed by Ritson was left on a shallow basis. That Mossen (*Anglicè* m?) Jordi had more than a poetical existence, is fully ascertained by Velasquez in his "Origines de la Poesia Castellana," 1754: the German translator of which work, in 1769, tells us, that "Jordi signifies George, his family name not being known:" but Gaspar Escolano, in Historia deValencia, identifies him by saying, "that he composed sonnets, &c. in the Valencian Lemosine language with great applause, and that Petrarch had taken much from him." Mr. Russell further observed, that Beuter in his Chronicle was the first who asserted that Jordi lived as early as the year 1250, and that he was imitated by Petrarch in the passage cited in the text: while the marquis de Santillana, who died in 1458, countenanced a different hypothesis, by making Jorden contemporary with himself, according to Sarmiento in his "Memorias para la Poesia:" and if this authority be allowed, Jordi must have imitated Petrarch instead of being copied by him. But in either case the existence of Mossen Jordi is equally proved; as also the resemblance of the passages, whichever of the two we suppose to have been the original. Camoens also took the hint of a similar epigrammatic sonnet, which is appended to Mr. Russell's able vindication of our poetical historian in the Gent. Mag. for Dec. 1782.—PARK.]

[m] Sonn. ciii. There is a Sonnet in imitation of this, among those of the Uncertain Auctours at the end of Surrey's Poems, fol. 107. And in Davison's Poems, B. ii. Canzon. viii. p. 108. 4th edit. Lond. 1621. 12mo.

Wyat has thus copied this sonnet of epigrams.

I finde no peace, and all my warre is done:
I feare and hope, I burne and frese likewyse:
I flye aloft, yet can I not aryse;
And nought I have, yet all the world I season;
That lockes[n] nor loseth, [nor] holdeth me in prison.
And holdes me not, yet can I scape no wise;
Nor lettes me live, nor dye, at my devise,
And yet of death it giveth me occasion.
Without eye I se, without tong I playne:
I wish to perish, yet I aske for helth;
I love another, and I hate myselfe;
I fede me in sorow, and laugh in all my paine.
Lo thus displeaseth me both death and life,
And my delight is causer of this strife.[o]

It was from the capricious and over-strained invention of the Italian poets, that Wyat was taught to torture the passion of love by prolix and intricate comparisons, and unnatural allusions. At one time his love is a galley steered by cruelty through stormy seas and dangerous rocks; the sails torn by the blast of tempestuous sighs, and the cordage consumed by incessant showers of tears: a cloud of grief envelops the stars, reason is drowned, and the haven is at a distance[p]. At another[q], it is a spring trickling from the summit of the Alps, which gathering force in its fall, at length overflows all the plain beneath[r]. Sometimes it is a gun, which being overcharged, expands the flame within itself, and bursts in pieces[s]. Sometimes it is like a prodigious mountain, which is perpetually weeping in copious fountains, and sending forth sighs from its forests; which bears more leaves than fruits; which breeds wild-beasts, the proper emblems of rage, and harbours birds that are always singing[t]. In another of his sonnets, he says, that all nature sympa-

[n] That which locks, i. e. a key.

[o] Fol. 21, 22.

[This Sonnet will be found with some variations in Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. i. edit. 1769. Davison at a little later period thus turned the same sonnet in his Poetical Rhapsody, first printed in 1602. edit. 1621. p. 108.

I joy not peace, where yet no war is found,
I fear and hope, I burn yet freeze withall,
I mount to heaven, yet lye I stil on the ground,
I nothing hold, yet I compasse all.
I live her bond, which neither is my foe.
Nor friend, nor holds me fast, nor lets me goe.
Love will not let me live, nor let me dye,
Nor locks me fast, nor suffers me to scape,
I want both eyes and tongue, yet ere I cry,
I wish for death, yet after helpe I gape.
I hate myself, yet love another wight,
And feed on greefe, in lieu of sweete delight.
At the selfe time I both lament and joy,
I stil am pleas'd and yet displeased still;
Love sometimes seemes a god, sometimes a boy,
Sometimes I sinke, sometimes I swim at will;
Twixt death and life small difference I make,
All this (deere dame) endure I for your sake.

[p] Fol. 22. [q] Fol. 25.
[r] Fol. 25. [s] Fol. 29.
[t] Fol. 36.

thises with his passion. The woods resound his elegies, the rivers stop their course to hear him complain, and the grass weeps in dew. These thoughts are common and fantastic. But he adds an image which is new, and has much nature and sentiment, although not well expressed.

> The hugy okes have rored in the winde,
> Eche thing, methought, complayning in theyr kinde.

This is a touch of the pensive. And the apostrophe which follows is natural and simple.

> O stony hart, who hath thus framed thee
> So cruel, that art cloked with beauty![t]

And there is much strength in these lines of the lover to his bed.

> The place of slepe, wherein I do but wake,
> Besprent with teares, my bed, I thee forsake![u]

But such passages as these are not the general characteristics of Wyat's poetry. They strike us but seldom, amidst an impracticable mass of forced reflections, hyperbolical metaphors, and complaints that move no compassion.

But Wyat appears a much more pleasing writer, when he moralises on the felicities of retirement, and attacks the vanities and vices of a court, with the honest indignation of an independent philosopher, and the freedom and pleasantry of Horace. Three of his poetical epistles are professedly written in this strain, two to John Poines[v], and the other to sir Francis Bryan: and we must regret, that he has not left more pieces in a style of composition for which he seems to have been eminently qualified. In one of the epistles to Poines on the life of a courtier, are these spirited and manly reflections.

> Myne owne John Poins, since ye delite to know
> The causes why that homeward I me draw,
> And flee the prease[w] of courtes, where so they go[x];
> Rather than to live thrall under the awe
> Of lordly lokes, wrapped within my cloke;
> To will and lust learning to set a law:
> It is not that, because I scorne or mocke
> The power of them, whom Fortune here hath lent
> Charge over us, of Right[y] to strike the stroke:
> But true it is, that I have always ment

[t] Fol. 24.
[u] Fol. 25.
[v] He seems to have been a person about the court. See Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 46.
[w] press, crowd.
[x] The court was perpetually moving from one palace to another.
[y] justice.

Lesse to esteme them, (than the common sort)
Of outward thinges that judge, in their entent,
Without regarde what inward doth resort.
I graunt sometime of glory that the fire
Doth touch my heart. Me list not to report[z]
Blame by honour, nor honour to desire.
But how may I this honour now attaine,
That cannot dye the colour blacke a liar?
My Poins, I cannot frame my tune[a] to fain,
To cloke the truth, &c.

In pursuit of this argument, he declares his indisposition and inability to disguise the truth, and to flatter, by a variety of instances. Among others, he protests he cannot prefer Chaucer's TALE of SIR THOPAS to his PALAMON AND ARCITE.

Praise SIR TOPAS for a noble tale,
And scorne the STORY that the KNIGHT tolde;
Praise him for counsell that is dronke of ale:
Grinne when he laughes, that beareth all the sway;
Frowne when he frownes, and grone when he is pale:
On others lust to hang both night and day, &c.

I mention this circumstance about Chaucer, to show the esteem in which the KNIGHT'S TALE, that noble epic poem of the dark ages, was held in the reign of Henry the Eighth, by men of taste.

The poet's execration of flatterers and courtiers is contrasted with the following entertaining picture of his own private life and rural enjoyments at Allingham-castle in Kent.

This is the cause that I could never yet
Hang on their sleeves, that weigh, as thou maist se,
A chippe of chance more than a pounde of wit:
This maketh me at home to hunt and hawke,
And in foule wether at my booke to sit;
In frost and snow then with my bow to stalke;
No man doth marke whereso I ride or go:
In lusty leas[b] at libertie I walke:
And of these newes I fele nor weale nor woe:

[z] to speak favourably of what is bad.

[a] perhaps the reading is *tongue*.

[b] In large fields, over fruitful grounds. [Rather "in pleasant meads," says Ritson. But this emendation is disputed by a writer in the Gent. Mag. for Dec. 1782, p. 574, who cites the following passage from Shakspeare, to evince that leas and meads were distinct.

Thy rich *leas*
Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats and pease;
Thy turfy mountains, where live nibbling sheep,
And flat meads thatch'd with stover, &c.
Tempest, Act 4.—PARK.]

Save that a clogge doth hang yet at my heele[c];
No force for that, for it is ordred so,
That I may leape both hedge and dyke ful wele.
I am not now in Fraunce, to judge the wyne, &c.
But I am here in Kent and Christendome,
Among the Muses, where I reade and ryme;
Where if thou list, mine owne John Poins, to come,
Thou shalt be judge how do I spende my time.[d]

In another epistle to John Poines, on the security and happiness of a moderate fortune, he versifies the fable of the City and Country Mouse with much humour.

My mother's maides, when they do sowe and spinne,
They sing a song made of the feldishe mouse, &c.

This fable appositely suggests a train of sensible and pointed observations on the weakness of human conduct, and the delusive plans of life.

Alas, my Poins, how men do seke the best,
And finde the worse by errour as they stray:
And no marvell, when sight is so opprest,
And blindes the guyde: anone out of the way
Goeth guyde and all, in seking quiet lyfe.
O wretched mindes! There is no golde that may
Graunt that you seke: no warre, no peace, no strife:
No, no, although thy head were hoopt with golde:
Sergeaunt with mace*, with hawbart[e], sword, nor knife,
Cannot repulse the care that folow should.
Ech kinde of lyfe hath with him his disease:
Live in delites, even as thy lust would,
And thou shalt finde, when lust doth most thee please,
It irketh straght, and by itselfe doth fade.
A small thing is it, that may thy minde appease?
None of you al there is that is so madde,
To seke for grapes on brambles or on breeres[g];
Nor none, I trow, that hath a witte so badde,
To set his haye for coneyes over rivères.
Nor ye set not a dragge net for a hare:
And yet the thing that most is your desire
You do misseke, with more travell and care.

* Probably he alludes to some office which he still held at court; and which sometimes recalled him, but not too frequently, from the country.

[d] Fol. 47.

* [From Horace; Submovet lictor.—Ashby.]

[e] halbert. A parade of guards, &c. The classical allusion is obvious.

[g] So read, instead of *bryars*.

Make plaine thine hart, that it be not knotted
With hope or dreade: and see thy will be bare[h]
From all affectes[i], whom vyce hath never spotted.
Thyselfe content with that is thee assinde[k];
And use it wel that is to the alotted.
Then seke no more out of thyself to fynde*,
The thing that thou hast sought so long before,
For thou shalt feele it sticking in thy mynde.——

These Platonic doctrines are closed with a beautiful application of Virtue personified, and introduced in her irresistible charms of visible beauty. For those who deviate into vain and vicious pursuits,

None other payne pray I for them to be,
But when the rage doth leade them from the right,
That, loking backward, VERTUE they may se†
Even as she is, so goodly fayre and bright![l]

With these disinterested strains we may join the following single stanza, called THE COURTIER'S LIFE.

In court to serve, decked with freshe aray,
Of sugred[m] meates feeling the swete repaste;
The life in bankets, and sundry kindes of play,
Amid the presse of worldly lookes to waste:
Hath with it joynde oft times such bitter taste,
That whoso joyes such kind of life to hold,
In prison joyes, fettred with chaines of gold[n].

Wyat may justly be deemed the first polished English satirist. I am of opinion, that he mistook his talents when, in compliance with the mode, he became a sonnetteer; and, if we may judge from a few instances, that he was likely to have treated any other subject with more success than that of love. His abilities were seduced and misapplied in fabricating fine speeches to an obdurate mistress. In the following little ode, or rather epigram, on a very different occasion, there is great simplicity and propriety, together with a strain of poetic allusion. It is on his return from Spain into England.

Tagus, farewell, that westward with thy stremes
Turnes up the graines of gold already triede[o]!
For I with spurre and sayle go seke the Temes[p],
Gaineward the sunne that shewes her welthy pride:

[h] free.
[i] passions.
[k] assigned.
* [Nec te quæsiveris extra.—ASHBY.]
† [Virtutem videant, intabescantque relictâ, Pers. Sat. 3. If Surrey copies but little, Wyat doth plentifully.—ASHBY.]
[l] Fol. 15, 16.
[m] delicious.
[n] Fol. 44.
[o] pure gold.
[p] the Thames.

And to the town that Brutus sought by dreames[q],
Like bended moone[r] that leanes her lusty[s] side;
My king, my countrey I seke, for whom I live:
O mighty Jove, the wyndes for this me give![t]

Among Wyat's poems is an unfinished translation, in Alexandrine verse, of the Song of Iopas in the first book of Virgil's Eneid[u]. Wyat's and Surrey's versions from Virgil are the first regular translations in English of an ancient classic poet; and they are symptoms of the restoration of the study of the Roman writers, and of the revival of elegant literature. A version of David's Pslams by Wyat is highly extolled by lord Surrey and Leland. But Wyat's version of the PENITENTIAL PSALMS seems to be a separate work from his translation of the whole Psaltery, and probably that which is praised by Surrey, in an ode above quoted, and entitled, *Praise of certain Psalmes of David, translated by Sir T. Wyat the elder*[w]. They were printed with this title, in 1549. "Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David commonly called the vij penytentiall Psalmes, drawen into Englyshe meter by Sir Thomas Wyat knyght, whereunto is added a prologe of the auctore before every Psalme very pleasant and profettable to the godly reader. Imprinted at London in Paules Churchyarde at the sygne of thee starre by Thomas Raynald and John Harryngton, cum previlegio ad imprimendum solum, MDXLIX." Leland seems to speak of the larger version.

Transtulit in nostram Davidis carmina linguam,
Et numeros magna reddidit arte pares.
Non morietur OPUS tersum, SPECTABILE, sacrum[x].

But this version, with that of Surrey mentioned above, is now lost[y]; and the pious Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins are the only immortal translators of David's Psalms.

A similarity, or rather sameness of studies, as it is a proof, so perhaps it was the chief cement, of that inviolable friendship which is said to have subsisted between Wyat and Surrey. The principal subject of their poetry was the same: and they both treated the passion of love in the spirit of the Italian poets, and as professed disciples of Petrarch.

[q] a tradition in Geoffrey of Monmouth.

[r] The old city from the river appeared in the shape of a crescent.

[s] strong, flourishing, populous, &c.

[t] Fol. 44. [u] Fol. 49.

[w] Fol. 16. (See supr. p. 34.) [These Psalms were reprinted by bishop Percy with his ill-fated impression of lord Surrey's poems, which perished in the warehouse of Mr. John Nicholls, 1808. To William Marquis of Northampton, &c. &c. they were inscribed by John Harrington (the father probably of Sir John H.), who determined to print them, "that the noble fame of so worthy a knight as was the author hereof, Sir Thomas Wyat, should not perish, but remayne." Before each psalm is inserted an explanatory "Prologe of the Auctor," in eight-line stanzas: the translation is throughout in alternate verse.—PARK.]

[x] Næn. ut supr.

[y] See Hollinsh. Chron. iii. p. 978. col. 2. [Dr. Nott is of opinion that Wyat translated no more of the Psalter than the Penitential Psalms.—PRICE.]

They were alike devoted to the melioration of their native tongue, and an attainment of the elegancies of composition. They were both engaged in translating Virgil*, and in rendering select portions of Scripture into English metre.

SECTION XXXIX.

The first printed Miscellany of English Poetry. Its Contributors. Sir Francis Bryan, Lord Rochford, and Lord Vaulx. The First True Pastoral in English. Sonnet-writing cultivated by the Nobility. Sonnets by King Henry the Eighth. Literary Character of that king.

To the poems of Surrey and Wyat are annexed, as I have before hinted, in Tottell's editions, those of "Uncertain Authors[a]." This latter collection forms the first printed poetical miscellany in the English language; although very early manuscript miscellanies of that kind are not uncommon. Many of these pieces are much in the manner of Surrey and Wyat, which was the fashion of the times. They are all anonymous; but probably, sir Francis Bryan, George Boleyn earl of Rochford, and lord Vaulx, all professed rhymers and sonnet-writers, were large contributors†.

Drayton, in his elegy [epistle] *To his dearly loved friend* HENRY REYNOLDS OF POETS AND POESIE, seems to have blended all the several collections of which Tottell's volume consists. After Chaucer he says,

> They with the Muses who conversed, were
> That princely SURREY, early in the time
> Of the eighth Henry, who was then the prime
> Of England's noble youth. With him there came
> WYAT, with reverence whom we still do name
> Amongst our poets: BRYAN had a share
> With the two former, which accounted are
> That time's best Makers, and the authors were
> Of those small poems which the title bear

* [There seems no reason for inferring with Dr. Nott, that Warton intended by this expression a larger portion of Virgil than the Song of Iopas mentioned above. —PRICE.]

[a] They begin at fol. 50.

† [Churchyard must also be added to this list of contributors on the following averment:—"Many things in the booke of *Songs and Sonets* printed then (in queen Mary's time) were of my making." See notices of his works prefixed to his "Challenge, 1593." Heywood and Harrington likewise have dormant claims to the honourable distinction of coadjutorship. Vid. infra, p. 56. and Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. i. p. 95. and ii. 256. ed. 1775.—PARK.]

Of *Songes* and *Sonnetts*, wherein oft they hit
On many dainty passages of wit[b].

Sir Francis Bryan was the friend of Wyat, as we have seen; and served as a commander under Thomas earl of Surrey in an expedition into Brittany; by whom he was knighted for his bravery[c]. Hence he probably became connected with lord Surrey the poet. But Bryan was one of the brilliant ornaments of the court of king Henry the Eighth, which at least affected to be polite: and from his popular accomplishments as a wit and a poet, he was made a gentleman of the privy-chamber to that monarch, who loved to be entertained by his domestics[d]. Yet he enjoyed much more important appointments in that reign, and in the first year of Edward the Sixth; and died chief justiciary of Ireland, at Waterford, in the year 1548[e]. On the principle of an unbiassed attachment to the king, he wrote epistles on Henry's divorce, never published; and translated into English from the French, Antonio de Guevara's Spanish Dissertation on the life of a courtier, printed at London in the year last mentioned[f]. He was nephew to John Bourchier, lord Berners, the translator of Froissart; who, at his desire, translated at Calais from French into English, the GOLDEN BOKE, or Life of Marcus Aurelius, about 1533[g]. Which are Bryan's pieces I cannot ascertain.

George Boleyn, viscount Rochford, was son of Sir Thomas Boleyn, afterwards earl of Wiltshire and Ormond; and at Oxford discovered an early propensity to polite letters and poetry. He was appointed to several dignities and offices by king Henry the Eighth, and subscribed the famous declaration sent to Pope Clement the Seventh. He was brother to queen Anne Boleyn, with whom he was suspected of a criminal familiarity. The chief accusation against him seems to have been, that he was seen to whisper with the queen one morning while she was in bed. As he had been raised by the exaltation, he was involved in the misfortunes of that injured princess, who had no other fault but an unguarded and indiscreet frankness of nature; and whose character has been blackened by the bigoted historians of the catholic cause, merely because she was the mother of queen Elizabeth. To gratify the ostensible jealousy of the king, who had conceived a violent passion for a new object, this amiable nobleman was beheaded on the first of May, in 1536[h]. His elegance of person, and spritely conversation, captivated all the ladies of Henry's court. Wood says, that at the "royal court he was much *adored*, especially by the *female sex*, for his *admirable* discourse, and *symmetry* of body[i]." From these irresistible allurements his

[b] Works, vol. iv. p. 1255. edit. Lond. 1750. 8vo.

[c] Dugd. Bar. ii. 273 a.

[d] Rymer, Fœd. xiv. 380.

[e] Hollinsh. Chron. i. 61. And ibid. Hooker's Contin. tom. ii. P. ii. pag. 110. See also Fox, Martyr. p. 991.

[f] Cod. Impress. A. Wood, Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. [Printed again in 1575, small 8vo. —PARK.]

[g] See the Colophon. It was printed by Thomas Berthelett, in 1536, quarto. Often afterwards. Lord Berners was deputy-general of Calais, and its marches.

[h] See Dugd. Baron. iii. p. 306 a.

[i] Ath. Oxon. i. 44.

enemies endeavoured to give a plausibility to their infamous charge of an incestuous connection. After his commitment to the Tower, his sister the queen, on being sent to the same place, asked the lieutenant, with a degree of eagerness, "Oh! where is my sweet brother[k]?" Here was a specious confirmation of his imagined guilt: this stroke of natural tenderness was too readily interpreted into a licentious attachment. Bale mentions his RHYTHMI ELEGANTISSIMI[l], which Wood calls "Songs and Sonnets, with other things of the like nature[m]." These are now lost, unless some, as I have now insinuated, are contained in the present collection; a garland, in which it appears to have been the fashion for every FLOWERY COURTIER to leave some of his blossoms. But Boleyn's poems cannot now be distinguished*.

The lord Vaulx, whom I have supposed, and on surer proof, to be another contributor to this miscellany, could not be the Nicholas lord Vaux, whose gown of purple velvet, plated with gold, eclipsed all the company present at the marriage of prince Arthur; who shines as a statesman and a soldier with uncommon lustre in the history of Henry the Seventh, and continued to adorn the earlier annals of his successor, and who died in the year 1523. Lord Vaux the poet was probably Thomas lord Vaux, the son of Nicholas, and who was summoned to parliament in 1531, and seems to have lived till the latter end of the reign of queen Mary[n]. All our old writers mention the poetical lord Vaux, as rather posterior to Wyat and Surrey; neither of whom was known as a writer till many years after the death of lord Nicholas. George Gascoyne [Thomas Churchyard], who wrote in 1575 [1568], in his panegyric on the ENGLISH POETS, places Vaux after Surrey.

Piers Plowman was full plaine.
And Chauser's spreet was great;
Earle Surrey had a goodly vayne,
LORD VAUX the marke did beat†.

Puttenham, author of the ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, having spoken of Surrey and Wyat, immediately adds, "In the SAME TIME, or NOT LONG AFTER, was the lord Nicholas[o] Vaux, a man of much facilitie in

[k] Strype, Mem. i. p. 280.
[l] ii. 103. [m] Ubi supr.

* [One of these has been pointed out at p. 42. and his name was thus united with other known contributors in 1575.

Chaucer by writing purchast fame,
And Gower got a woorthie name:
Sweet Surrey suckt Pernassus springs,
And Wiat wrote of wondrous things:
Old ROCHFORT clombe the statelie throne
Which Muses hold in Helicone.
Then thither let good Gascoigne go,
For sure his verse deserveth so.

See Richard Smith's verses, in commendation of Gascoigne's Posies.—PARK.]

[n] See what I have said of his son lord William, in the Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 221. In 1558, sir Thomas Pope leaves him a legacy of one hundred pounds, by the name of lord Vaulx. [Warton's conjecture is now generally admitted to be correct.—PRICE.]

† [Prefixed to Skelton's Poems, printed by Marsh, 1568.—PARK.]

[o] The christian name is a mistake, into which it was easy to fall.

vulgar makings[p]." Webbe, in his DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETRIE, published in 1586, has a similar arrangement. Great numbers of Vaux's poems are extant in the PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVISES; and, instead of the rudeness of Skelton, they have a smoothness and facility of manner, which does not belong to poetry written before the year 1523, in which lord Nicholas Vaux died an old man[q]. The PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVISES was published in 1576, and he is there simply styled *Lord Vaulx the elder:* this was to distinguish him from his son lord William, then living. If lord Nicholas was a writer of poetry, I will venture to assert, that none of his performances now remain; notwithstanding the testimony of Wood, who says that Nicholas "in his juvenile years was sent to Oxon, where by reading humane and romantic, rather than philosophical authors, he advanced his genius very much in poetry and history[r]." This may be true of his son Thomas, whom I suppose to be the poet. But such was the celebrity of lord Nicholas's public and political character, that he has been made to monopolise every merit which was the property of his successors. All these difficulties, however, are at once adjusted by a manuscript in the British Museum, in which we have a copy of Vaux's poem, beginning *I lothe that I did love*, with this title: "A dyttye or sonet made by the lord Vaus, in the time of the noble quene Marye, representing the image of death[s]." This sonnet, or rather ode, entitled, *The aged lover renounceth love*, which was more remembered for its morality than its poetry, and which is idly conjectured* to have been written on his death-bed[t], makes a part of the collection which I am now examining[u]. From this ditty are taken three of the stanzas, yet greatly disguised and corrupted, of the Grave-digger's Song in Shakspeare's HAMLET[w]. Another of lord Vaux's poems in the volume before us, is the ASSAULT OF CUPIDE UPON THE FORT IN WHICH THE LOVER'S HEART LAY WOUNDED[x]. These two are the only pieces in our collection, of which there is undoubted evidence, although no name is prefixed to either, that they were written by lord Vaux. From palpable coincidences of style, subject, and other circumstances, a slender share of critical sagacity is sufficient to point out many others.

These three writers were cotemporaries with Surrey and Wyat; but the subjects of some of the pieces will go far in ascertaining the date of the collection in general. There is one on the death of sir Thomas Wyat the elder, who died, as I have remarked, in 1541[y]. Another on the death of lord chancellor Audley, who died in 1544[z]. Another on

[p] Fol. 48. ["vulgar makings" seem to imply vernacular poems.—PARK.]

[q] See Percy's Ball. ii. 49. edit. 1775.

[r] Ath. Oxon. i. 19.

[s] MSS. Harl. 1703. [fol. 100.]

* [Yet Mr. Warton does not regard a similar supposition as idle when applied to the Soul-knell of Edwards. Vid. post-ea, Sect. LII.—PARK.]

[t] G. Gascoyne says, "The L. Vaux his dittie, beginning thus, *I loath*, was thought by some to be made upon his death-bed," &c. Epistle to the Young Gentlemen, prefixed to his Poems.

[u] Fol. 72.

[w] Act v.

[x] Fol. 71.

[y] Fol. 89.

[z] Fol. 69.

the death of *master* Devereux, a son of lord Ferrers, who is said to have been a *Cato for his counsel*[a]; and who is probably Richard Devereux, buried in Berkyng church[b], the son of Walter lord Ferrers, a distinguished statesman and general under Henry the Eighth[c]. Another on the death of a lady Wentworth[d]. Another on the death of sir Antony Denny, the only person of the court who dared to inform king Henry the Eighth of his approaching dissolution, and who died in 1551[e]. Another on the death of Phillips, an eminent musician, and without his rival on the lute[f]. Another on the death of a countess of Pembroke, who is celebrated for her learning, *and her perfect virtues linked as in a chaine*[g]: probably Anne, who was buried magnificently at saint Paul's, in 1551, the first lady of sir William Herbert the first earl of Pembroke, and sister to Catharine Parr, the sixth queen of Henry the Eighth[h]. Another on *master* Henry Williams, son of sir John Williams, afterwards lord Thame, and a great favourite of Henry the Eighth[i]. On the death of sir James Wilford, an officer in Henry's wars, we have here an elegy[k], with some verses on his picture[l]. Here is also a poem on a treasonable conspiracy, which is compared to the stratagem of Sinon, and which threatened immediate extermination to the British constitution, but was speedily discovered[m]. I have not the courage to explore the formidable columns of the circumstantial Hollinshed for this occult piece of history, which I leave to the curiosity and conjectures of some more laborious investigator. It is certain that none of these pieces are later than the year 1557, as they were published in that year by Richard Tottell the printer. We may venture to say, that almost all of them were written between the years 1530 and 1550[n]; most of them perhaps within the first part of that period.

[a] Fol. 51.

[b] Stowe, Survey of London, p. 131. fol. ed.

[c] Who died in 1558. See Dugd. Bar. ii. 177.

[d] Fol. 73. Margaret. See Dugd. Bar. ii. 310.

[e] Fol. 78. There is Sir John Cheek's EPITAPHIUM *in Anton. Denncium.* Lond. 1551. 4to.

[f] Fol. 71. One Phillips is mentioned among the famous English musicians, in Meres's Wit's Tresurie, 1598. fol. 288. I cannot ascertain who this Phillips a musician was. But one Robert Phillips, or Phelipp, occurs among the gentlemen of the royal chapel under Edward the Sixth and queen Mary. He was also one of the singing-men of saint George's chapel at Windsor: and Fox says, "he was so *notable* a singing-man, wherein he *gloried*, that wheresoever he came, the longest song with most *counterverses* in it should be set up against him." Fox adds, that while he was singing on one side of the choir of Windsor chapel, *O Redemptrix et Salvatrix*, he was answered by one Testwood a singer on the other side, *Non Redemptrix nec Salvatrix.* For this irreverence, and a few other slight heresies, Testwood was burnt at Windsor. Acts and Monum. vol. ii. p. 543, 544. I must add, that sir Thomas Phelyppis, or Philips, is mentioned as a musician before the reformation. Hawkins, Hist. Mus. ii. 533.

[g] Fol. 85.

[h] Strype, Mem. ii. p. 317.

[i] Fol. 99. See Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 232.

[k] Fol. 36. [l] Fol. 62.

[m] Fol. 91, 95.

[n] There is an epitaph by W. G. made on himself, with an answer, fol. 98, 99. I cannot explain those initials. At fol. 111. a lady, called Arundel, is highly celebrated for her incomparable beauty and accomplishments; perhaps of lord Arundel's family.

Thus ARUNDELL sits throned still with Fame, &c.

The following nameless stanzas* have that elegance which results from simplicity. The compliments are such as would not disgrace the gallantry or the poetry of a polished age. The thoughts support themselves, without the aid of expression and the affectations of language. This is a negligence, but it is a negligence produced by art. Here is an effect obtained, which it would be vain to seek from the studied ornaments of style.

Give place, ye ladies, and be gone.
Boast not yourselves at all:
For here at hand approcheth one
Whose face will staine you all.
The vertue of her lively lokes
Excels the precious stone:
I wish to have none other bokes
To reade or loke upon.
In eche of her two christall eyes
Smyleth a naked boye:
It would you all in hart suffise
To see that lampe of joye.
I thinke Nature hath lost the moulde[o]
Where she her shape did take;
Or els I doubt if Nature could
So faire a creature make.——
In life she is Diana chaste,
In truth Penelopey;
In word and eke in dede stedfast.
What will you more we sey?
If all the world were sought so farre,
Who could finde such a wight?
Her beuty twinkleth like a starre
Within the frosty night.
Her rosial colour comes and goes
With such a comly grace,
(More redier too than is the rose)
Within her lively face.
At Bacchus feaste none shall her mete,
Ne at no wanton play,
Nor gasing in an open strete,
Nor gadding as a stray.
The modest mirth that she doth use
Is mixt with shamefastnesse;

* [These stanzas may now be assigned to John Heywood, the epigrammatist, on the potent authority of Harl. MS. 1703. where the writer's own name is introduced with some additional stanzas. See Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 83. ed. 1806. PARK.]

[o] See this thought in Surrey, supr. citat. p. 303.

All vice she doth wholly refuse,
And hateth ydlenesse.
O Lord, it is a world to see
How vertue can repaire
And decke in her such honestie,
Whom nature made so faire!——
How might I do to get a graffe
Of this unspotted tree?
For all the rest are plaine but chaffe,
Which seme good corn to be.[p]——

Of the same sort is the following stanza on Beauty.

Then BEAUTY stept before the barre,
Whose brest and neck was bare;
With haire trust up, and on her head
A caule of golde she ware.[q]

We are to recollect, that these compliments were penned at a time when the graces of conversation between the sexes were unknown, and the dialogue of courtship was indelicate; when the monarch of England, in a style which the meanest gentleman would now be ashamed to use, pleaded the warmth of his affection, by drawing a coarse allusion from a present of venison, which he calls flesh, in a love-letter to his future queen Anne Boleyn, a lady of distinguished breeding, beauty, and modesty[r].

In lord Vaux's ASSAULT OF CUPIDE, above-mentioned, these are the most remarkable stanzas.

When Cupide scaled first the fort,
Wherein my hart lay wounded sore;
The battry was of such a sort,
That I must yelde, or die therfore.
There sawe I Love upon the wall
How he his baner did display;
Alarme, Alarme, he gan to call,
And bad his souldiours kepe aray.
The armes the which that Cupid bare,
Were pearced hartes, with teares bespreut.—
And even with the trumpettes sowne
The scaling ladders were up set;
And BEAUTY walked up and downe,
With bow in hand, and arrowes whet.
Then first DESIRE began to scale,
And shrouded him under his targe, &c.[s]

[p] Fol. 67.
[q] Fol. 84.
[r] See Hearne's Avesbury, App. p. 354.
[s] Fol. 71, 72.

Puttenham speaks more highly of the contrivance of the allegory of this piece than I can allow. "In this figure [counterfait action] the lord Nicholas[t] Vaux, a noble gentleman, and much delighted in vulgar making[u], and a man otherwise of no great learning, but having herein a marvelous facillitie, made a dittie representing the Battayle and Assault of Cupide so excellently well, as for the gallant and propre aplication of his fiction in every part, I cannot choose but set downe the greatest part of his ditty, for in truth it cannot be amended; *When Cupid scaled, &c.*[w]" And in another part of the same book:—"The lord Vaux his commendation lyeth chiefly in the facilitie of his meetre, and the aptnesse of his descriptions, such as he taketh upon him to make, namely in sundry of his songes, wherein he sheweth the COUNTERFAIT ACTION very lively and pleasantly[x]." By *counterfait action* the critic means fictitious action, the action of imaginary beings expressive of fact and reality. There is more poetry in some of the old pageants described by Hollinshed, than in this allegory of Cupid. Vaux seems to have had his eye on Dunbar's GOLDEN TERGE[y].

In the following little ode, much pretty description and imagination is built on the circumstance of a lady being named Bayes. So much good poetry could hardly be expected from a pun.

In Bayes I boast, whose braunch I beare:
Such joye therin I finde,
That to the death I shall it weare,
To ease my carefull minde.
In heat, in cold, both night and day,
Her vertue may be sene;
When other frutes and flowers decay,
The Bay yet growes full grene.
Her berries feede the birdes ful oft,
Her leves swete water make;
Her bowes be set in every loft,
For their swete savour's sake.
The birdes do shrowd them from the cold
In her we dayly see:
And men make arbers as they wold,
Under the pleasant tree.[z]——

From the same collection, the following is perhaps the first example in our language now remaining, of the pure and unmixed pastoral: and in the erotic species, for ease of numbers, elegance of rural allusion, and simplicity of imagery, excels every thing of the kind in Spenser,

[t] for Thomas.
[u] English poetry.
[w] Pag. 200.
[x] Pag. 51.
[y] See vol. ii. p. 111.
[z] Fol. 109.

who is erroneously ranked as our earliest English bucolic. I therefore hope to be pardoned for the length of the quotation.

Phyllida was a faire mayde,
As fresh as any flowre;
Whom Harpalus the herdman prayde
To be her paramour.
Harpalus and eke Corin
Were herdmen both yfere[a]:
And Phyllida could twist and spinne,
And therto sing full clere.
But Phyllida was all too coy
For Harpalus to winne;
For Corin was her onely joy
Who forst her not a pinne[b].
How often wold she flowres twine?
How often garlandes make
Of couslips and of columbine?
And all for Corin's sake.
But Corin he had haukes to lure,
And forced more the fielde[c];
Of lovers lawe he toke no cure,
For once he was begilde[d].
Harpalus prevayled nought,
His labour all was lost;
For he was fardest from her thought,
And yet he loved her most.
Therefore waxt he both pale and leane,
And drye as clot[e] of clay;
His flesh it was consumed cleane,
His colour gone away.
His beard it had not long be shave,
His heare hong all unkempt[f];
A man fit even for the grave,
Whom spitefull love had spent.
His eyes were red, and all forewatched[g],
His face besprent with teares;
It seemed Unhap had him long hatched
In mids of his dispaires.
His clothes were blacke and also bare,
As one forlorne was he:
Upon his head alwayes he ware
A wreath of wyllow tree.

[a] together.
[b] loved her not in the least.
[c] more engaged in field-sports.
[d] deceived, had once been in love.
[e] clod.
[f] uncombed.
[g] over-watched, that is, his eyes were always awake, never closed by sleep.

His beastes he kept upon the hyll
And he sate in the dale;
And thus with sighes and sorowes shryll
He gan to tell his tale*.
"O Harpalus, thus would he say,
Unhappiest under sunne!
The cause of thine unhappy day
By love was first begunne.
For thou wentst first by sute to seke
A tigre to make tame,
That settes not by thy love a leeke,
But makes thy grief her game.
As easy it were to convert
The frost into the flame,
As for to turne a froward hert
Whom thou so faine wouldst frame.
Corin he liveth carèlesse,
He leapes among the leaves;
He eates the frutes of thy redresse[h];
Thou reapes, he takes the sheaves.
My beastes, awhile your foode refraine,
And harke your herdmans sounde;
Whom spitefull love, alas! hath slaine
Through-girt[i] with many a wounde.
O happy be ye, beastes wilde,
That here your pasture takes!
I se that ye be not begilde
Of these your faithfull makes[k].
The hart he fedeth by the hinde,
The buck harde by the do:
The turtle dove is not unkinde
To him that loves her so.——
But, welaway, that nature wrought
Thee, Phyllida, so faire;
For I may say, that I have bought
Thy beauty all too deare!" &c.[l]

The illustrations, in the two following stanzas, of the restlessness of a lover's mind, deserve to be cited for their simple beauty, and native force of expression.

* [In the scarce poems of David Murray, printed at London in 1611, we find "the Complaint of the shepherd Harpalus" written much on this model. It begins:

Poore Harpalus opprest with love
Sate by a christale brooke;
Thinking his sorrows to remove,
Oft times therein did looke.—PARK.]

[h] labour, pains.
[i] pierced through. So fol. 113. infr.

His entrails with a lance *through-girded* quite.

[k] mates.
[l] Fol. 55.

The owle with feble sight
Lyes lurking in the leaves;
The sparrow in the frosty night
May shroud her in the eaves.
But wo to me, alas!
In sunne, nor yet in shade,
I cannot finde a resting place
My burden to unlade.[m]

Nor can I omit to notice the sentimental and expressive metaphor contained in a single line.

Walking the path of pensive thought.[n]

Perhaps there is more pathos and feeling in the Ode, in which *The Lover in despaire lamenteth his Case*, than in any other piece of the whole collection.

Adieu desert, how art thou spent!
Ah dropping tears, how do ye waste!
Ah scalding sighes, how ye be spent,
To pricke them forth that will not haste!
Ah! pained hart, thou gapst for grace[o],
Even there, where pitie hath no place.
As easy it is the stony rocke
From place to place for to remove,
As by thy plaint for to provoke
A frosen hart from hate to love.
What should I say? Such is thy lot
To fawne on them that force[p] thee not!
Thus mayst thou safely say and sweare,
That rigour raigneth and ruth[q] doth faile,
In thanklesse thoughts thy thoughts do weare:
Thy truth, thy faith, may nought availe
For thy good will: why should thou so
Still graft, where grace it will not grow?
Alas! pore hart, thus hast thou spent
Thy flowryng time, thy pleasant yeres?
With sighing voice wepe and lament,
For of thy hope no frute apperes!
Thy true meanyng is paide with scorne,
That ever soweth and repeth no corne.

[m] Fol. 71. [The turn and texture of these stanzas would appear to be derived from the Gospels of St. Matthew, viii. 20. and St. Luke, ix. 58.—PARK.]

[n] Fol. 87.

[o] favour.

[p] love.

[q] pity.

And where thou sekes a quiet port,
Thou dost but weigh against the winde:
For where thou gladdest woldst resort,
There is no place for thee assinde[r].
The desteny hath set it so,
That thy true hart should cause thy wo.[s]

These reflections, resulting from a retrospect of the vigorous and active part of life, destined for nobler pursuits, and unworthily wasted in the tedious and fruitless anxieties of unsuccessful love, are highly natural, and are painted from the heart: but their force is weakened by the poet's allusions.

This miscellany affords the first pointed English epigram that I remember; and which deserves to be admitted into the modern collections of that popular species of poetry. Sir Thomas More was one of the best jokers of that age; and there is some probability, that this might have fallen from his pen. It is on a scholar, who was pursuing his studies successfully, but in the midst of his literary career, married unfortunately.

A student, at his boke so plast[t],
That welth he might have wonne,
From boke to wife did flete in hast,
From welth to wo to run.

Now, who hath plaid a feater cast,
Since jugling first begonne?
In *knitting* of himself so *fast*,
Himselfe he hath *undonne*.[u]

But the humour does not arise from the circumstances of the character. It is a general joke on an unhappy match.

These two lines are said to have been written by Mary queen of Scots with a diamond on a window in Fotheringay castle, during her imprisonment there, and to have been of her composition:—

From the toppe of all my trust
Mishap hath throwen me in the dust[w].

But they belong to an elegant little ode of ten stanzas in the collection before us, in which a lover complains that he is caught by the snare which he once defied.[x] The unfortunate queen only quoted a distich applicable to her situation, which she remembered in a fashionable set of poems, perhaps the amusement of her youth.

[r] assigned.
[s] Fol. 109.
[t] so pursuing his studies. *Plast*, so spelled for the rhyme, is *placed*.
[u] Fol. 64.
[w] See Ballard's Learn. Lad. p. 161.
[x] Fol. 53.

The ode, which is the comparison of the author's *faithful and painful* passion with that of Troilus[y], is founded on Chaucer's poem, or Boccace's, on the same subject. This was the most favorite love-story of our old poetry, and from its popularity was wrought into a drama by Shakspeare. Troilus's sufferings for Cressida were a common topic for a lover's fidelity and assiduity. Shakspeare, in his MERCHANT OF VENICE, compares a night favorable to the stratagems or the meditation of a lover, to such a night as Troilus might have chosen, for stealing a view of the Grecian camp from the ramparts of Troy.

> And sigh'd his soul towards the Grecian tents
> Where Cressid lay that night[z].——

Among these poems is a short fragment of a translation into Alexandrines of Ovid's epistle from Penelope to Ulysses[a]. This is the first attempt at a metrical translation of any part of Ovid into English, for Caxton's Ovid is a loose paraphrase in prose. Nor were the heroic epistles of Ovid translated into verse till the year 1582*, by George Turberville. It is a proof that the classics were studied, when they began to be translated.

It would be tedious and intricate to trace the particular imitations of the Italian poets, with which these anonymous poems abound. Two of the sonnets[b] are panegyrics on Petrarch and Laura, names at that time familiar to every polite reader, and the patterns of poetry and beauty. The sonnet on *The diverse and contrarie passions of the lover*[c], is formed on one of Petrarch's sonnets, and which, as I have remarked before, was translated by sir Thomas Wyat[d]. So many of the nobility, and principal persons about the court, writing sonnets in the Italian style, is a circumstance which must have greatly contributed to circulate this mode of composition, and to encourage the study of the Italian poets. Beside lord Surrey, sir Thomas Wyat, lord Boleyn, lord Vaux, and sir Francis Bryan, already mentioned, Edmund lord Sheffield, created a baron by king Edward the Sixth, and killed by a butcher in the Norfolk insurrection, is said by Bale to have written sonnets in the Italian manner[e].

I have been informed, that Henry lord Berners translated some of Petrarch's sonnets[f]. But this nobleman otherwise deserved notice here, for his prose works, which co-operated with the romantic genius and the gallantry of the age. He translated, and by the king's command, Froissart's Chronicle, which was printed by Pinson in 1523. Some of his other translations are professed romances. He translated from

[y] Fol. 81. [z] Act v. sc. 1.
[a] Fol. 89.
* [This is an oversight; since Mr. Warton has recorded the appearance of Turberville's Ovid in the year 1567, (see Sect. XI.) and it was then printed by Henry Denham in 12mo.—PARK.]

[b] Fol. 74. [c] Fol. 107.
[d] Supr. p. 44.
[e] See Tanner, Bibl. p. 668. Dugd. Bar. iii. 386. [And Noble Authors, i. 277. edit. 1806. also Nevyll's Letters of Lord Sheffield, p. 61. 1582.—PARK.]
[f] MSS. Oldys.

the Spanish, by desire of the lady of sir Nicholas Carew, THE CASTLE OF LOVE. From the French he translated, at the request of the earl of Huntingdon, SIR HUGH OF BOURDEAUX, which became exceedingly popular; and from the same language, THE HISTORY OF ARTHUR, an Armorican knight. Bale says[g], that he wrote a comedy called *Ite in vineam*, or the PARABLE OF THE VINEYARD, which was frequently acted at Calais, where lord Berners resided, after vespers[h]. He died in 1532.

I have also been told, that the late lord Eglintoun had a genuine book of manuscript sonnets, written by king Henry the Eighth. There is an old madrigal, set to music by William Bird, supposed to be written by Henry, when he first fell in love with Anne Boleyn[i]. It begins,

> The eagles force subdues eche byrde that flyes;
> What metal can resyste the flamyng fyre?
> Doth not the sunne dazle the cleareste eyes,
> And melt the yce, and make the froste retyre?

It appears in Bird's PSALMES, SONGS, AND SONNETS, printed with musical notes, in 1611[k]. Poetry and music are congenial; and it is certain, that Henry was skilled in musical composition. Erasmus attests, that he composed some church services[l]: and one of his anthems still continues to be performed in the choir of Christ-church at Oxford, of his foundation. It is in an admirable style, and is for four voices. Henry, although a scholar, had little taste for the classical elegancies which now began to be known in England. His education seems to have been altogether theological; and, whether it best suited his taste or his interest, polemical divinity seems to have been his favorite science. He was a patron of learned men, when they humoured his vanities; and were wise enough, not to interrupt his pleasures, his convenience, or his ambition.

[g] Cent. ix. p. 706.

[h] Ath. Oxon. i. 33. It is not known, whether it was in Latin or English. Stowe says, that in 1528, at Greenwich, after a grand tournament and banquet, there was the "most goodliest Disguising or Interlude in Latine," &c. Chron. p. 539. edit. fol. 1615. But possibly this may be Stowe's way of naming and describing a comedy of Plautus. See vol. ii. p. 511.

[i] I must not forget that a song is ascribed to Anne Boleyn, but with little probability, called her COMPLAINT. See Hawkins, Hist. Mus. iii. 32. v. 480.

[k] See also Nugæ Antiq. ii. 248. [And it makes part of a stanza in Churchyard's legend of Jane Shore.—PARK.]

[l] See Hawkins, Hist. Mus. ii. 533.

SECTION XL.

The Second Writer of Blank-verse in English. Specimens of early Blank-verse.

To these SONGES and SONNETTES of UNCERTAIN AUCTOURS, in Tottell's edition are annexed SONGES WRITTEN BY N. G.[a] By the initials N. G. we are to understand Nicholas Grimoald*, a name which never appeared yet in the poetical biography of England: but I have before mentioned him incidentally[b]. He was a native of Huntingdonshire, and received the first part of his academical institution at Christ's college in Cambridge. Removing to Oxford in the year 1542, he was elected fellow of Merton College: but, about 1547, having opened a rhetorical lecture in the refectory of Christ-church, then newly founded, he was transplanted to that society†, which gave the greatest encouragement to such students as were distinguished for their proficiency in criticism and philology. The same year he wrote a Latin tragedy, which probably was acted in the college, entitled, ARCHIPROPHETA, *sive* JOHANNES BAPTISTA, TRAGŒDIA, that is, *The Arch-prophet*, or *Saint John Baptist*, a tragedy, and dedicated to the dean Richard Cox[c]. In the year 1548[d], he explained all the four books of Virgil's Georgics‡ in a regular prose Latin paraphrase, in the public hall of his college[e]. He wrote also explanatory commentaries or lectures on the Andria of Terence, the Epistles of Horace, and many pieces of Cicero, perhaps for the same auditory. He translated Tully's Offices into English. This translation, which is dedicated to the learned Thirlby bishop of Ely, was printed at London, 1553[f]. He also familiarised some of the purest Greek classics by English versions, which I believe were never printed. Among others was the CYROPÆDIA. Bale the biographer, and bishop of Ossory, says, that he turned Chaucer's TROILUS into a play; but whether this piece was in Latin or English, we are still to seek: and the word *Comedia*, which Bale uses on this occasion, is without precision or distinction. The same may be said of what Bale calls

[a] They begin with fol. 113.

* [or Grimaold, according to Barnaby Googe; but Nicolas Grimalde is the poet's own orthography.—PARK.]

[b] See vol. ii. p. 493. [At this place the initials E. G. not N. G. are incidentally mentioned: an error which, with many of our laureat's minor hallucinations, escaped the Argus eyes of Ritson.—PARK.]

† [And yet in 1551, Turner's Preservative or Triacle against the Poyson of Pelagius, had a copy of verses prefixed by Nicholas Grimoald of Merton college. They might perhaps be written earlier.—PARK.]

[c] Printed, Colon. 1548. 8vo. (See vol. ii. p. 525.) [A MS. copy occurs in the British Museum, Bibl. Reg. 12. A. xlvi.—PARK.]

[d] 2 Edw. VI.

‡ [And the Bucolics also, added Herbert in a MS. note.—PARK.]

[e] Printed at London in 1591. 8vo.

[f] In octavo. Again, 1556.—1558.—1574.—1583.—1596.

his FAME, *a comedy*. Bale also recites his System of Rhetoric for the use of Englishmen[g], which seems to be the course of the rhetorical lectures I have mentioned. It is to be wished, that Bale, who appears to have been his friend[h], and therefore possessed the opportunities of information, had given us a more exact and full detail, at least of such of Grimoald's works as are now lost, or, if remaining, are unprinted[i]. Undoubtedly this is the same person, called by Strype, *one Grimbold*, who was chaplain to bishop Ridley, and who was employed by that prelate, while in prison, to translate into English, Laurentio Valla's book against the fiction of Constantine's DONATION, with some other popular Latin pieces against the papists[k]. In the ecclesiastical history of Mary's reign, he appears to have been imprisoned for heresy, and to have saved his life, if not his credit, by a recantation. But theology does not seem to have been his talent, nor the glories of martyrdom to have made any part of his ambition. One of his plans, but which never took effect, was to print a new edition of Josephus Iscanus's poem on the TROJAN WAR, with emendations from the most correct manuscripts[l]*.

I have taken more pains to introduce this Nicholas Grimoald to the reader's acquaintance, because he is the second English poet after lord Surrey, who wrote in blank-verse. Nor is it his only praise, that he was the first who followed in this new path of versification. To the style of blank-verse exhibited by Surrey, he added new strength, elegance, and modulation. In the disposition and conduct of his cadencies, he often approaches to the legitimate structure of the improved blank-verse: but we cannot suppose, that he is entirely free from those dissonancies and asperities, which still adhered to the general character and state of our diction†.

[g] *Rhetorica in usum Britannorum.*

[h] Bale cites his comment, or paraphrase on the first Eclogue of Virgil, addressed *ad Amicum Joannem Baleum*, viii. 99.

[i] Titles of many others of his pieces may be seen in Bale, ubi supr.

[k] See Strype's Cranmer, B. iii. c. 11. p. 343. And Grindal, 8. Fox, edit. i. 1047. And Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 178.

[l] Bale, ubi supr.

* [An epitaph on the death of Nicolas Grimaold appeared in the very scarce poems of Barn. Googe, 1563, and has been reprinted by Mr. Steevens in his Account of Ancient Translations from Classic Authors. (Reed's Shaksp. ii. 114.) The following extract relates more particularly to the person commemorated.

"Yf that wyt or worthy eloquens
Or learnyng deape could move him [Death] to forbeare;
O GRIMAOLD, then thou hadste not yet gon hence,
But here hadst sene full many an aged yeare.
Ne had the Muses loste so fyne a floure,
Nor had Minerva wept to leave thee so:
If wysdome myght have fled the fatall howre,
Thou hadste not yet ben suffred for to go.
A thousande doltysh geese we myght have sparde,
A thousande wytles heads death might have found,
And taken them for whom no man had carde,
And layde them lowe in deepe oblivious grounde.
But Fortune favours fooles, as old men saye,
And lets them lyve, and takes the wyse awaye."—PARK.

† [It would seem from the following lines in Barnabe Googe's poems, that Grimoald had, after lord Surrey, translated a portion of Virgil; which the bishop of Dunkeld afterwards completed.

"The noble H[enry] *Hawarde* once
That raught eternal fame,

In his poem on the DEATH OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO are these lines. The assassins of Cicero are said to relent,

——— When
They his bare neck beheld, and his hore heyres,
Scant could they hold the teares that forth gan burst,
And almost fell from bloody handes the swoords;
Only the stern Herennius, with grym looke,
Dastards, why stand you still? he sayth: and straight
Swaps off the head with his presumptuous yron.
Ne with that slaughter yet is he not filld:
Fowl shame on shame to hepe, is his delite.
Wherefore the handes also doth he off-smyte,
Which durst Antonius' life so lifely paint.
Him, yelding strayned ghost [m], from welkin hye
With lothly chere lord Phebus gan behold;
And in black clowde, they say, long hid his hed.
The Latine Muses, and the Grayes [n], they wept,
And for his fall eternally shall wepe.
And lo! hart-persing PITHO [o], strange to tell,
Who had to him suffisde both sense and wordes,
When so he spake, and drest with nectar soote
That flowyng toung, when his windpipe disclosde,
Fled with her fleeyng friend: and, out, alas!
Hath left the earth, ne will no more returne [p].

Nor is this passage unsupported by a warmth of imagination, and the spirit of pathetic poetry. The general cast of the whole poem shows, that our author was not ill qualified for dramatic composition.

Another of Grimoald's blank-verse poems is on the death of Zoroas an Egyptian astronomer, who was killed in Alexander's first battle with the Persians*. It is opened with this nervous and animated exordium.

Now clattering armes, now raging broyls of warre,
Gan passe the noyes of dredfull trompetts clang [q];
Shrowded with shafts the heaven, with cloud of darts
Covered the ayre. Against full-fatted bulles
As forceth kindled yre the lyons keen,
Whose greedy gutts the gnawing honger pricks,
So Macedons against the Persians fare [r].

With mighty style did bryng a pece
Of Virgil's worke in frame.
And GRIMAOLD gave the lyke attempt,
And *Douglas* won the ball,
Whose famouse wyt in Scottysh ryme
Had made an ende of all." —PARK.]

[m] His constrained spirit.

[n] *Graiæ*. Greek.

[o] Peitho, the goddess of persuasion.

[p] Fol. 117.

* And is a translation from part of the Latin Alexandreis of Philip Gualtier de Chatillon, bishop of Megala, who flourished in the thirteenth century. See Steevens's Shaksp. vii. 337. ed. 1803.—PARK.]

[q] The reader must recollect Shakspeare's

Loud larums, neighing steeds, and TRUMPETS' CLANG.

[r] Fol. 115.

In the midst of the tumult and hurry of the battle, appears the sage philosopher Zoroas; a classical and elegant description of whose skill in natural science, forms a pleasing constrast amidst images of death and destruction; and is inserted with great propriety, as it is necessary to introduce the history of his catastrophe.

Shakyng her bloudy hands Bellone, among
The Perses, soweth all kynde of cruel death.—
Him smites the club; him wounds far-striking bow;
And him the sling, and him the shinyng swoord.—
Right over stood, in snow-white armour brave[s],
The Memphite Zoroas, a cunning clarke,
To whom the heaven lay open as his boke:
And in celestiall bodies he could tell
The movyng, metyng, light, aspect, eclips,
And influence, and constellacions all.
What earthly chances would betide: what yere
Of plenty[t] stord: what signe forwarned derth:
How winter gendreth snow: what temperature
In the prime tide[u] doth season well the soyl.
Why sommer burns: why autumne hath ripe grapes:
Whether the circle quadrate may become:
Whether our tunes heavens harmony can yeld[w]:—
What starre doth let[x] the hurtfull sire[y] to rage,
Or him more milde what opposition makes:
What fire doth qualify Mavorses[z] fire, &c.[a]

Our astronomer, finding by the stars that he is destined to die speedily, chooses to be killed by the hand of Alexander, whom he endeavours to irritate to an attack, first by throwing darts, and then by reproachful speeches.

— — — Shameful stain
Of mothers bed! Why losest thou thy strokes
Cowards among? Turne thee to me, in case
Manhode there be so much left in thy hart:
Come, fight with me, that on my helmet weare
Apolloes laurel, both for learnings laude,
And eke for martial praise: that in my shielde
The sevenfold sophie of Minerve contain.
A match more meet, sir king, than any here.

Alexander is for a while unwilling to revenge this insult on a man eminent for wisdom.

[s] *brave*, is richly decked.
[t] with plenty. [u] spring, *printemps*.
[w] Whether any music made by man can resemble that of the spheres.
[x] hinder.
[y] Saturn. [Sirius.—RITSON.]
[z] of Mavors, or the planet Mars.
[a] Fol. 115.

The noble prince amoved, takes ruthe upon
The wilful wight; and with soft wordes, ayen:
O monstrous man, quod he, What so thou art!
I pray thee live, ne do not with thy death
This lodge of lore[b], the Muses mansion marr,
That treasure-house this hand shall never spoyl.
My sword shall never bruse that skilfull braine,
Long-gathered heapes of Science sone to spill.
O how faire frutes may you to mortal men
From WISDOMES garden geve! How many may,
By you, the wiser and the better prove!
What error, what mad moode, what frenzy, thee
Perswades, to be downe sent to depe Averne,
Where no arts florish, nor no knowledge 'vailes
For all these sawes[c]? When thus the soverain sayd,
Alighted Zoroas, &c.[d] ——— ———

I have a suspicion, that these two pieces in blank-verse, if not fragments of larger works, were finished in their present state, as prolusions, or illustrative practical specimens, for our author's course of lectures in rhetoric. In that case, they were written so early as the year 1547. There is positive proof, that they appeared not later than 1557, when they were first printed by Tottell.

I have already mentioned lord Surrey's Virgil; and for the sake of juxtaposition, will here produce a third specimen* of early blank-verse, little known. In the year 1590, William Vallans published a blank-verse poem, entitled, A TALE OF TWO SWANNES, which, under a poetic fiction, describes the situation and antiquities of several towns in Hertfordshire. The author, a native or inhabitant of Hertfordshire, seems to have been connected with Camden and other ingenious antiquaries of his age. I cite the exordium.

When Nature, nurse of every living thing,
Had clad her charge in brave and new array;
The hils rejoyst to see themselves so fine:
The fields and woods grew proud therof also:
The medowes with their partie-colour'd coates,
Like to the rainebow in the azurd skie,
Gave just occasion to the cheerfull birdes
With sweetest note to singe their nurse's praise.
Among the which, the merrie nightingale
With swete and swete, her breast again a thorne,
Ringes out all night, &c.[e]

[b] his head.
[c] lessons of wisdom.
[d] Fol. 115. 116.
* [The intervening specimens appeared in Gascoigne's Steele Glass, 1576, and Aske's Elizabetha Triumphans, 1588.—PARK.]
[e] London, Printed by Roger Ward for John Sheldrake, MDXC. 4to. 3 sheets. He mentions most of the seats in Hertford-

Vallans is probably the author of a piece much better known, a history, by many held to be a romance, but which proves the writer a diligent searcher into antient records, entitled, "The HONOURABLE PRENTICE, shewed in the Life and Death of Sir JOHN HAWKEWOOD sometime Prentice of London, interlaced with the famous History of the noble FITZWALTER Lord of Woodham in Essex[f], and of the poisoning of his faire daughter. Also of the merry Customes of DUNMOWE, &c. Whereunto is annexed the most lamentable murther of Robert Hall at the High Altar in Westminster Abbey[g]."

The reader will observe, that what has been here said about early specimens of blank-verse, is to be restrained to poems not written for the stage. Long before Vallans's Two SWANNES, many theatrical pieces in blank-verse had appeared; the first of which is, The TRAGEDY OF GORBODUC, written in 1561. The second is George Gascoigne's JOCASTA, a tragedy, acted at Gray's-inn, in 1566. George Peele had also published his tragedy in blank-verse of DAVID AND BETHSABE, about the year 1579[h]. HIERONYMO, a tragedy also without rhyme, was acted before 1590. But this point, which is here only transiently mentioned, will be more fully considered hereafter, in its proper place. We will now return to our author Grimoald.

Grimoald, as a writer of verses in rhyme, yields to none of his cotemporaries, for a masterly choice of chaste expression, and the concise elegancies of didactic versification. Some of the couplets, in his poem IN PRAISE OF MODERATION, have all the smartness which marks the modern style of sententious poetry, and would have done honour to Pope's ethic epistles.

> The auncient Time commended not for nought
> The Mean. What better thyng can there be sought?
> In meane is vertue placed: on either side,
> Both right and left, amisse a man shall slide.
> Icar, with sire[i] hadst thou the midway flown,
> Icarian beck[k] by name no man [had] known.
> If middle path kept had proud Phaeton,
> No burning brand this earth had fallne upon.
> Ne cruel power, ne none so soft can raign:
> That kepes[l] a mean, the same shal stil remain.
> Thee, Julie[m], once did too much mercy spill:
> Thee, Nero stern, rigor extreem did kill.

shire then existing, belonging to the queen and the nobility. See Hearne's Lel. Itin. V. Pr. p. iv. seq. ed. 2.

[f] The founder of Dunmow priory, afterwards mentioned, in the reign of Henry the Third.

[g] There are two old editions, at London, in 1615, and 1616, both for Henry Gosson, in 5 sh. 4to. They have only the author's initials W. V. See Hearne, ut modo supr. iii. p. v. ii. p. xvi.

[h] Shakspeare did not begin writing for the stage till 1591; Jonson about 1598.

[i] Icarus, with thy father.

[k] strait, sea.

[l] that which.

[m] Julius Cæsar.

How could August[n] so many yeres well passe?
Nor overmeek, nor overferse, he was.
Worship not Jove with curious fansies vain,
Nor him despise: hold right atween these twain.
No wastefull wight, no greedy goom is prayzd:
Stands Largesse just in egall ballance payzd[o].
So Catoes meat surmountes Antonius chere,
And better fame his sober fare hath here.
Too slender building bad, as bad too grosse[p];
One an eye sore, the other falls to losse.
As medcines help in measure, so, god wot,
By overmuch the sick their bane have got.
Unmete, meesemes, to utter this mo wayes;
Measure forbids unmeasurable prayse.[q]

The maxim is enforced with great quickness and variety of illustration: nor is the collision of opposite thoughts, which the subject so naturally affords, extravagantly pursued, or indulged beyond the bounds of good sense and propriety. The following stanzas on the NINE MUSES are more poetical, and not less correct.[r]

Imps[s] of king JOVE and quene REMEMBRANCE, lo,
The sisters nyne, the poets pleasant feres[t],
Calliope doth stately stile bestow,
And worthy praises paintes of princely peres.
Clio in solem songes reneweth all day,
With present yeres conjoyning age bypast.
Delighteful talke loves comicall Thaley;
In fresh grene youth who doth like laurell last.
With voyces tragicall sowndes Melpomen,
And, as with cheins, thallured eare she bindes.
Her stringes when Terpsichor doth touche, even then
She toucheth hartes, and raigneth in mens mindes.
Fine Erato, whose looke a lively chere
Presents, in dancing keepes a comely grace.
With semely gesture doth Polymnie stere,
Whose wordes whole routes of rankes do rule in place.
Uranie, her globes to view all bent,
The ninefold heaven observes with fixed face.
The blastes Euterpe tunes of instrument,
With solace sweete, hence my heavie dumps to chase.
Lord Phebus in the mids (whose heauenly sprite
These ladies doth enspire) embraceth all.
The Graces in the Muses weed, delite
To lead them forth, that men in maze they fall.

[n] Augustus Cæsar. [o] poised. [r] Fol. 113. [s] daughter
[p] thick, massy. [q] Fol. 113. [t] companions.

It would be unpardonable to dismiss this valuable miscellany, without acknowledging our obligations to its original editor Richard Tottell, who deserves highly of English literature, for having collected at a critical period, and preserved in a printed volume, so many admirable specimens of antient genius, which would have mouldered in manuscript, or perhaps from their detached and fugitive state of existence, their want of length, the capriciousness of taste, the general depredations of time, inattention, and other accidents, would never have reached the present age. It seems to have given birth to two favorite and celebrated collections* of the same kind, THE PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVISES, and ENGLAND'S HELICON, which appeared in the reign of queen Elisabeth[u].

SECTION XLI.

Andrew Borde. Bale. Ansley. Chertsey. Fabyll's Ghost, a poem. The Merry Devil of Edmonton. Other minor Poets of the Reign of Henry the Eighth.

IT will not be supposed, that all the poets of the reign of Henry the Eighth were educated in the school of Petrarch. The graces of the Italian muse, which had been taught by Surrey and Wyat, were confined to a few. Nor were the beauties of the classics yet become general objects of imitation. There are many writers of this period who still rhymed on, in the old prosaic track of their immediate predecessors, and never ventured to deviate into the modern improvements. The strain of romantic fiction was lost; in the place of which, they did not substitute the elegancies newly introduced.

I shall consider together, yet without an exact observation of chronological order, the poets of the reign of Henry the Eighth who form this subordinate class, and who do not bear any mark of the character of the poetry which distinguishes this period. Yet some of these have

* [Quere whether these collections were not more immediately derived from "A gorgeous Gallery of gallant Inventions," &c. and the "Phœnix Nest," both reprinted in Heliconia, vol. i.—PARK.]

[u] The reader will observe, that I have followed the paging and arrangement of Tottell's second edition in 1565. 12mo. In his edition of 1557, there is much confusion. A poem is there given to Grimoald, on the death of lady Margaret Lee, in 1555. Also among Grimoald's is a poem on sir James Wilford, mentioned above, who appears to have fought under Henry the Eighth in the wars of France and Scotland. This edition of 1557, is not in quarto, as I have called it by an oversight, but in small duodecimo, and only with signatures. It is not mentioned by Ames, and I have seen it only among Tanner's printed books at Oxford. It has this colophon:—"Imprinted at London in Flete Strete within Temple barre, at the sygne of the hand and starre by Richard Tottel, the fifte day of June. An. 1557. *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*"

their degree of merit; and, if they had not necessarily claimed a place in our series, deserve examination.

Andrew Borde, who writes himself ANDREAS PERFORATUS, with about as much propriety and as little pedantry as Buchanan calls one Wischart SOPHOCARDIUS, was educated at Winchester and Oxford[a]; and is said, I believe on very slender proof, to have been physician to king Henry the Eighth. His BREVIARY OF HEALTH, first printed in 1547[b], is dedicated to the college of physicians, into which he had been incorporated. The first book of this treatise is said to have been examined and approved by the University of Oxford in 1546[c]. He chiefly practised in Hampshire; and being popishly affected, was censured by Poynet, a Calvinistic bishop of Winchester, for keeping three prostitutes in his house, which he proved to be his patients[d]. He appears to have been a man of great superstition, and of a weak and whimsical head: and having been once a Carthusian, continued ever afterwards to profess celibacy, to drink water, and to wear a shirt of hair. His thirst of knowledge, dislike of the reformation, or rather his unsettled disposition, led him abroad into various parts of Europe, which he visited in the medical character*. Wood says, that he was "esteemed a noted poet, a witty and ingenious person, and an excellent physician." Hearne, who has plainly discovered the origin of Tom Thumb, is of opinion, that this facetious practitioner in physic gave rise to the name of MERRY ANDREW, the Fool on the mountebank's stage. The reader will not perhaps be displeased to see that antiquary's reasons for this conjecture; which are at the same time a vindication of Borde's character, afford some new anecdotes of his life, and show that a Merry Andrew may be a scholar and an ingenious man. "It is observable, that the author [Borde] was as fond of the word DOLENTYD, as of many other hard and uncooth words, as *any Quack can be*. He begins his BREVIARY OF HEALTH, *Egregious doctours and Maysters of the eximious and archane science of Physicke, of your urbanite exasperate not your selve*, &c. But notwithstanding this, will any one from hence infer or assert, that the author was either a *pedant* or a *superficial* scholar? I think, *upon due consideration*, he

[a] See his Introduction to Knowledge, ut infr. cap. xxxv.

[b] "Compyled by Andrewe Boorde of Physicke Doctoure an Englysshe man." It was reprinted by William Powell in 1552, and again in 1557. There was an impression by T. East, 1587, 4to. others also in 1548, and 1575, which I have never seen. The latest is by East in 1598, 4to. [This seems to have been printed, says Herbert, before 1547, by William Mydilton, in 12mo, because therein he mentions his Introduction to Knowledge, as at that time printing at old Rob. Copland's. But the dedication of that to the princess Mary is dated 3 May 1542, and may be supposed to have been printed soon after, though indeed it has no date of printing. It was printed by Wm. Copland. See Bibl. West. No. 1643. —PARK.]

[c] At the end of which is this note:— "Here endeth the first boke Examined in Oxforde in the yere of our Lorde MCCCCCXLVI," &c.

[d] See Against Martin, &c. p. 48.

* ["I have gone round Christendome and overthwart Christendome," says Borde in his Dietarie of Health.—PARK.]

will judge the contrary. Dr. Borde was an *ingenious* man, and knew how to humour and please his patients, readers, and auditors. In his travells and visits, he often appeared and spoke in public; and would often frequent markets and fairs where a conflux of people used to get together, to whom he prescribed; and to induce them to flock thither the more readily, he would make *humorous* speeches, couched in such language as *caused mirth*, and *wonderfully* propagated his fame: and 'twas for the same end that he made use of such expressions in his Books, as would otherwise (the *circumstances* not considered) be very justly pronounced *bombast*. As he was *versed in antiquity*, he had words at command from old writers with which to amuse his hearers, which could not fail of *pleasing*, provided he added at the same time some *remarkable explication*. For instance, if he told them that Δεκαδης was an old brass medal among the Greeks, the *oddness* of the word, would, *without doubt*, gain *attention*; tho nothing *near so much*, as if *withall* he *signified*, that 'twas a brass medal a *little bigger* than an Obolus, that used to be put in the mouths of persons that were dead. ——And withall, 'twould *affect them the more*, if when he spoke of such a brass medal, he signified to them, that brass was in old time looked upon as *more honourable than other metals*, which he might *safely enough do*, from *Homer* and his *scholiast*. Homer's words are, &c. A passage, which *without doubt* HIERONYMUS MAGIUS would have taken notice of in the fourteenth chapter of his Book DE TINTINNABULIS, had it occurred to his memory when in prison he was writing, without the help of books before him, that *curious Discourse*. 'Twas from the Doctor's method of using such speeches at markets and fairs, that in *aftertimes*, those that imitated the like *humorous, jocose* language, were styled MERRY ANDREWS, a term *much in vogue* on our stages[e]."

He is supposed to have compiled or composed the MERRY TALES *of the mad men of Gotham*, which, as we are told by Wood, "in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and after, was accounted a book full of wit and mirth by scholars and gentlemen[f]." This piece, which probably was not without its temporary ridicule, and which yet maintains a popularity in the nursery, was, I think, first printed by Wynkyn de Worde. Hearne was of opinion, that these idle pranks of the men of Gotham, a town in Lincolnshire, bore a reference to some customary law-tenures belonging to that place or its neighbourhood, now grown obsolete; and that Blount might have enriched his book on ANTIENT TENURES with these ludicrous stories. He is speaking of the political design of REYNARD THE FOX, printed by Caxton. "It was an *admirable Thing*. And the design, being political, and to represent a wise government, was equally good. So little reason is there to look upon this as a *poor*

[e] Hearne's Benedict. Abb. tom. i. Præfat. p. 50. edit. Oxon. 1735.

[f] Ath. Oxon. i. 74. There is an edition in duodecimo by Henry Wikes, without date, but about 1568, entitled, MERIE TALES *of the madmen of Gotam, gathered together by* A. B. *of physicke doctour*. The oldest I have seen, is London, 1630, 12mo.

despicable book. Nor is there more reason to esteem the MERRY TALES OF THE MAD MEN OF GOTHAM (which was much *valued* and *cried up* in Henry the eighth's time tho now sold at ballad-singers stalls) as *altogether a romance:* a certain *skillfull* person having told me more than once, that he was *assured by one of Gotham*, that they formerly held lands there, by such Sports and Customs as are touched upon in this book. For which reason, I think particular notice should have been taken of it in Blount's TENURES, as I do not doubt but there would, had that *otherwise curious* author been apprised of the *matter*. But 'tis *strange* to see the changes that have been made in the book of REYNARD THE FOX, from the original editions[g]!"

Borde's chief poetical work is entitled, "The first Boke of the INTRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE, the which doth teach a man to speake parte of al maner of languages, and to knowe the usage and fashion of al maner of countryes: and for to knowe the most parte of al maner of coynes of money, the whych is currant in every region. Made by Andrew Borde of phisyk doctor." It was printed by the Coplands, and is dedicated to the king's daughter the princess Mary. The dedication is dated from Montpelier, in the year 1542. The book, containing thirty-nine chapters, is partly in verse and partly in prose; with wooden cuts prefixed to each chapter. The first is a satire, as it appears, on the fickle nature of an Englishman: the symbolical print prefixed to this chapter, exhibiting a naked man, with a pair of shears in one hand and a roll of cloth in the other, not determined what sort of a coat he shall order to be made, has more humour than any of the verses which follow[h]. Nor is the poetry destitute of humour only; but of every embellishment, both of metrical arrangement and of expression. Borde has all the baldness of allusion, and barbarity of versification, belonging to Skelton, without his strokes of satire and severity. The following lines, part of the Englishman's speech, will not prejudice the reader in his favour.

What do I care, if all the world me faile?
I will have a garment reach to my taile.
Then am I a minion*, for I weare the new guise,
The next yeare after I hope to be wise,
Not only in wearing my gorgeous aray,
For I will go to learning a whole summers day.

[g] Hearne's Not. et Spicileg. ad Gul. Neubrig. vol. iii. p. 744. See also Benedict. Abb. ut supr. p. 54.

[h] Harrison, in his Description of England, having mentioned this work by Borde, adds, "Suche is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none [equal] to the *Spanish* guise, to morrow the *French* toies are most fine and delectable, yer [ere] long no such apparel as that which is after the *Almaine* fashion: by and by the Turkish maner otherwise the *Morisco* gowns, the *Barbarian* sleves, the mandilion worne to Collie Weston ward, and the shorte *French* breeches," &c. B. ii. ch. 9. p. 172.

*, [A young fashionable courtier. See a print of French *mignons* in Montfaucon's Antiquities.—ASHBY.]

In the seventh chapter, he gives a fantastic account of his travels[1], and owns, that his metre deserves no higher appellation than *ryme dogrell*. But this delineation of the fickle Englishman is perhaps to be restricted to the circumstances of the author's age, without a respect to the national character; and, as Borde was a rigid catholic, there is a probability, notwithstanding in other places he treats of natural dispositions, that a satire is designed on the laxity of principle, and revolutions of opinion, which prevailed at the reformation, and the easy compliance of many of his changeable countrymen with a new religion for lucrative purposes.

I transcribe the character of the Welshman, chiefly because he speaks of his harp.

I am a Welshman, and do dwel in Wales,
I have loved to serche budgets, and looke in males:
I love not to labour, to delve, nor to dyg,
My fyngers be lymed lyke a lyme-twyg.
And wherby ryches I do not greatly set,
Syth all hys [is] fysshe that cometh to the net.
I am a gentylman, and come of Brutes blood,
My name is ap Ryce, ap Davy, ap Flood:
I love our Lady, for I am of hyr kynne,
He that doth not love her, I beshrewe his chynne.
My kyndred is ap Hoby, ap Jenkin, ap Goffe.
Bycause I go barelegged, I do catch the coffe.
Bycause I do go barelegged it is not for pryde.
I have a gray cote, my body for to hyde.
I do love *cawse boby*[k], good rosted cheese,
And swysshe metheglyn I loke for my fees.
And yf I have my HARPE, I care for no more,
It is my treasure, I kepe it in store.
For my harpe is made of a good mare's skyn,
The strynges be of horse heare, it maketh a good dyn.
My songe, and my voyce, and my harpe doth agree,
Much lyke the bussing of an homble bee:
Yet in my country I do make pastyme
In tellyng of prophyces which be not in ryme.[l]

[1] Prefixed to which, is a wooden cut of the author Borde, standing in a sort of pew or stall, under a canopy, habited in an academical gown, a laurel-crown on his head, with a book before him on a desk.

[k] That is, *toasted cheese*, next mentioned.

[l] Ch. ii. In the prose description of Wales he says, there are many beautiful and strong castles standing yet. "The castels and the countre of Wales, and the people of Wales, be much lyke to the castels and the country of the people of Castyle and Biscayn." In describing Gascony, he says, that at Bordeaux, "in the cathedrall church of Saint Andrews, is the fairest and the greatest payre of orgyns [organs] in al Chrystendome, in the which orgins be many instrumentes and vyces [devices] as gians [giants] heads and starres, the which doth move and wagge with their jawes and eis [eyes] as fast as the player playeth." ch. xxiii.

I have before mentioned "A ryght pleasant and merry History of the MYLNER OF ABINGTON[m], with his wife and his faire daughter, and of two poor scholars of Cambridge," a meagre epitome of Chaucer's MILLER'S TALE. In a blank leaf of the Bodleian copy, this tale is said by Thomas Newton of Cheshire, an elegant Latin epigrammatist of the reign of queen Elisabeth, to have been written by Borde[n]. He is also supposed to have published a collection of silly stories called SCOGIN'S JESTS, sixty in number. Perhaps Shakspeare took his idea from this jest-book, that Scogan was a mere buffoon, where he says that Falstaffe, as a juvenile exploit, "broke Scogan's head at the court-gate[o]." Nor have we any better authority, than this publication by Borde, that Scogan was a graduate in the university, and a jester to a king[p]. Hearne, at the end of Benedictus Abbas, has printed Borde's ITINERARY, as it may be called; which is little more than a string of names, but is quoted by Norden in his SPECULUM BRITANNIÆ[q]. Borde's circulatory peregrinations, in the quality of a quack-doctor, might have furnished more ample materials for an English topography. Beside the BREVIARY OF HEALTH, mentioned above, and which was approved by the university of Oxford, Borde has left the DIETARIE OF HEALTH, reprinted in 1576, the PROMPTUARIE OF MEDICINE, the DOCTRINE OF URINES, and the PRINCIPLES OF ASTRONOMICAL PROGNOSTICATIONS[r]: which are proofs of attention to his profession, and show that he could sometimes be serious[s]. But Borde's name would not have been now remembered, had he wrote only profound systems in medicine and astronomy. He is known to posterity as a buffoon, not as a philosopher. Yet, I think, some of his astronomical tracts have been epitomised and bound up with Erra Pater's Almanacs.

Of Borde's numerous books, the only one that can afford any degree of entertainment to the modern reader, is the DIETARIE OF HELTHE; where, giving directions as a physician, concerning the choice of

[m] A village near Cambridge.

[n] See supr. vol. ii. p. 197.

[o] Henry IV., Part Second, act iii. sc. 2.

[p] It is hard to say whence Jonson got his account of Scogan, Masque of the Fortunate Isles, vol. iv. p. 192.

Merefool. Skogan? What was he?
Johphiel. O, a fine gentleman, and a Master of Arts
Of Henry the Fourth's time, that made disguises
For the king's sones, and writ in balad-royal
Daintily well.
Merefool. But wrote he like a gentleman?
Johphiel. In rhyme, fine tinkling rhyme, and flowand verse,
With now and then some sense; and he was paid for't,
Regarded and rewarded, which few poets Are nowadays.——

See Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, vol. v. An Account, &c. p. xx. And compare what I have said of Scogan, supr. vol. ii. p. 335. [where Mr. Ritson's correction of this passage is given.] Drayton, in the Preface to his Eclogues, says, "the COLIN CLOUT OF SKOGGAN under Henry the Seventh is pretty." He must mean Skelton.

[q] Pag. 13. Middlesex. i. P.

[r] *The Principyles of Astronamye the whiche diligently perscrutyd is in a maner a prognosticacyon to the worldes ende.* In thirteen chapters. For R. Copland, without date, 12mo. It is among bishop More's collection at Cambridge, with some other of Borde's books.

[s] See Ames, Hist. Print. p. 152. Pits. p. 735.

houses, diet, and apparel, and not suspecting how little he should instruct, and how much he might amuse, a curious posterity, he has preserved many anecdotes of the private life, customs, and arts, of our ancestors[t]. This work is dedicated to Thomas duke of Norfolk, lord treasurer under Henry the Eighth. In the dedication, he speaks of his being called in as a physician to sir John Drury, the year when cardinal Wolsey was promoted to York; but that he did not choose to prescribe without consulting doctor Buttes, the king's physician. He apologises to the duke, for not writing in the *ornate* phraseology now generally affected. He also hopes to be excused, for using in his writings so many *wordes of mirth:* but this, he says, was only to make *your grace merrie,* and because mirth has ever been esteemed the best medicine. Borde must have had no small share of vanity, who could think thus highly of his own pleasantry. And to what a degree of taste and refinement must our ancient dukes and lords treasurers have arrived, who could be exhilarated by the witticisms and the lively language of this facetious philosopher?

John Bale, a tolerable Latin classic, and an eminent biographer, before his conversion from popery, and his advancement to the bishoprick of Ossory by king Edward the Sixth, composed many scriptural interludes, chiefly from incidents of the New Testament. They are, the life of Saint John the Baptist, written in 1538*. Christ in his twelfth year. Baptism and Temptation. The Resurrection of Lazarus. The Council of the High-priests. Simon the Leper. Our Lord's Supper, and the Washing of the feet of his Disciples. Christ's Burial and Resurrection. The Passion of Christ. The *Comedie* of the three Laws of Nature, Moses, and Christ, corrupted by the Sodomites, Pharisees, and Papists, printed by Nicholas Bamburg in 1538; and so popular, that it was reprinted by Colwell in 1562[u]. God's Promises to Man[w]. Our author, in his *Vocacyon to the Bishoprick of Ossory,* informs us, that his COMEDY of John the Baptist, and his TRAGEDY of God's Promises, were acted by the youths upon a Sunday, at the market cross of

[t] In his rules for building or planning a House, he supposes a quadrangle. The Gate-house, or Tower, to be exactly opposite to the Portico of the Hall. The Privy Chamber to be annexed to the Chamber of State. A Parlour joining to the Buttery and Pantry at the lower end of the Hall. The Pastry-house and Larder annexed to the Kitchen. Many of the chambers to have a view into the Chapel. In the outer quadrangle to be a stable, but only for *horses of pleasure.* The stables, dairy, and slaughter-house, to be a quarter of a mile from the house. The Moat to have a spring falling into it, and to be often scowered. An Orchard of *sundry fruits* is convenient; but he rather recommends a Garden filled with aromatic herbs. In the Garden a Pool or two, for fish. A Park filled with deer and conies. "A Dove-house also is a necessary thyng about a mansyon-place. And, among other thynges, a *Payre* of *Buttes* is a decent thynge about a mansyon. And otherwhyle, for a great man necessary it is for to passe his tyme with bowles in an aly, when al this is finished, and the mansyon replenished with implemens." Ch. iv. Sign. C. ii. Dedication dated 1542 [7].

* [See Harleian Miscell. vol. i.—PARK.]

[u] Both in quarto. At the end is A song of Benedictus, compiled by Johan Bale.

[w] This was written in 1538; and first printed under the name of a Tragedie or Interlude, by Charlewood, 1577. 4to.

Kilkenny[x]. What shall we think of the state, I will not say of the stage, but of common sense, when these deplorable dramas could be endured? of an age, when the Bible was profaned and ridiculed from a principle of piety? But the fashion of acting mysteries appears to have expired with this writer. He is said, by himself, to have written a book of Hymns, and another of jests and tales; and to have translated the tragedy of PAMMACHIUS[y]; the same perhaps which was acted at Christ's college in Cambridge in 1544, and afterwards laid before the privy council as a libel on the reformation[z]. A low vein of abusive burlesque, which had more virulence than humour, seems to have been one of Bale's talents: two of his pamphlets against the papists, all whom he considered as monks, are entitled the MASS OF THE GLUTTONS, and the ALCORAN OF THE PRELATES[a]. Next to exposing the impostures of popery, literary history was his favorite pursuit; and his most celebrated performance is his account of the British writers. But this work, perhaps originally undertaken by Bale as a vehicle of his sentiments in religion, is not only full of misrepresentations and partialities, arising from his religious prejudices, but of general inaccuracies, proceeding from negligence or misinformation. Even those more ancient Lives which he transcribes from Leland's Commentary on the same subject, are often interpolated with false facts, and impertinently marked with a misapplied zeal for reformation. He is angry with many authors, who flourished before the thirteenth century, for being catholics. He tells us, that lord Cromwell frequently screened him from the fury of the more bigoted bishops, on account of the comedies he had published[b]. But whether plays in particular, or other compositions, are here to be understood by comedies, is uncertain.

Brian Anslay, or Annesley, yeoman of the wine cellar to Henry the Eighth about the year 1520, translated a popular French poem into English rhymes, at the exhortation of the *gentle carl* of Kent, called the CITIE OF DAMES [Ladyes*], in three books. It was printed in 1521, by Henry Pepwell, whose prologue prefixed begins with these unpromising lines,

So now of late came into my custode
This forseyde book, by Brian Anslay,
Yeoman of the seller with the eight king Henry.

Another translator of French into English, much about the same time, is Andrew Chertsey. In the year 1520, Wynkyn de Worde print-

[x] Fol. 24. [Still acted at the market-cross of Bury, but not on a Sunday.—ASHBY.]

[y] Cent. viii. 100. p. 702. And Verheiden, p. 149.

[z] See supr. vol. ii. p. 523. Bale says, "Pammachii tragœdias transtuli."

[a] See supr. vol. ii. p. 523.

[b] "Ob editas COMŒDIAS." Ubi supr.

* [Mr. Ellis conjectures this to be a translation of the *Trésor de la Cité des Dames*, by Christian of Pise. Hist. Sketch, ii. 20. —PARK.]

ed a book with this title, partly in prose and partly in verse, *Here fo loweth the passyon of our lord Jesu Crist translated out of French int Englysch by Andrew Chertsey gentleman the ycre of our lord* MDXX.[c] will give two stanzas of Robert Copland's prologue, as it records th diligence, and some other performances, of this very obscure writer.

The godly use of prudent-wytted men
Cannot absteyn theyr auncyent exercise.
Recorde of late how besiley with his pen
The translator of the sayd treatyse
Hath him indevered, in most godly wyse,
Bokes to translate, in volumes large and fayre,
From French in prose, of goostly exemplaire.
As is, the *floure of Gods commaundements*,
A treatyse also called *Lucydarye*,
With two other of the *seryn sacraments*,
One of *cristen men the ordinary*,
The seconde *the craft to lyve well and to dye.*
With dyvers other to mannes lyfe profytable,
A vertuose use and ryght commendable.

The *Floure of God's Commaundements* was printed by Wynkyn d Worde, in folio, in 1521. A print of the author's arms, with the nam CHERTSEY, is added. The *Lucydayre* is translated from a favorite ol French poem called *Li Lusidaire*. This is a translation of the ELUCI DARIUM, a large work in dialogue, containing the sum of christia theology, by some attributed to Anselm archbishop of Canterbury in th twelfth century[d]. Chertsey's other versions, mentioned in Copland's pro logue, are from old French manuals of devotion, now equally forgotten Such has been the fate of volumes *fayre and large!* Some of thes versions have been given to George Ashby, clerk of the signet to Mar garet queen of Henry the Sixth, who wrote a moral poem for the us of their son prince Edward, on the *Active policy of a prince*, finishe in the author's eightieth year. The prologue begins with a complimen to "Maisters Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate," a proof of the estimatio which that celebrated triumvirate still continued to maintain. I believ it was never printed. But a copy, with a small mutilation at the end remains among bishop More's manuscripts at Cambridge[e].

In the dispersed library of the late Mr. William Collins, I saw a thi folio of two sheets in black letter, containing a poem in the octav stanza, entitled, FABYL'S GHOSTE, printed by John Rastell in the yea

[c] in quarto.

[d] Wynkyn de Worde printed, *Here begynneth a lytell treatyse called the Lucydarye*. With wooden cuts. No date. In quarto.

[e] MSS. More, 492. It begins, "Righ [high] and myghty prince and my rygh good lorde."

1533. The piece is of no merit; and I should not perhaps have mentioned it, but as the subject serves to throw light on our early drama. Peter Fabell, whose apparition speaks in this poem, was called The *Merrie Devil of Edmonton*, near London. He lived in the reign of Henry the Seventh, and was buried in the church of Edmonton. Weever, in his ANTIENT FUNERAL MONUMENTS, published in 1631, says under Edmonton, that in the church "lieth interred under a seemlie tombe without inscription, the body of Peter Fabell, as the report goes, upon whom this fable was fathered, that he by his wittie devises beguiled the devill. Belike he was some ingenious-conceited gentleman, who did use some sleighte trickes for his own disportes. He lived and died in the raigne of Henry the Seventh, saith the booke of his merry Pranks[f]." The book of Fabell's *Merry Pranks* I have never seen. But there is an old anonymous comedy, written in the reign of James the First, which took its rise from this merry magician. It was printed in 1617, and is called the MERRY DEVIL OF EDMONTON, *as it hath been sundry times acted by his majesties servants at the Globe on the Banke-side*[g]. In the Prologue, Fabell is introduced, reciting his own history.

'Tis Peter Fabell a renowned scholler,
Whose fame hath still beene hitherto forgot
By all the writers of this latter age.
In Middle-sex his birth, and his aboade,
Not full seauen mile from this great famous citty:
That, for his fame in slights and magicke won,
Was cald the Merry Fiend of Edmonton.
If any heere make doubt of such a name,
In Edmonton yet fresh vnto this day,
Fixt in the wall of that old ancient church
His monument remaineth to be seene:
His memory yet in the mouths of men,
That whilst he liu'd he could deceiue the deuill.
Imagine now, that whilst he is retirde,
From Cambridge backe vnto his natiue home,
Suppose the silent sable visage night,
Casts her blacke curtaine ouer all the world,
And whilst he sleepes within his silent bed,
Toyl'd with the studies of the passed day:
The very time and howre wherein that spirite
That many yeares attended his command;
And oftentimes 'twixt Cambridge and that towne,
Had in a minute borne him through the ayre,
By composition 'twixt the fiend and him,
Comes now to claime the scholler for his due.

[f] Pag. 534.

[g] in quarto, Lond.

Behold him here laid on his restlesse couch,
His fatall chime prepared at his head,
His chamber guarded with these sable slights,
And by him stands that necromantick chaire,
In which he makes his direfull inuocations,
And binds the fiends that shall obey his will.
Sith with a pleased eye vntill you know
The commicke end of our sad tragique show.

The play is without absurdities, and the author was evidently an attentive reader of Shakspeare. It has nothing, except the machine of the chime, in common with FABYLL'S GHOSTE. Fabell is mentioned in our chronicle-histories, and, from his dealings with the devil, was commonly supposed to be a friar[h].

In the year 1537, Wilfrid Holme, a gentleman of Huntington in Yorkshire, wrote a poem called *The Fall and evil Success of Rebellion.* It is a dialogue between England and the author, on the commotions raised in the northern counties on account of the reformation in 1537, under Cromwell's administration. It was printed at London in 1573. Alliteration is here carried to the most ridiculous excess; and from the constraint of adhering inviolably to an identity of initials, from an affectation of coining prolix words from the Latin, and from a total ignorance of prosodical harmony, the author has produced one of the most obscure, rough, and unpleasing pieces of versification in our language. He seems to have been a disciple of Skelton. The poem, probably from its political reference, is mentioned by Hollinshed[i]. Bale, who overlooks the author's poetry in his piety, thinks that he has learnedly and perspicuously discussed the absurdities of popery[k].

One Charles Bansley, about the year 1540, wrote a rhyming satire on the pride and vices of women *now a days.* I know not if the first line will tempt the reader to see more.

"Bo peep, what have we spied!"

It was printed in quarto by Thomas Rainolde; but I do not find it among Ames's books of that printer, whose last piece is dated 1555. Of equal reputation is Christopher Goodwin, who wrote the MAYDEN'S DREME, a vision without imagination, printed in 1542[l], and THE CHANCE OF THE DOLORUS LOVER, a lamentable story without pathos, printed in 1520[m]. With these two may be ranked, Richard [Thomas] Feylde, or Field, author of a poem printed in quarto by Wynkyn de

[h] See also Norden's Speculum Britanniæ, written in 1596. Middlesex, p. 18. And Fuller's Worthies, Middlesex, p. 186. edit. fol. 1662.

[k] ix. 22.

[l] In 4to. Pr. "Behold you young ladies of high parentage."

[m] In 4to. Pr. "Upon a certain tyme as

Worde, called A CONTRAVERSYE BETWENE A LOVER AND A JAYE. The prologue begins

Thoughe laureate poetes in olde antyquyte.

I must not forget to observe here, that Edward Haliwell, admitted a fellow of King's college Cambridge in 1532, wrote the Tragedy of DIDO, which was acted at saint Paul's school in London, under the conduct of the very learned master John Rightwise, before cardinal Wolsey[n]. But it may be doubted, whether this drama was in English. Wood says, that it was written by Rightwise[o]. One John Hooker, fellow of Magdalene college Oxford in 1535, wrote a comedy called by Wood PISCATOR, or *The Fisher caught*[p]. But as latinity seems to have been his object, I suspect this comedy to have been in Latin, and to have been acted by the youth of his college.

The fanaticisms of chemistry seem to have remained at least till the dissolution of the monasteries. William* Blomefield, otherwise Rattlesden, born at Bury in Suffolk, bachelor in physic, and a monk of Bury-abbey, was an adventurer in quest of the philosopher's stone. While a monk of Bury, as I presume, he wrote a metrical chemical tract, entitled, BLOMEFIELD'S BLOSSOMS, or the CAMPE OF PHILOSOPHY. It is a vision, and in the octave stanza. It was originally written in the year 1530, according to a manuscript that I have seen: but in the copy printed by Ashmole[q], which has some few improvements and additional stanzas, our author says he began to dream in 1557[r]. He is admitted into the camp of philosophy by TIME, through a superb gate which has twelve locks. Just within the entrance were assembled all the true philosophers from Hermes and Aristotle, down to Roger Bacon, and the canon of Bridlington. Detached at some distance, appear those unskilful but specious pretenders to the transmutation of metals, lame, blind, and emaciated, by their own pernicious drugs and injudicious experiments, who defrauded king Henry the Fourth of immense treasures by a counterfeit elixir. Among other wonders of this mysterious region, he sees the tree of philosophy, which has fifteen different buds, bearing fifteen different fruits. Afterwards, Blomefield turning protestant, did not renounce his chemistry with his religion, for he appears to have dedicated to queen Elisabeth another system of occult science, entitled, THE RULE OF LIFE, OR THE FIFTH ESSENCE, with which her majesty must have been highly edified[s].

Although lord Surrey and some others so far deviated from the dullness of the times, as to copy the Italian poets, the same taste does not

[n] See supr. p. 2.

[o] Compare Tanner, Bibl. pag. 632. 372. Ath. Oxon. i. 17. [p] Ath. Oxon. i. 60.

[* From Ashmole's notes on *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1652, p. 478, it seems doubtful whether his name was not MYLES.—PARK.]

[q] See Stanz. 5.

[r] See Ashmole's *Theatrum Chemicum*, p. 305. 478.

[s] MSS. More, autograph. 430. Pr. "Althoughe, most redoubted, suffran lady." See Fox, Martyr. edit. i. p. 479.

seem to have uniformly influenced all the nobility of the court of king Henry the Eighth who were fond of writing verses. Henry Parker, lord Morley, who died an old man in the latter end of that reign, was educated in the best literature which our universities afforded. Bale mentions his TRAGEDIES and COMEDIES, which I suspect to be nothing more than grave mysteries and moralities, and which probably would not now have been lost, had they deserved to live. He mentions also his RHYMES, which I will not suppose to have been imitations of Petrarch[t]. Wood says, that "his younger years were adorned with all kinds of *superficial* learning, especially with dramatic poetry, and his elder with that which was divine[u]." It is a stronger proof of his piety than his taste, that he sent, as a new year's gift to the princess Mary, HAMPOLE'S COMMENTARY UPON SEVEN OF THE FIRST PENITENTIAL PSALMS. The manuscript, with his epistle prefixed, is in the royal manuscripts of the British Museum[w]. Many of Morley's translations, being dedicated either to king Henry the Eighth, or to the princess Mary, are preserved in manuscript in the same royal repository[x]. They are chiefly from Solomon, Seneca, Erasmus, Athanasius, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, and Paulus Jovius. The authors he translated show his track of reading. But we should not forget his attention to the classics, and that he translated also Tully's DREAM OF SCIPIO, and three or four lives of Plutarch, although not immediately from the Greek[y]. He seems to have been a rigid catholic, retired and studious. His declaration, or paraphrase, on the ninety-fourth Psalm, was printed by Berthelette in 1539. A theological commentary by a lord, was too curious and important a production to be neglected by our first printers.

SECTION XLII.

John Heywood the Epigrammatist. His Works examined. Ancient unpublished burlesque Poem of Sir Penny.

JOHN HEYWOOD, commonly called the epigrammatist, was beloved and rewarded by Henry the Eighth for his buffooneries *. At leaving the

[t] Script. Brit. par. p. st. 103.

[u] Ath. Oxon. i. 52.

[w] MSS. 18 B. xxi.

[x] But see MSS. Gresham, 8.

[y] See MSS. (Bibl. Bodl.) Laud. H. 17. MSS. Bibl. Reg. 17 D. 2.—17 D. xi.—18 A. lx. And Walpole, Roy. and Nob. Auth. i. p. 92 seq. [p. 313 of Mr. Park's edition, where a specimen of his poetry is given. See also Wood's Ath. Oxon. by Mr. Bliss, vol. i. col. 117. and the Brit. Bibliographer, vol. iv. p. 107.]

* [From having been termed *civis Londinensis* by Bale, he has been considered as a native of London by Pitts, Fuller, Wood, Tanner, and by the editors of the New Biog. Dict. in 1798. Langbaine, and after him Gildon, conveyed the information that he had lived at North Mims, Herts; and Mr. Reed has followed up this report in Biog. Dram. by saying he was *born* there. That North Mims had been the place of his residence, if not of his nativity, may be deduced from the following

university, he commenced author, and was countenanced by sir Thomas More for his facetious disposition. To his talents of jocularity in conversation, he joined a skill in music, both vocal and instrumental. His merriments were so irresistible, that they moved even the rigid muscles of queen Mary*, and her sullen solemnity was not proof against his songs, his rhymes, and his jests†. He is said to have been often invited to exercise his arts of entertainment and pleasantry in her presence, and to have had the honour to be constantly admitted into her privy-chamber for this purpose[a].

Notwithstanding his professional dissipation, Heywood appears to have lived comfortably under the smiles of royal patronage. What

lines in Thalia's Banquet 1620, by Hen. Peacham.

I thinke the place[1] that gave me first my birth,
The genius had of epigram and mirth;
There famous *More* did his Utopia write,
And there came *Heywood's* Epigrams to light. PARK.]

* [Heywood evinced his attachment to this princess long before her ascent to the throne, as appears from a copy of verses preserved in Harl. MS. 1703, entitled, "A Description of a most noble Ladye, advewed by John Heywoode presently; who advertisinge her yeares as face, saith of her thus in much eloquent phrase.

Give place ye ladyes all, bee gone,
Shewe not your selves att all,
For why? behoulde there cometh one
Whose face yours all blanke shall."

The eulogist then proceeds to describe the virtuous attraction of her looks, the blushing beauty of her lively countenance, the wit and gravity, the mirth and modesty, with the firmness of word and deed which mingled in her character. This picture was taken when the princess was eighteen; and consequently in the year 1534. Part of the above poem was printed among the songs and sonnets of Uncertain Authors in Tottell's early Miscellany, and has been inserted by Mr. Warton at p. 56 of this volume, with high commendation of the unsuspected writer. Two ballads by Heywood printed in 1554 and 1557 are preserved in the archives of the Society of Antiquaries. The former was written on the marriage of Philip and Mary; the latter, on the traitorous taking of Scarborough castle. Both have been reprinted in vol. ii. of a Supplement to the Harleian Miscellany.—PARK.]

† [One of these is preserved in Cotton MS. Jul. F. x. "When Queene Mary tolde Heywoode that the priestes must forego their wives, he merrily answered, Then your grace must allow them *lemmans*, for the clergie cannot live without *sauce*." Another is recorded by Puttenham in his Arte of English Poesie, 1589: "At the Duke of Northumberland's bourd, merry *John Heywood* was allowed to sit at the table's end. The duke had a very noble and honorable mynde alwayes to pay his debts well, and when he lacked money, would not stick to sell the greatest part of his plate: so had he done few dayes before. *Heywood* being loth to call for his drinke so oft as he was dry, turned his eye toward the cupbord and sayd, 'I finde great misse of your grace's standing cups:' the duke thinking he had spoken it of some knowledge that his plate was lately sold, said somewhat sharply, 'Why, sir, will not these cups serve as good a man as your selfe?' *Heywood* readily replied, 'Yes, if it please your grace: but I would have one of them stand still at myne elbow full of drinke, that I might not be driven to trouble your men so often to call for it.' This pleasant and speedy turn of the former wordes holpe all the matter againe, whereupon the duke became very pleasaunt and dranke a bolle of wine to *Heywood*, and bid a cuppe should alwayes be standing by him." p. 231. Pitts has related an extraordinary instance of his death-bed waggery, which seems to vie in merriment with the scaffold jests of Sir Thomas More *in articulo mortis*.—PARK.]

[a] Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 150.

[1] "North Mimmes in Herts, neere to Saint Albans." Sir Thomas More must have had a seat in that neighbourhood, says Dr. Berkenhout. His admiration of Heywood's repartees is noticed in Dod's Church History, vol. i. p. 369.

the FAIRY QUEEN could not procure for Spenser from the penurious Elisabeth and her precise ministers, Heywood gained by puns and conceits.

His comedies, most of which appeared before the year 1534, are destitute of plot, humour, or character, and give us no very high opinion of the festivity of this agreeable companion. They consist of low incident, and the language of ribaldry. But perfection must not be expected before its time. He is called our first writer of comedies. But those who say this, speak without determinate ideas, and confound comedies with moralities and interludes. We will allow, that he is among the first of our dramatists who drove the Bible from the stage, and introduced representations of familiar life and popular manners. These are the titles of his plays. *The* PLAY *called the four P's, being a new and a very mery* ENTERLUDE OF A PALMER, A PARDONER, A POTYCARY, AND A PEDLAR, printed at London in quarto*, without date or name of the printer, but probably from the press of Berthelette or Rastell. *The* PLAY *of* LOVE. *The* PLAY *of the* WEATHER, *or a new and a very mery* ENTERLUDE *of all maner of* WEATHERS, printed in quarto by William Rastell, 1533, and again by Robert Wyer[b]. *A mery* PLAY *betweene the* PARDONER *and the* FRERE, *the* CURATE, *and neybour* PRATTE, in quarto, by William Rastell, dated the fifth day of April, 1533. *The* PLAY *of Genteelnes and Nobilitie*, in two parts, at London, without date. *The* PINNER *of Wakefield, a* COMEDIE. *Philotas Scotch*†, *a* COMEDIE. *A mery* PLAY *betweene* JOHAN *the husband,* TYB *the wife, and syr* JOHAN *the preeste*, by William Rastell, in quarto, 1533.

His EPIGRAMS, six hundred in number[c], are probably some of his jokes versified‡; and perhaps were often extemporaneous sallies, made and repeated in company. Wit and humour are ever found in proportion to the progress of politeness. The miserable drolleries and the

* [Reprinted in Dodsley's collection of Old Plays, from an edition sine anno vel loco. Herbert says it was printed by J. Alde in 1569, and by W. Middleton without date. Typog. Ant. p. 576.—PARK.]

[b] In duodecimo. No date. Pr. "Jupiter ryght far so far longe as now were to recyte."

† [Langbaine expressed a confident belief that Philotas and the Pindar of Wakefield were not Heywood's compositions, and Mr. Reed fully coincided in the same belief.—PARK.]

[c] See three hundred Epigrammes on three hundred Proverbes. Pr. "If every man mend one," London, without date, but certainly before 1553. Again, 1577.—1587.—1598. The first hundred Epigrammes. Pr. "Ryme without reason," London, 1566.—1577.—1587. 4to. The fourth hundred of Epigrammes, London, without date. Again, 1577.—1587.—1597. 4to. Pr. Prol. "Ryme without reason, and reason." The fifth and sixth hundredth of Epigrammes. Pr. "Were it as perillous to deal cards as play." Lond. 1566.—1577.—1587.—1597. 4to. See John Heywoodes Woorkes, Anno domini 1576. Imprinted at London in Fleetestreate, etc. by Thomas Marshe. In quarto. The colophon has 1577. This edition is not mentioned by Ames. [The earliest edition I have seen was dated 1562, and this included the six centuries of Epigrammes, and both parts of the dialogue on proverbs.—PARK.]

‡ [Gabriel Harvey in a note on Speght's Chaucer, (penes Bp. Percy,) says that some of Heywood's epigrams are supposed to be conceits and devices of pleasant sir Thomas More.—PARK.]

contemptible quibbles, with which these little pieces are pointed, indicate the great want of refinement*, not only in the composition but in the conversation of our ancestors. This is a specimen, on a piece of humour of Wolsey's Fool, *A saying of* PATCH *my lord Cardinal's* FOOLE†.

Maister Sexton[d], a person of unknowen witte,
As he at my lord Cardinal's boord did sitte,
Greedily raught[e] at a goblet of wine:
Drinke none, sayd my lord, for that sore leg of thyne:
I warrant your Grace, quoth Sexton, I provide
For my leg: for I drinke on the tother side[f].

The following is rather a humorous tale than an epigram, yet with an epigrammatic turn.

Although that Foxes have been seene there seelde[g],
Yet was there lately in Finsbery Feelde[h]
A Foxe sate in sight of certaine people,
Nodding, and blissing[i], staring on Poules steeple.
A Maide toward market with hens in a band
Came by, and with the Foxe she fell in hand[k].
"What thing is it, Rainard, in your braine plodding,
That bringeth this busy blissing, and nodding?
I nother[l] nod for sleepe sweete hart, the Foxe saide,
Nor blisse for spirites[m], except the divell be a maide:
My nodding and blissing breedth of wonder[n]
Of the witte[o] of Poules Weathercoke yonder.
There is more witte in that cocks onely head
Than hath bene in all mens heds that be dead.
As thus—by common report we finde,
All that be dead, did die for *lacke of winde:*
But the Weathercocks wit is not so weake
To *lacke winde*—the *winde is ever in his beake.*
So that, while any winde blowth in the skie,
For *lacke of winde* that Weathercocke will not die."

* [Heath well observed in his first Century of Epigrams, 1610, that

Heywood the old English epigrammatist
Had *wit* at will, and *art* was all he mist:
But now adaies we of the modern frie
Have art and labour with wits penurie.

Puttenham had some time before remarked with critical discrimination, that "Heywood came to be well beneflted for the myrth and quiknesse of his conceits, more than for any good learning which was in him." Art of Eng. Poesie.—PARK.]

† [When sir Thomas More had resigned the chancellorship, he gave his fool Paterson to the Lord Mayor of London upon this condition, that he should every year wait on him who succeeded to the office. See More's Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 108.—PARK.]

[d] The real name of Patch, Wolsey's Fool.
[e] reached.
[f] First Hundred. Epigr. 44.
[g] seldom. [h] Finsbury field.
[i] bowing and blessing.
[k] joined company. [l] neither.
[m] to drive away evil spirits.
[n] proceeds from wonder.
[o] wisdom.

She cast downe hir hennes, and now did she blis[p],
"Jesu," quod she, "*in nomine patris!*
Who hath ever heard, at any season,
Of a Foxes forgeing so feat a reason?"
And while she preysed the Foxes wit so,
He gat her hennes on his necke, and to go[q].
"Whither away with my hennes, Foxe?" quoth she.
"To Poules pig[r] as fast as I can," quoth he.
"Betweene these Hennes and yonder Weathercocke,
I will assaie to have chickens a flocke;
Which if I may get, this tale is made goode,
In all christendome not so *Wise a broode!*"[s]——

Another is on the phrase, *wagging beards.*

It is mery in hall, when beardes wagge all.
Husband, for this these woordes to mynd I call;
This is ment by men in their merie eating,
Not to wag their beardes in brauling or threating:
Wyfe, the meaning hereof differth not two pinnes,
Between waggінge of mens beards and womens chins.[t]

On the fashion of wearing *Verdingales*, or farthingales.

Alas! poore verdingales must lie in the street,
To house them no dore in the citee made meete.
Synce at our narrow doores they in cannot win[u],
Sende them to Oxforde, at brodegates to get in.[w]

Our author was educated at Broadgate-hall in Oxford, so called from an uncommonly wide gate or entrance, and since converted into Pembroke college. These EPIGRAMS are mentioned in Wilson's RHETORIKE, published in 1553*.

Another of Heywood's works, is a poem in long verse, entitled, *A* DIALOGUE *contayning in effect the number of al the* PROVERBES *in the English tongue compact in a matter concerning two marriages*†. The

[p] cross herself.
[q] began to steal off.
[r] pike, *i. e.* spire, or steeple.
[s] First Hundred. Epigr. 10. There are six more lines, which are superfluous.
[t] Epigrammes on Proverbes. Epigr. 2.
[u] enter in. *Win* is probably a contraction for *go in*. But see Tyrwhitt's Gloss. Ch. [See vol. i. p. 160. note [q].]
[w] Fifte Hundred. Epigr. 55.
* ["The English proverbes gathered by Ihon Heiwoode helpe well in this behaulfe (allegory), the whiche commonlie are nothyng els but allegories and darke devised sentences," fol. 90 a. Again, "for Heiwoode helpe wonderfull wele for thys purpose," fol. 96 b.—PARK.]
† [The following anecdote relating to this work has been transmitted among some "witty aunsweres and saiengs of Englishmen" in Cotton MS. Jul. F. x. "William Paulett,*Marques of Wynchester and highe treasurer of Engelande, being presented by John Heywoode with a booke, asked him what yt conteyned? and when Heywoode told him 'All the proverbes in Englishe'—'What, all?' quoth my Lorde; 'No, *Bate me an ace, quoth Bolton*, is that in youre booke?' 'No, by my faith, my Lorde, I thinke not.' aun-

first edition I have seen, is dated 1547[x]. All the proverbs of the English language are here interwoven into a very silly comic tale.

The lady of the story, an old widow now going to be married again, is thus described, with some degree of drollery, on the bridal day.

In this late olde widow, and then olde newe wife,
Age and Appetite fell at a strong strife.
Her lust was as yong, as her lims were olde.
The day of her wedding, like one to be solde,
She set out herself in fyne apparell;
She was made like a beere-pot, or a barrell.
A crooked hooked nose, beetle browde, blere eyde,
Many men wisht for beautifying that bryde.
Her waste to be gyrde in, and for a boone grace,
Some well favoured visor on her ill favourd face;
But with visorlike visage, such as it was,
She smirkt and she smilde, but so lisped this las,
That folke might have thought it done onely alone
Of wantonnesse, had not her teeth been gone.
Upright as a candel standeth in a socket,
Stoode she that day, *so simpre de cocket*[y].
Of auncient fathers she tooke no cure nor care,
She was to them *as koy as a Crokers mare.*
She tooke the'ntertainment of the yong men,
All in daliaunce, *as nice as a nuns hen*[z].
I suppose, That day her *eares* might well *glow*,
For all the town talkt of her hie and low.
One sayd a wel favourd olde woman shee is:
The devill shee is, saide another: and to this

plication of this professed court-wit seems to be recorded in Camden's Remaines, 1605, p. 234. Heywood being asked by Queen Mary "What wind blew him to the court?" He answered, "Two specially: the one to see your Majestie." "We thank you for that," said the Queen; "but, I pray you, what is the other?" "That your Grace," said he, "might see me." Sir John Harrington has an Epigram on a witty speech of Heywood to the Queene, another on young Heywood's answer to Lord Warwick, and a third on old Heywood's sons.—PARK.]

[x] In quarto. Others followed, 1549.—1562.—1566.—1576.—1587.—1598. 4to.

[Davies, of Hereford, in his "Scourge of Folly," about 1611, printed *a Descant upon Englishe proverbes*, and exhibited with a retrograde taste, not only the manner, but the dull rhymth (?) of his precursor, in the following metrical address

To old JOHN HEYWOOD the Epigrammatist.

Olde Heywood have with thee in *his od vaine*
That yet with booksellers as new doth remaine.
New poets sing riming, but thy rymes advance
Themselves in light measures: for thus they doe dance.
Ile gather some proverbes thou gatherdst before,
To descant upon them as thou didst of yore, &c.—PARK.]

[y] I do not understand this, which is marked for a proverb. [The phrase occurs in Skelton's Punnyng of Elynour Rummin:

And gray russet rocket
With symper the cocket.—PARK.]

[z] An admirable proverbial simile. It is used in Wilson's Arte of Rhetorike. "I

In came the third *with his five egges*, and sayd,
Fifty yere agoe I knew her a trim mayde.
Whatever she were then, sayde one, she is nowe,
To become a bryde, *as meete as a sowe*
To beare a saddle. She is in this mariage,
As comely as a cowe in a cage.
Gup with a gald back, Gill, come up to supper,
What *mine old mare would have a newe crupper*,
And now mine olde hat must have a new band, &c.[a]

The work has its value and curiosity as a repertory of proverbs made at so early a period. Nor was the plan totally void of ingenuity, to exhibit these maxims in the course of a narrative, enlivened by facts and circumstances. It certainly was susceptible of humour and invention.

Heywood's largest and most laboured performance is the SPIDER AND THE FLIE, with wooden cuts, printed at London by Thomas Powell, in 1556[b]. It is a very long poem in the octave stanza, containing ninety-eight chapters. Perhaps there never was so dull, so tedious, and trifling an apologue: without fancy, meaning, or moral*. A long tale of fictitious manners will always be tiresome, unless the design be burlesque; and then the ridiculous, arising from the contrast between the solemn and the light, must be ingeniously supported. Our author seems to have intended a fable on the burlesque construction†; but we know not when he would be serious and when witty, whether he means to make the reader laugh, or to give him advice. We must indeed acknowledge, that the age was not yet sufficiently refined, either to relish or to produce burlesque poetry[c]. Harrison, the author of the

knewe a priest that was *as nice as a Nunnes Hen*, when he would say masse he would never saie DOMINUS VOBISCUM, but *Dominus Vobicum.*" fol. 112 a. edit. 1567. 4to.

[a] Second Part. ch. i. [b] In quarto.

* [Mr. Ellis, in his Historical Sketch of English Poetry, &c., ch. xvi., has pronounced this parabolic tale "utterly contemptible:" but he has extracted two specimens from the First Century of Heywood's Epigrams, which certainly possess more true epigrammatic point than those selected by Mr. Warton. The following lines afford the most favourable instance of his versification.

ON MEASURE.

Measure is a merry meane,
Which filde with noppy drinke
When merry drinkers drinke off cleane,
Then merrily they winke.

Measure is a merry meane,
But I meane measures gret,
Where lippes to litele pitchers leane,
Those lippes they scantly wet.

Measure is a merry meane,
And measure is this mate;
To be a Deacon or a Dean
Thou wouldst not change the state.

Measure is a merry meane
In volewmes full or flat,
There is no chapter nor no sceane
That thou appliest like that.

Epig. upon Proverbes, Cent. iii. Ep. 28.—PARK.]

† [Herbert says—"We are to consider the author here, as he really was, a catholic; partial in vindicating the catholic cause and the administration by queen Mary, whom he characterises by the maid, with her broom (the civil sword), executing the commands of her master (Christ) and her mistress (holy church). By the *flies* are to be understood the catholics; and by the *spiders*, the protestants. How justly the characters are supported I have neither leisure nor inclination to examine." MS. note.—PARK.]

[c] But I must not forget Chaucer's Sir Thopas, and that among the Cotton ma-

DESCRIPTION OF BRITAINE, prefixed to Hollinshed's Chronicle, has left a sensible criticism on this poem. "One hath made a booke of the SPIDER AND THE FLIE, wherein he dealeth so profoundlie, and be-

nuscripts, there is an anonymous poem, perhaps coeval with Chaucer, in the style of allegorical burlesque, which describes the power of money, with great humour, and in no common vein of satire. The hero of the piece is Sir Penny. MSS. Cott. Galba, E. 9.

INCIPIT NARRACIO DE DNO DENARIO.

In erth it es a littill thing,
And regnes als[1] a riche king,
Whare he es lent in land;
SIR PENI es his name calde,
He makes both yong and alde[2]
Bow untill[3] his hand:

Papes, kinges, and emperoures,
Bisschoppes, abbottes, and priowres,
Person, prest, and knyght,
Dukes, erles, and ilk barowne,
To serue him er[4] thai ful boune[5],
Both biday and nyght.

SIR PENI chaunges man's mode,
And gers[6] them oft to doun thaire hode
And to rise him agayne[7].
Men honors him with grete reuerence,
Makes ful mekell obedience
Vnto that litill swaine.

In kinges court es it no bote[8],
Ogaines SIR PENI for to mote[9],
Se mekill es he of myght,
He es so witty and so strang,
That be it neuer so mekill wrang,
He will mak it right.

With PENY may men wemen till[10]
Be thai neuer so strange of will,
So oft may it be sene,
Lang with him will thai noght chide,
For he may ger tham trayl syde[11]
In gude skarlet and grene.

He may by[12] by heuyn and hell,
And ilka thing that es to sell.
In erth has he swilk grace,
He may lese[13] and he may bind.
The power er ay put bihind,
Whare he cumes in place.

When he bigines him to mell[14],
He makes meke that are was fell,
And waik[15] that bald has bene.
All ye nedes ful sone er sped[16],
Bath withowten borgh and wed[17],
Whare PENI gase bitwene[18].

The domes men[19] he mase[20] so blind
That he may noght the right find
Ne the suth[21] to se.
For to gif dome[22] tham es ful lath[23],
Tharwith to mak SIR PENI wrath,
Ful dere with tham es he.

Thare[24] strif was PENI makes pese[25],
Of all angers he may relese,
In land whare he will lende,
Of fase[26] may he mak frendes sad,
Of counsail thar tham neuer be rad[27],
That may haue him to frende.

That SIRE es set on high dese[28],
And serued with mani riche mese[29]
At the high burde[30].
The more he es to men plente,
The more zernid[31] alway es he:
And halden dere in horde.

He makes mani be forsworne,
And sum life and saul forlorne[32],
Him to get and wyn.
Other god will thai none haue,
Bot that litil round knaue,
Thaire bales[33] for to blin[34].

On him halely[35] thaire hertes sett,
Him for to luf[36] will thai noght let[37],
Nowther for gude ne ill.
All that he will in erth haue done,
Ilka man grantes it ful sone,
Right at his awin will.

He may both lene[38] and gyf;
He may ger both sla and lif[39],
Both by frith and fell[40].

PENI es a gude felaw,
Men welcums him in dede and saw[41].
Cum he neuer so oft,
He es noght welkumd als a gest,
But euermore serued with the best,
And made at[42] sit ful soft.

---

[1] as. [2] old. [3] unto. [4] are. [5] ready. [6] makes, causes, compels. [7] against, before. [8] use. [9] dispute. [10] approach, gain. [11] make them walk. [He may enable them to wear long sweeping dresses. A "trayl-syde gown," says Dr. Jamieson, "is so long as to trail upon the ground."] [12] buy. [13] loose. [14] meddle. [15] weak. [16] all you want is soon done. [17] borrowing or pledging. [surety and pledge.] [18] goes between. [19] judges. [20] makes. [21] truth. [22] judgement. [23] loath. [24] where. [25] peace. [26] foes. [27] void. [28] seat. [the dais.] [29] mess. [30] high-table. [31] coveted. [32] despise, quit. [lose.] [33] eyes. [miseries.] [34] blind. [stop.] [35] wholly. [36] love. [37] never cease. [38] lend. [39] kill and save. [40] sea and land. [wood and hill.] [41] doing and speaking. [42] to sit.

yond all measure of skill, that neither he himselfe that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach unto the meaning thereof[d]." It is a proof of the unpopularity* of this poem, that it never was reprinted. Our author's EPIGRAMS, and the poem of PROVERBS, were in high vogue, and had numerous editions before the year 1598†. The most lively part of the SPIDER AND FLIE is perhaps the mock-fight between the spiders and flies, an awkward imitation of Homer's BATRACHOMUOMACHY. The preparations for this bloody and eventful engagement, on the part of the spiders, in their cobweb-castle, are thus described.

Who so es sted in any nede[43],
With SIR PENI may thai spede,
How so euer they betyde[44].
He that SIR PENI es with all,
Sal haue his will in stede and stall,
When other er set byside[45].

SIR PENY gers, in riche wede,
Ful mani go and ride on stede[46],
In this werldes wide.
In ilka[47] gamin and ilka play,
The maystri es gifen ay
To PENY, for his pride.

SIR PENY over all gettes the gre[48],
Both in burgh and in cete[49],
In castell and in towre.
Withowten owther[50] spere or schelde,
Es he the best in frith or felde,
And stalworthest in stowre[51].

In ilka place, the suth es sene[52],
SIR PENI es ouer-al bidene,
Maister most in mode.
And all es als he will cumand:
Ogains his stevyn[53] dar no man stand,
Nowther by land ne flode.

SIR PENY mai ful mekill availe[54]
To tham that has nede of cownsail,
Als sene es in assize[55]:
He lenkithes[56] life and saues fro ded[57].
Bot luf it noght ouer wele I rede[58],
For sin of couaityse[59].

If thou haue happ tresore to win,
Delite the noght to mekill tharin[60].
Ne nything[61] thareof be,
But spend it als wele als thou can,
So that thou luf both god and man
In perfite charite.

God grant vs grace with hert and will,
The gudes that he has gifen vs till[62],
Wele and wisely to spend.
And so oure liues here for to lede,
That we may haue his blis to mede[63],
Euer withowten end. Amen.

An old Scotch poem called SIR PENNY has been formed from this, printed in Antient Scottish Poems, p. 153. Edinb. 1770.

[d] Descript. Brit. p. 226. Hollinsh. Chron. tom. i.

* [Or rather, says Herbert, because popery has not since been re-established. MS. note.—PARK.]

† [In that year, or perhaps in 1596, the Epigrams of sir John Davis were printed, and the following lines therein addressed *In Haywodum*.

Haywood that did in Epigrams excell
In non put downe since my light Muse arose,
As buckets are put down into a well,
Or as a schooleboy pulleth down his hose. Ep. 29.

The lightness of Davis's witticisms led to their inhibition in 1599. Bastard in his Christoloros 1598, has two allusions to Heywood; and in some satirical poems published about 1616, I believe by Anton, it is said,

Heywood was held for Epigrams the best
What time old *Churchyard* dealt in verse and prose:
But fashions since are grown out of request
As bombast, doublets, bases and round hose;
Or as your lady may it now be saide,
That looks lesse lovely than her chambermaide.—PARK.]

---

[43] under any difficulty. [44] whatever happens. [45] despised. [46] causes many to ride, &c. [47] every. [48] degree, pre-eminence. [49] town and city. [50] either. [51] stoutest in battle. [52] truth is seen. [53] voice, sound. [54] be of much power. [55] as appears in the place of judicature, or, in passing sentence. [56] lengthens. [57] death. [58] love money not too much, I advise. [59] covetousness. [60] too much therein. [61] nyding. Be not too careless [niggardly] [62] to us. [63] our reward.

Behold! the battilments in every loope:
How th' ordinance lieth, flies far and nere to fach:
Behold how everie peace, that lieth there in groope[e],
Hath a spider gonner, with redy-fired match.
Behold on the wals, spiders making ware wach:
The wach-spider in the towre a larum to strike,
At aproch of any nomber shewing warlike.

Se the enprenabill[f] fort, in every border,
How everie spider with his wepon doth stand,
So thorowlie harnest[g], in so good order:
The capital[h] spider, with wepon in hand,
For that sort of sowdiers so manfully mand,
With copwebs like casting nets all flies to quell:
My hart shaketh at the sight: behold it is hell![i]

The beginning of all this confusion is owing to a fly entering the poet's window, not through a broken pane, as might be presumed, but through the lattice, where it is suddenly entangled in a cobweb.[k] The cobweb, however, will be allowed to be sufficiently descriptive of the poet's apartment. But I mention this circumstance as a probable proof, that windows of lattice, and not of glass, were now the common fashion.[l]

[e] in rows. [f] impregnable.
[g] clad in armour.
[h] perhaps capitayne.
[i] Cap. 37. Signat. B b. [k] Cap. i.
[l] See his Epigrammes. Epig. 82. First Hundred. And Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie, Lib. i. c. 31. p. 49. One of Heywood's Epigrams is descriptive of his life and character. Fifte Hundred. Epigr. 100.

OF HEYWOOD.

Art thou Heywood with the mad mery wit?
Yea forsooth, mayster, that same is even hit.
Art thou Heywood that applyeth mirth more than thrift?
Yes, sir, I take mery mirth a golden gift.
Art thou Heywood that hath made many mad Playes?
Yea, many playes, few good woorkes in all my dayes.
Art thou Heywood that hath made men mery long?
Yea, and will, if I be made mery among.
Art thou Heywood that would be made mery now?
Yea, sir, helpe me to it now I beseech yow.

In the Conclusion to the Spider and Flie, Heywood mentions queen Mary and king Philip[1]. But as most of his pieces seem to have been written some time before, I have placed him under Henry the Eighth.

[The following doubtless was composed on the spousals of Philip and Mary: "A balade specifienge partly the maner, partly the matter, in the most excellent meetyng and lyke mariage betwene our soveraigne Lord and our soveraigne Lady, the kynges and queenes highnes. Pende by John Heywood." Herb. p. 800. Oldys says he had seen "A briefe balet touching the trayterous takynge of Scarborow castle," subscribed J. Heywood, and printed in b. l. Mention is made of these at p. 85. note. The first of them is allegorically figurative, and begins:

The Egles byrde hath spred his wings
And from far of hathe taken flyght,
In whiche meane way by no lourings
On bough or braunch this birde wold light;
Till on the Rose, both red and whight,
He lighteth now most lovinglie
And therto moste behovinglie.

[1] [Mr. Warton must have read the Conclusion of Heywood very cursorily, says Herbert, or he would not have been at such a loss for the intention of his poem of the Spider and the Flie.—PARK.]

John Heywood died at Mechlin in Brabant about the year 1565*. He was inflexibly attached to the catholic cause, and on the death of queen Mary quitted the kingdom. Antony Wood remarks[m], with his usual acrimony, that it was a matter of wonder with many, that, considering the great and usual want of principle in the profession, a poet should become a voluntary exile for the sake of religion.

SECTION XLIII.

Sir Thomas More's English Poetry. Tournament of Tottenham. Its age and scope. Laurence Minot. Alliteration. Digression illustrating comparatively the language of the fifteenth century, by a specimen of the Metrical Armoric Romance of Ywayn and Gawayn.

I KNOW not if sir Thomas More may properly be considered as an English poet. He has, however, left a few obsolete poems, which although without any striking merit, yet, as productions of the restorer of literature in England, seem to claim some notice here. One of these is, A MERY JEST *how a* SERGEANT *would learne to play the* FREERE. *Written by Maister Thomas More in hys youth*[a]. The story is too dull and too long to be told here. But I will cite two or three of the prefatory stanzas.

He that hath lafte[b] the Hosier's crafte,
And falleth to making shone[c];
The smythe that shall to payntyng fall,
His thrift is well nigh done.
A blacke draper with whyte paper,
To goe to writyng scole,
An olde butler becum a cutler,
I wene shall prove a fole.

Fuller speaks of a book written by Heywood entitled "Monumenta Literaria," which are said to be *non tam labore condita, quam lepore condita.* Worthies of London, p. 221. Lord Hales pointed out a few lines in The Evergreen as the composition of Heywood, but they prove to be one of his Epigrams Scoticised. See Cent. i. p. 25.—PARK.]

* [An epilogue or conclusion to the works of Heywood in 1587, by Thomas Newton the Cheshire poet, thus notices his decease:—

This author *Haywood* dead and gone, and shrinde in tombe of clay,
Bifore his death by penned workes did carefully assay
To builde himselfe a lasting tombe, not made of stone and lyme,
But better farre and richer too triumphing over Tyme.—PARK.]

[m] Ath. Oxon. i. 150.

[a] Workes, Lond. 1557. in folio. Sign. ℭ i.

[b] left. [c] shoes.

And an olde trot, that can, got wot,
Nothyng but kysse the cup,
With her phisick will keep one sicke,
Till she have soused hym up.
A man of lawe that never sawe
The wayes to bye and sell,
Wenyng to ryse by marchaundyse,
I praye God spede hym well!
A marchaunt eke, that wyll goo seke
By all the meanes he may,
To fall in sute tyll he dispute
His money cleane away;
Pletyng the lawe for every strawe,
Shall prove a thrifty man,
With bate[d] and strife, but by my life,
I cannot tell you whan.
Whan an hatter wyll go smatter
In philosophy;
Or a pedlar waxe a medlar
In theology.

In these lines, which are intended to illustrate, by familiar examples, the absurdity of a serjeant at law assuming the business of a friar, perhaps the reader perceives but little of that festivity, which is supposed to have marked the character and the conversation of sir Thomas More. The last two stanzas deserve to be transcribed, as they prove, that this tale was designed to be sung to music by a minstrel, for the entertainment of company.

Now Masters all, here now I shall
Ende there as I began;
In any wyse, I would avyse,
And counsayle every man,
His own craft use, all newe refuse,
And lyghtly let them gone:
Play not the FRERE, Now make good cheere,
And welcome everych one.

This piece is mentioned, among other popular story-books in 1575, by Laneham, in his ENTERTAINMENT AT KILLINGWORTH CASTLE in the reign of queen Elisabeth[e].

In CERTAIN METERS, written also in his youth, as a prologue for his BOKE OF FORTUNE, and forming a poem of considerable length, are these stanzas, which are an attempt at personification and imagery. FORTUNE is represented sitting on a lofty throne, smiling on all man-

[d] debate. [e] Fol. 44. seq.

kind, who are gathered around her eagerly expecting a distribution of her favours.

> Then, as a bayte, she bryngeth forth her ware,
> Silver and gold, riche perle and precious stone;
> On whiche the mased people gase and stare,
> And gape therefore, as dogges doe for the bone.
> FORTUNE at them laugheth: and in her trone
> Amyd her treasure and waveryng rychesse
> Prowdly she hoveth as lady and empresse.
>
> Fast by her syde doth wery Labour stand,
> Pale Fere also, and Sorow all bewept;
> Disdayn and Hatred, on that other hand,
> Eke restles Watche fro slepe with travayle kept:
> Before her standeth Daunger and Envy,
> Flattery, Dysceyt, Mischiefe, and Tiranny.[f]

Another of sir Thomas More's juvenile poems is, A RUFUL LAMENTACION on the death of queen Elisabeth, wife of Henry the Seventh, and mother of Henry the Eighth, who died in childbed, in 1503. It is evidently formed on the tragical soliloquies, which compose Lydgate's paraphrase of Boccace's book DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRIUM, and which gave birth to the MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES, the origin of our historic dramas. These stanzas are part of the queen's complaint at the approach of death.

> Where are our castels now, where are our towers?
> Goodly Rychemonde[g], sone art thou gone from me!
> At Westmynster that costly worke of yours,
> Myne owne dere lorde, now shall I never see!
> Almighty God vouchesafe to graunt that ye
> For you and your children well may edify:
> My palyce byldyd is, and lo now here I ly.[h]——
>
> Farewell my doughter, lady Margarete[i]!
> God wotte, full oft it greved hath my mynde
> That ye should go where we should seldome mete,
> Now I am gone and have left you behynde.
> O mortall folke, that we be very blynde!
> That we last feere, full oft it is most nye:
> From you depart I must, and lo now here I lye.
>
> Farewell, madame, my lordes worthy mother[k]!
> Comfort your son, and be ye of good chere.
> Take all a worth, for it will be no nother.

[f] Ibid. Sign. ℭ vi.
[g] the palace of Richmond.
[h] Henry VII.'s chapel, begun in the year 1502, the year before the queen died.
[i] Married in 1503 to James the Fourth, king of Scotland.
[k] Margaret countess of Richmond.

Farewell my doughter Katharine, late the fere
To prince Arthur myne owne chyld so dere[l].
It booteth not for me to wepe or cry:
Pray for my soule, for lo now here I ly.

Adew lord Henry, my lovyng sonne adew[m],
Our lorde encrease your honour and estate.
Adew my doughter Mary, bright of hew[n],
God make you vertuous, wyse, and fortunate.
Adew swete hart, my little doughter Kate[o]:
Thou shalt, sweete babe, suche is thy desteny,
Thy mother never know, for lo now here I ly.[p]

In the fourth stanza she reproaches the astrologers for their falsity in having predicted that this should be the happiest and most fortunate year of her whole life. This, while it is a natural reflection in the speaker, is a proof of More's contempt of a futile and frivolous science, then so much in esteem. I have been prolix in my citation from this forgotten poem: but I am of opinion that some of the stanzas have strokes of nature and pathos, and deserved to be rescued from total oblivion.

More, when a young man, contrived in an apartment of his father's house a *goodly hangyng of fyne paynted clothe*, exhibiting nine pageants, or allegoric representations, of the stages of man's life, together with the figures of Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity. Under each picture he wrote a stanza. The first is under CHILDHODE, expressed by a boy whipping a top.

I am called CHYLDHOD, in play is all my mynde,
To cast a coyte[q], a cockstele[r], and a ball;
A toppe can I set, and dryve in its kynde;
But would to God, these hatefull bookes all
Were in a fyre brent to pouder small!
Than myght I lede my lyfe alwayes in play,
Which lyfe God sende me to myne endyng day.

Next was pictured MANHOD, a comely young man mounted on a fleet horse, with a hawk on his fist, and followed by two greyhounds, with this stanza affixed.

MANHOD I am, therefore I me delyght
To hunt and hawke, to nourishe up and fede
The grayhounde to the course, the hawke to th' flyght,
And to bestryde a good and lusty stede:
These thynges become a very man in dede.

[l] Catharine of Spain, wife of her son prince Arthur, now dead.

[m] Afterwards king Henry the Eighth.

[n] Afterwards queen of France. Remarried to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

[o] The queen died within a few days after she was delivered of this infant, the princess Catharine, who did not long survive her mother's death.

[p] Workes, ut supr. [q] a quoit.

[r] a stick for throwing at a cock. Stele is handle, *Sax.*

Yet thynketh this boy his pevishe game sweter,
But what, no force, his reason is no better.

The personification of FAME, like RUMOUR in the Chorus to Shakspeare's HENRY THE FOURTH, is surrounded with tongues[s].

Tapestry, with metrical legends illustrating the subject, was common in this age; and the public pageants in the streets were often exhibited with explanatory verses. I am of opinion, that the COMŒDIOLÆ, or little interludes, which More is said to have written and acted in his father's house, were only these nine pageants[t].

Another juvenile exercise of More in the English stanza, is annexed to his prose translation of the LIFE of John Picus Mirandula, and entitled, TWELVE RULES OF JOHN PICUS EARLE OF MIRANDULA, *partely exciting, partely directing a man in* SPIRITUAL BATAILE[u]. The old collector of his ENGLISH WORKES has also preserved two *shorte ballettes*[w], or stanzas, which he wrote for his *pastyme*, while a prisoner in the Tower[x].

It is not my design, by these specimens, to add to the fame of sir Thomas More; who is reverenced by posterity, as the scholar who taught that erudition which civilised his country, and as the philosopher who met the horrours of the block with that fortitude which was equally free from ostentation and enthusiasm: as the man, whose genius overthrew the fabric of false learning, and whose amiable tranquillity of temper triumphed over the malice and injustice of tyranny.

To some part of the reign of Henry the Eighth I assign the TOURNAMENT OF TOTTENHAM, or *The wooeing, winning, and wedding of* TIBBE *the Reeves Daughter there.* I presume it will not be supposed to be later than that reign: and the substance of its phraseology, which I divest of its obvious innovations, is not altogether obsolete enough for a higher period. I am aware, that in a manuscript of the British Museum it is referred to the time of Henry the Sixth. But that manuscript affords no positive indication of that date[y]. It was published

[s] Workes, Sign. C. iii.

[t] See vol. ii. p. 530, note [r].

[u] These pieces were written in the reign of Henry the Seventh; but as More flourished in the succeeding reign, I have placed them accordingly.

[w] Workes, b. iii.

[x] Ut supr. fol. 1432. [These ballettes are here given:

LEWYS THE LOST LOVER.

Ey, flatering Fortune, loke thou never so fayre,
Or never so plesantly begin to smile,
As though thou wouldst my ruine all repayre,
During my life thou shalt me not begile:
Trust shall I God, to entre in a while
His haven of heaven sure and uniforme,
Ever after thy calme loke I for a storme.

DAVY THE DYCER.

Long was I, lady Luck, your serving man,
and now have lost agayne all that I gat;
wherefore, whan I thinke on you nowe & than,
and in my minde remember this & that,
ye may not blame me, though I beshrew your cat:
but, in fayth, I blesse you agayne a thousand times,
for lending me nowe some laysure to make rymes.—PARK.]

[y] MSS. Harl. 5396. [One of the entries in this MS. is dated the 34th year of Henry VI. or 1456. There can be no doubt that the poem is of equal antiquity. —PRICE.]

from an ancient manuscript in the year 1631, and reduced to a more modern style, by William Bedwell, rector of Tottenham, and one of the translators of the Bible. He says it was written by Gilbert Pilkington, supposed to have been rector of the same parish, and author of an unknown tract, called PASSIO DOMINI JESU. But Bedwell, without the least comprehension of the scope and spirit of the piece, imagines it to be a serious narrative of a real event; and, with as little sagacity, believes it to have been written before the year 1330. Allowing that it might originate from a real event, and that there might be some private and local abuse at the bottom, it is impossible that the poet could be serious. Undoubtedly the chief merit of this poem, although not destitute of humour, consists in the design rather than the execution. As Chaucer, in the RIME OF SIR THOPAS[z], travestied the romances of

[The Rev. Wilhelm Bedwell, who published the Turnament of Tottenham, from an ancient MS. in 1631, 4to, says, in his Epistle to the reader, "It is now seven or eight years since I came to the sight of the copy, and that by the meanes of the worthy and my much honoured good friend, M. *George Withers*, of whom also, now at length, I have obtained the use of the same. And because the verse was then by him (a man of so exquisite judgement in this kinde of learning) much commended, as also for the thing it selfe, I thought it worth while to transcribe it and to make it public," &c.—PARK.]

[z] I take this opportunity of observing, that the stanza of one of Laurence Minot's poems on the wars of Edward the Third, is the same as Chaucer's Sir Topas. Minot was Chaucer's contemporary. MSS. Cott. Galb. E. ix.

Edward oure cumly king
In Braband has his woning,
With mani cumly knight,
And in that land, trewly to tell,
Ordains he still for to dwell,
To time he think to fight.

Now God that es of mightes maste,
Grant him grace of the Haly Gaste,
His heritage to win;
And Mari moder of mercy fre,
Save oure king, and his menze,
Fro sorow, schame, and syn.

Thus in Braband has he bene,
Whare he bifore was seldom sene,
For to prove thaire japes;
Now no langer wil he spare,
Bot unto Fraunce fast will he fare,
To confort him with grapes.

Furth he ferd into France,
God save him fro mischance,
And all his cumpany;
The nobill duc of Braband
With him went into that land,
Redy to lif or dy.

Than the riche floure de lice
Wan thare ful litill prise,
Fast he fled for ferde;
The right aire[1] of that cuntre
Es cumen with all his knightes fre
To schac[2] him by the berd.

Sir Philip the Valayse,
Wit his men in tho dayes,
To batale had he thoght;
He bad his men tham purvay
Withowten lenger delay,
Bot he ne held it noght.

He broght folk ful grete wone,
Ay sevyn ogains one,
That ful wele wapind[3] were;
Bot sone when he herd ascry,
That king Edward was nere tharby,
Than durst he noght cum nere.

In that morning fell a myst;
And when oure Ingliss men it wist,
It changed all thaire chere:
Oure king unto God made his bone,
And God sent him gude confort sone,
The weder wex ful clere.

Oure king and his men helde the felde,
Stalworthly with spere and schelde,
And thoght to win his right;
With lordes and with knightes kene,
And other doghty men bydene,
That war ful frek to fight.

When sir Philip of France herd tell,
That king Edward in feld walld dwell,
Than gayned him no gle;

[1] heir. [2] shake. [3] weaponed, armed.

chivalry, the TOURNAMENT OF TOTTENHAM is a burlesque on the parade and fopperies of chivalry itself. In this light, it may be considered as a curiosity; and does honour to the good sense and discernment of the writer, who seeing through the folly of these fashionable exercises, was sensible at the same time, that they were too popular to be attacked by the more solid weapons of reason and argument. Even on a supposition that here is an allusion to real facts and characters, and that it was intended to expose some popular story of the amours of the daughter of the Reve of Tottenham, we must acknowledge that the satire is conveyed in an ingenious mode. He has introduced a parcel of clowns and rustics, the inhabitants of Tottenham, Islington, Highgate, and Hackney, places then not quite so polished as at present*, who imitate all the solemnities of the barriers. The whole is a mock-parody on the challenge, the various events of the encounter, the exhibition of the prize, the devices and escocheons, the display of arms, the triumphant procession of the conqueror, the oath before the combat, and the splendid feast which followed, with every other ceremony and circumstance which constituted the regular tournament. The reader will form an idea of the work from a short extract[a].

He that bear'th him best in the tournament,
Shal be graunted the gree[b] by the common assent,
For to winne my daughter with doughtinesse of dent[c],
And Copple my broode hen that was brought out of Kent,

He traisted of no better bote,
Bot both on hors and on fote,
  He hasted him to fle.

It semid he was ferd for strokes,
When he did fell his grete okes
  Obout his pavilyoune.
Abated was than all his pride,
For langer thare durst he noght bide,
  His bost was broght all doune.

The king of Beme had cares colde,
That was ful hardy, and bolde,
  A stede to umstride:
[He and] the king als of Naverne
War faire ferd in the ferne
  Thaire heviddes for to hide.

And leves wele, it is no lye,
The felde hat Flemangrye
  That king Edward was in;
With princes that war stif ande bolde,
And dukes that war doghty tolde,
  In batayle to begin.

The princes that war riche on raw,
Gert nakers strikes and trumpes blaw[4],
  And made mirth at thaire might;
Both alblast and many a bow
War redy railed opon a row,
  And ful frek for to fight.

Gladly thai gaf mete and drink,
So that thai suld the better swink,
  The wight men that thar ware:
Sir Philip of Fraunce fled for dout,
And hied him hame with all his rout,
  Coward, God giff him care.

For thare than had the lely flowre
Lorn all halely his honowre,
  That so gat fled for ferd;
Bot oure king Edward come ful still,
When that he trowed no harm him till,
  And keped him in the berde.

[This and the following specimens from Minot have been corrected by Mr. Ritson's editions of his poems.—PRICE.]

* [Here Dr. Ashby remarks that Tottenham, &c. were always as near the capital, and consequently as much so then as now, comparatively. But what is more to the point, and as true as strange, the lower classes are little better than those of the same rank at a greater distance.—PARK.]

[a] V. 42.
[b] prize.
[c] strength of blows.

[4] In glittering ranks, made the drums beat and trumpets blow.

And my dunned cow:
For no spence[d] will I spare,
For no cattell will I care.
He shall have my gray mare, and my spotted sow.

There was many a bold lad their bodyes to bede[e];
Then they toke their leave, and hamward they hede[f];
And all the weke after they gayed her wede[g],
Till it come to the day that they should do their dede[h]:
They armed them in mattes;
They sett on their nowls[i]
Good blacke bowls[k],
To keep their powls[l] from battering of battes[m].

They sewed hem in sheepskinnes for they should not brest[n],
And every ilk[o] of them had a blacke hatte instead of a crest;
A baskett or panyer before on their brest,
And a flayle in her hande, for to fight prest[p],
Forthe con thei fare[q].
There was kid[r] mickle force.
Who should best fend[s] his corse,
He that had no good horse, borrowed him a mare, &c.[t]

It appears to me, that the author, to give dignity to his narrative, and to heighten the ridicule by stiffening the familiarity of his incidents and characters, has affected an antiquity of style. This I could prove from the cast of its fundamental diction and idiom, with which many of the old words do not agree. Perhaps another of the author's affectations is the alliterative manner; for although other specimens of alliteration, in smaller pieces, are now to be found, yet it was a singularity. To those which I have mentioned, of this reign, I take this opportunity of adding an alliterative poem, which may be called the FALCON AND THE PIE, who support a DYALOGUE DEFENSYVE FOR WOMEN AGAYNST MALICYOUS DETRACTOURS, printed in 1542[u]. The

[d] expence.
[e] bid, offer.
[f] hied.
[g] made their clothes gay.
[h] fight for the lady.
[i] heads.
[k] instead of helmets.
[l] poles.
[m] cudgels.
[n] they sewed themselves up in sheep skins, by way of armour, to avoid being hurt.
[o] each.
[p] ready.
[q] on they went.
[r] kithed, i. e. shown.
[s] defend.
[t] I have before observed, that it was a disgrace to chivalry to ride on a mare.

The poems of this manuscript do not seem to be all precisely of the same hand, and might probably once have been separate papers, here stitched together. At the end of one of them, viz. fol. 46. *The lysom ledys the Blynde*, mention is inserted of an accompt settled ann. 34. Hen. VI. And this is in the hand and ink of that poem, and of some others. The Tournament of Tottenham, which might once have been detached from the present collection, comes at some distance afterwards, and cannot perhaps for a certainty be pronounced to be of the same writing.

[u] Coloph. "Thus endeth the faucon and pie anno dni 1542. Imprynted by me Rob. Wyer for Richarde Bankes."

I have an ancient manuscript alliterative poem, in which a despairing lover bids farewell to his mistress. At the end

author's name Robert Vaghane, or Vaughan, is prefixed to some sonnets which form a sort of epilogue to the performance.

For the purpose of ascertaining or illustrating the age of pieces is written, "Explicit Amōr p. Ducem Ebōrr nup. fact." I will here cite a few of the stanzas of this unknown prince. [Qu. Edward Duke of York, eldest son of Edmond of Langley? See Noble Authors, i. 183. ed. 1806.—PARK.]

Farewell Lady of grete pris,
Farewell wys, both fair and free,
Farewell freefull flourdelys,
Farewell buril, bright of ble!—

Farewell mirthe that y do mysse,
Farewell Prowesse in purpull pall!
Farewell creatur comely to kisse,
Farewell Faucon, fare you befall!

Farewell amerouse and amyable,
Farewell worthy, witty, and wys,
Farewell pured pris prisable,
Farewell ryal rose in the rys.—

Farewell derworth of dignite,
Farewell grace of governaunce,
However y fare, farewell ye,
Farewell prymerose my plesaunce!

For the use of those who collect specimens of alliteration, I will add an instance in the reign of Edward the Third from the Banocburn of Laurence Minot, all whose pieces, in some degree, are tinctured with it. MSS. Cott. Galb. E. ix. ut supr.

Skottes out of Berwik and of Abirdene,
At the Bannokburn war ze to kene;
Thare slogh ze many sakles[1], als it was sene.
And now has king Edward wroken it I wene;
It es wroken I wene wele wurth the while,
War zit with the Skottes for thai er ful of gile.

Whare er ze Skottes of saint Johnes toune?
The boste of zowre baner es betin all doune;
When ze bosting will[2] bede, sir Edward es boune,
For to kindel zow care and crak zowre crowne:
He has crakked zowre croune wele worth the while,
Schame bityde the Skottes for thai er full of gile.

Skottes of Striflin war steren[3] and stout,
Of God ne of gude men had thai no dout;
Now have thai the pelers priked obout,
Bot at the last sir Edward rifild thaire rout;
He has rifild thaire rout wele wurth the while,
Bot euer er thai under bot gaudes and gile.

Rughfute riueling now kindels thi care,
Bere-bag with thi boste thi biging[4] es bare;
Fals wretche and forsworn, whider wiltou fare?
Busk the unto Brig and abide thare.
Thare wretche saltou won, and wery the while,
Thi dwelling in Donde es done for thi gile.

The Skottes gase[5] in burghes and betes the stretes,
All thise Inglis men harmes he hetes;
Fast makes he his mone to men that he metes,
Bot sone frendes he finds that his bale betes;
Sune betes his bale wele wurth the while,
He uses all threting with gaudes and gile.

Bot many man thretes and spekes full ill,
That sumtyme war better to be stane still;
The Skot in his wordes has wind for to spill,
For at the last Edward sall haue al his will:
He had his will at Berwick wele wurth the while,
Skottes broght him the kayes, bot get for thaire gile.

A VISION on vellum, perhaps of the same age, is alliterative. MSS. Cott. Nero, A. x. These are specimens.

Ryzt as the maynful mone con rys[6],
Er thenne the day glem dryve aldoun[7],
So sodenly, on a wonder wyse,
I was war of a prosessyoun[8]:
This noble cite of ryche enpresse
Was sodanly full, withouten somoun[9],
Of such vergynes in the same gyse

---

[1] naked, [guiltless.—RITSON.] [2] allow it, [offer.—R.] [3] stern.
[4] clothing, [dwelling.—R.] [5] go. [6] as the moon began to rise.
[7] the even drove down the day-light. [8] procession. [9] summons, notice.

which have been lately or will be soon produced, I here stop to recall the reader's attention to the poetry and language of the last century, by exhibiting some extracts from the manuscript romance of YWAIN AND GAWAIN, which has some great outlines of Gothic painting, and appears to have been written in the reign of king Henry the Sixth[w]. I premise, that but few circumstances happened, which contributed to the improvement of our language, within that and the present period.

The following is the adventure of the enchanted forest attempted by sir Colgrevance, which he relates to the knights of the round table at Cardiff in Wales[x].

That was my blisful an under croun,
And coronde wern alle[10] of the same fasoun,
Depaynt in perles and wedes qwhyte[11].

Again,

On golden gates that glent[12] as glas.

Again,

But mylde as mayden sene at mas.

The poem begins,

Perle plesant to princes raye,
So clanly clos in golde so cler[13].

In the same manuscript is an alliterative poem without rhyme, exactly in the versification of Pierce Plowman, of equal or higher antiquity, viz.

Olde Abraham in erde[14] over he syttes,
Even byfor his house doore under an oke grene,
Bryzt blikked the bem[15] of the brod heven
In the hyze hete[16] therof Abraham bides.

The hand-writing of these two last-mentioned pieces cannot be later than Edward the Third. [See supr. vol. ii. p. 106.]

[w] MSS. Cott. Galb. E. ix. [Ritson considers this MS. to be at least as old as the time of king Richard II. Obs. p. 34. The language, he adds, of all the poems in the same MS. is a strong northern dialect, from which it may be inferred that they are the composition of persons, most likely monks, resident in that part of England, where in former times were several flourishing monasteries. Notes to Met. Romances, iii. 229.—PARK.]

[x] [The present text has been corrected by Mr. Ritson's edition of this romance. —PRICE.]

——— King Arthur,
He made a feste, the sothe to say,
Upon the Witsononday,
At Kerdyf, that es in Wales,
And efter mete thar in the hales[17],
Ful grete and gay was the assemble
Of lordes and ladies of that cuntre.
And als of knightes, war and wyse,
And damisels of mykel pryse,
Ilkane with other made grete gamin,
And grete solace, als thai war samin,
Fast thai carped, and curtaysli,
Of dedes of armes, and of veneri,
And of gude knightes, &c.

It is a piece of considerable length, and contains a variety of GESTS. Sir Ywain is sir Ewain, or Owen, in Morte Arthur. None of these adventures belong to that romance. But see B. iv. c. 17. 27. etc. The story of the lion and the dragon in this romance, is told of a Christian champion in the Holy War, by Berchorius, Reductor. p. 661. See supr. vol. i. Diss. on the Gest. Romanor. ch. civ. The lion being delivered from the dragon by sir Ywain, ever afterwards accompanies and defends him in the greatest dangers. Hence Spenser's Una attended by a lion. F. Qu. i. iii. 7. See sir Percival's lion in Morte Arthur, B. xiv. c. 6. The dark ages had many stories and traditions of the lion's gratitude and generosity to man. Hence in Shakspeare, Troilus says, Tr. and Cress. act v. sc. 3.

Brother, you have a vice of mercy in you
Which better fits a lion than a man.

[The darker ages had many stories of the gratitude and generosity of lions towards man.—ASHBY.]

---

[10] all wore a crown. [11] white robes. [12] glanced, shone.
[13] *cleanly*, a pearl beautifully *inclosed* or set in gold. [14] earth.
[15] Bright shone the beam. [16] high heat. [17] halls.

A faire forest sone I fand[y],
Me thoght mi hap[z] thare fel ful hard
For thar was mani a wilde lebard[a],
Lions, beres, bath bul and bare,
That rewfully gan rope[b] and rare[c].
Oway I drogh[d] me, and with that,
I saw sone whar a man sat
On a lawnd, the fowlest wight,
That ever yit[e] man saw in syght:
He was a lathly[f] creatur,
For fowl he was out of mesur;
A wonder mace[g] in hand he hade,
And sone mi way to him I made;
His hevyd[h], me thoght, was als grete
Als of a rowncy or a nete[i].
Unto his belt hang[k] his hare[l];
And efter that byheld I mare[m],
To his forhede byheld I than
Was bradder[n] than twa large span;
He had eres[o] als[p] ane olyfant,
And was wele more[q] than geant,
His face was ful brade and flat,
His nese[r] was cutted as a cat,
His browes war like litel buskes[s],
And his tethe like bare tuskes;
A ful grete bulge[t] open his bak,
Thar was noght made withowten lac[u];
His chin was fast until[w] his brest,
On his mace he gan him rest.
Also it was a wonder wede[x]
That the cherle[y] yn yede[z],
Nowther[a] of wol[b] ne of line[c],
Was the wede that he went yn.
When he me sagh, he stode up right,
I frayned[d] him if he wolde fight,
For tharto was I in gude will,
Bot als[e] a beste than stode he still:
I hopid[f] that he no wittes kowth[g],
Ne reson for to speke with mowth.

[y] found. [z] chance, fortune.
[a] leopard.
[b] ramp, [cry aloud, bellow.—RITSON.]
[c] roar. [d] drew.
[e] yet. [f] loathly.
[g] club. [h] head.
[i] horse or ox. [k] hung.
[l] hair. [m] more.
[n] broader. [o] ears.
[p] as. [q] bigger.
[r] nose [s] bushes. [t] bunch.
[u] lack. [w] to.
[x] wondrous dress.
[y] churl. [z] went in.
[a] neither. [b] wool.
[c] linen. [d] asked. [e] as.
[f] supposed, apprehended.
[g] had no understanding.

To him I spak ful hardily,
And said, What ertow[h], belamy[i]?
He said ogain, I am a man.
I said, Swilk[k] saw I never nane.
What ertow[m]? al sone[n] said he.
I said, Swilk als[o] thou her may se.
I said, What dose[p] thou here allane[q]?
He said, I kepe thir[r] bestes ilkane[s].
I said, That es mervaile, think me,
For I herd never of man bot the,
In wildernes, ne in forestes,
That kepeing had of wilde bestes,
Bot[t] thai war bunden faste in halde[u].
He sayd, Of thir[w] es none so balde,
Nowther by day ne by night,
Anes[x] to pas out of mi sight.
I sayd, How so? tell me thi scill.
Per fay, he said, gladly I will.
He said, In al this fair foreste
Es thar non so wilde beste,
That renin[y] dar[z], bot stil stand[a]
Whan I am to him cumand[b];
And ay when that I will him fang[c]
With my fingers that er strang[d],
I ger[e] him cri on swilk manere,
That al the bestes when thai him here,
Obout me than cum thai all,
And to mi fete fast thai fall
On thair maner, merci to cry.
Bot understand now redyli,
Olyve[f] es[g] thar lifand[h] no ma[i],
Bot I, that durst omang them ga[k],
That he ne sold sone be al torent[l];
Bot thai er at my comandment,
To me thai cum whan I tham call,
And I am maister of tham all.
Than he asked onone right,
What man I was? I said, A knyght,
That soght aventurs in that lande,
My body to assai[m] and fande[n];

[h] art thou. [i] my friend.
[k] such. [l] none. [m] art thou.
[n] also, [very soon.] [o] as.
[p] dost. [q] alone. [r] these.
[s] every one. [t] except. [u] hold.
[w] these. [x] once.
[y] runs, [running.]
[z] there, [dare.] [a] stand still.
[b] coming. [c] take. [d] are strong.
[e] cause. [f] alive. [g] is.
[h] living. [i] man. [k] go.
[l] all rent to pieces.
[m] exercise.
[n] fend, defend, [try.]

And I the pray of thi kownsayle
Thou teche me to sum mervayle[o].
He said, I can no wonders tell,
Bot her bisyde es a Well;
Wend theder[p], and do als I say,
Thou passes noght al quite oway,
Folow forth this ilk strete[q],
And sone sum mervayles sal thou mete:
The well es under the fairest Tre,
That ever was in this cuntre;
By that Well hinges[r] a Bacyne[s]
That es of golde gude and fyne,
With a cheyne, trewly to tell,
That wil reche in to the Well.
Thares es a Chapel ner thar by,
That nobil es and ful lufely[t]:
By the well standes a Stane[u]
Tak the bacyn sone onane[w],
And cast on water with thi hand,
And sone thou sal se new tithand[x]:
A storme sal rise and a tempest,
Al obout, by est and west,
Thou sal here[y] mani thonor[z] blast
Al obout the[a] te blawand[b] fast,
And there sal cum sek[c] slete and rayne
That unnese[d] sal you stand ogayne:
Of lightnes[e] sal you se a lowe,
Unnethes you sal thi selven[f] knowe;
And if thou pas withowten grevance,
Than has thou the fairest chance
That ever yit had any knyght,
That theder come to kyth[g] his myght.
Than toke I leve, and went my way,
And rade unto the midday;
By than I com whare I sold be,
I saw the Chapel and the Tre:
Thare I fand the fayrest thorne
That ever groued sen God[h] was born:

[o] tell me of some wonder. So Alexander in the deserts of India, meets two *old cheorlis*, or churls, from whom he desires to learn,

Any merveilles by this wayes,
That y myzte do in story,
That men han in memorie.

They tell him, that a little farther he will see the Trees of the Sun and Moon, &c. Geste of Alexander, MS. p. 231.

[p] go thither. [q] way, road.
[r] hangs. [s] a helmet, or bason.
[t] lovely. [u] stone.
[w] perhaps, in hand, [anon.—RITSON.]
[x] tidings, wonders. [y] hear.
[z] thunder. [a] thee. [b] blowing.
[c] such. [d] scarcely.
[e] lightning. [f] self.
[g] know, prove.
[h] Christ.

So thik it was with leves grene
Might no rayn cum thar bytwene[l];
And that grenes[k] lastes ay,
For no winter dere[l] yt may.
I fand the Bacyn, als he talde,
And the Well with water kalde[m].
An amerawd[n] was the Stane[o],
Richer saw I never nane,
On fowr rubyes on heght standand[p],
Thair light lasted over al the land.
And whan I saw that semely syght,
It made me bath joyful and lyght.
I toke the Bacyn sone onane
And helt water opon the Stane:
The weder[q] wex than wonder blak,
And the thoner[r] fast gan crak;
Thar come slike[s] stormes of hayl and rayn,
Unnethes[t] I might stand thareogayn:
The store[u] windes blew ful lowd,
So kene come never are[w] of clowd.
I was drevyn with snaw and slete,
Unnethes I might stand on my fete.
In my face the levening[x] smate[y],
I wend have brent[z], so was it hate[a]:
That weder made me so will of rede,
I hopid[b] sone to have my dede[c];
And sertes[d], if it lang had last,
I hope I had never thethin[e] past.
Bot thorgh his might that tholed[f] wownd
The storme sesed within a stownde[g]:
Then wex the weder fayr ogayne,
And tharof was I wonder fayne;
For best comforth of al thing
Es solace after mislykeing.
Than saw I sone a merry syght,
Of al the fowles that er in flyght,
Lighted so thik opon that tre,
That bogh ne lefe none might I se;

[l] there between.
[k] verdure.
[z] I thought I should be burnt.
[l] hurt.
[m] cold.
[a] it was so hot.
[n] emerald.
[o] stone.
[b] feared. See Johns. and Steev. Shakspeare, vol. v. p. 273. edit. 1779.
[p] standing high.
[q] weather.
[c] death.
[r] thunder.
[d] surely.
[s] such.
[e] thence.
[t] hardly.
[u] strong.
[f] suffered.
[w] air, [before.—RITSON.]
[g] ceased on a sudden, (after a time.)
[x] lightning.
[y] smote.

So merily than gon thai sing,
That al the wode bigan to ring;
Ful mery was the melody
Of thaire sang and of thaire cry;
Thar herd never man none swilk,
Bot[h] if ani had herd that ilk.
And when that mery dyn was done,
Another noyse than herd I sone,
Als it war of horsmen,
Mo than owther[i] nyen[k] or ten.
Sone than saw I cum a knyght,
In riche armurs was he dight;
And sone when I gan on him loke,
My shelde and sper to me I toke.
That knight to me hied ful fast,
And kene wordes out gan he cast:
He bad that I sold tell him tite[l]
Whi I did him swilk despite,
With weders[m] wakend him of rest,
And done him wrang in his Forest;
Thar fore, he sayd, Thou sal aby[n]:
And with that come he egerly,
And said, I had ogayn resowne[o]
Done him grete destrucciowne,
And might it nevermore amend;
Tharfor he bad, I sold me fend:
And sone I smate him on the shelde,
Mi schaft brac out in the felde;
And then he bar me sone bi strenkith
Out of my sadel my speres lenkith:
I wate that he was largely
By the shuldres mare[p] than I;
And by the ded[q] that I sal thole[r],
Mi stede by his was bot a fole.
For mate[s] I lay down on the grownde,
So was I stonayd[t] in that stownde:
A worde to me wald he noght say,
Bot toke my stede, and went his way.
Ffull sarily[u] than thare I sat,
For wa[w] I wist noght what was what:
With mi stede he went in hy,
The same way that he come by;

[h] unless. [i] either. [k] nine. soon. [m] the storm.
[n] abide, stay, [suffer.—RITSON.]
[o] against reason or law. greater. [q] death.
[r] suffer.
[s] sleep. [He lay as if he had been dead. —RITSON.]
[t] astonished, stunned.
[u] sorrily. [w] woe.

And I durst folow him no ferr
For dout me solde bite werr,
And also yit by Goddes dome[x],
I ne wist war he bycome.
Than I thoght how I had hight[y]
Unto myne oste the hende knyght,
And also til his lady bryght,
To come ogayn if that I myght.
Mine armurs left I thare ylkane,
For els myght I noght have gane[z];
Unto myne in[a] I come by day:
The hende knyght and the fayre may,
Of my come war thai full glade,
And nobil semblant thai me made;
In al thinges thai have tham born
Als thai did the night biforn.
Sone thai wist whar I had bene,
And said, that thai had never sene
Knyght that ever theder come
Take the way ogayn home.———

I add Sir Ywain's achievement of the same adventure, with its consequences.

When Ywayn was withowten town,
Of his palfray lighted he down,
And dight him right wele in his wede,
And lepe up on his gude stede.
Furth he rade on one right,
Until it neghed nere[b] the nyght:
He passed many high mowntayne
In wildernes, and mony a playne,
Til he come to that lethir[c] sty[d]
That him byhoved pass by:
Than was he seker for to se
The Wel, and the fayre Tre;
The Chapel saw he at the last,
And theder[e] hyed he ful fast.

[x] God's sentence, the crucifixion.
[y] hette, promised. [z] gone.
[a] lodging.
[b] drew near.
[c] wicked, bad. [dangerous.—RITSON.]
[d] that is, the forest. [place.—RITSON.] But I do not precisely know the meaning of *sty*. It is thus used in the Lay of Emare. [where it means a road or way, from the Saxon *stig*.—RITSON.] MSS. Cott. Calig. A. 2. fol. 59.

Messengeres forth he sent
Aftyr the mayde fayre and gent
That was bryght as someres day:
Messengeres dyghte hem in hye,
With myche myrthe and melodye
Forth gon they fare
Both by *stretes* and by STYE
Aftyr that fayr lady.

And again in the same romance.
[e] that way.

More curtaysli and more honowr
Fand[f] he with tham in that towr[g],
And mar conforth by mony falde[h],
Than Colgrevance had him of talde.
That night was he herberd[i] thar,
So wel was he never are[k].
At morn he went forth by the strete,
And with the cherel[l] sone gan he mete
That sold tel to him the way;
He sayned[m] him, the sothe to say,
Twenty sith[n], or ever he blan[o],
Swilk mervayle had he of that man,
For he had wonder[p], that nature
Myght mak so foul a creature.
Than to the Wel he rade gude pase,
And down he lighted in that place;
And sone the bacyn has he tane,
And kest[q] water opon the Stane;
And sone thar wex, withowten fayle,
Wind and thonor, and rayn and haile:
When it was sesed, than saw he
The fowles light opon the tre,
Thai sang ful fayre opon that thorn
Right als thai had done byforn.
And sone he saw cumand[r] a knight,
Als fast so the fowl in flyght,
With rude sembland[s], and sterne chere,
And hastily he neghed nere;
To speke of luf* na time was thar,
For aither hated uther ful sar[t].
Togeder smertly gan thai drive,
Thair sheldes sone bigan to ryve,
Thair shaftes cheverd[u] to thair hand
Bot thai war bath ful wele syttand[w].
Out thai drogh[x] thair swerdes kene,
And delt strakes tham bytwene;
Al to pieces thai hewed thair sheldes,
The culpons[y] flegh[z] out in the feldes.
On helmes strake thay so with yre,
At ilka strake out-brast the fyr;

[f] found.
[g] i. e. the castle.
[h] manifold.
[i] lodged.
[k] ever. [before.—RITSON.]
[l] churl, i. e. the wild-man.
[m] viewed. [crossed himself.—RITSON.]
[n] times.
[o] ceased.
[p] he wondered.
[q] cast.
[r] coming.
[s] countenance.
* friendly offices.
[t] sore.
[u] shivered.
[w] seated.
[x] drew.
[y] pieces.
[z] flew.

Aither of tham gude buffettes bede[a],
And nowther wald styr of the stede.
Ful kenely thai kyd[b] thair myght,
And feyned tham noght for to fyght:
Thair hauberkes that men myght ken
The blode out of thair bodyes ren.
Aither on other laid so fast,
The batayl might noght lang last:
Hauberkes er[c] broken, and helmes reven,
Stif strakes war thar gyfen;
Thai foght on hors stifly always,
The batel was wele mor to prays;
Bot at the last syr Ywayne
On his felow kyd his mayne,
So egerly he smate him than,
He clefe the helme and the hern pan[d]:
The knyght wist he was nere ded,
To fle than was his best rede[e];
And fast he fled with al his mayne,
And fast folow syr Ywayne,
Bot he ne might him overtake,
Tharfore grete murning gan he make:
He folowd him ful stowtlyk[f],
And wald have tane him ded or quik;
He folowd him to the cetè[g],
Na man lyfand[h] met he.
When thai come to the kastel yate,
In he folowd fast tharate:
At aither entre was, I wys,
Straytly wroght a port culis,
Shod wele with yren and stele,
And also grunden[i] wonder wele:
Under that then was a swyke[k]
That made syr Ywain to myslike,

[a] abided. [offered.]
[b] showed. [c] are.
[d] So in Minot's Poems. MSS. Cott. Gale, E. ix. ut supr.

And sum lay knoked out their hernes.

[e] counsel. [f] stoutly.
[g] city. [h] no man living.
[i] ground, sharpened.
[k] switch, twig. ["Mr. Ritson, who explains 'swyke' a hole, a ditch, has confounded it with 'sike' from the Anglo-Saxon *sich*, fossa. In the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, we have the same expression applied to a piece of machinery, constructed for a similar purpose, though apparently not of equal ingenuity.

Under the brygge ther is a *swyke*,
Corven clos, joynand queyntlyke.——
Though thou and thy folke were in ye mydde
And the pyns mete out were,
Downe ye scholde fallen there,
In a pyt syxty fadome deep.
Therefore beware and take good keep,
At the passyng ovyr the *trappe*,
Many on has had ful evyl happe.
V. 4081.

The only words to be found in Lye's Saxon

His hors fote toched thare on;
Than fel the port culis onone[l],
Bytwyx him and his hinder arsown,
Thorgh sadel and stede it smate al down,
His spores[m] of his heles it schare[n]:
Than had Ywayne murnyng[o] mare[p],
But so he wend have passed quite[q],
That fel the tother[r] bifor al yte.
A faire grace yit fel him swa[s],
Al if it smate his hors in twa[t],
And his spors of aither hele,
That himself passed so wele.

While sir Ywaine remains in this perilous confinement, a lady looks out of a wicket which opened in the wall of the gateway, and releases him. She gives him her ring.

I sal lene the her mi Ring[u],
Bot yelde it me at myne askyng:
When thou ert broght of al thi payn
Yelde[w] it than to me ogayne:
Als the bark hilles[x] the tre,
Right so sal my Ring do the;
When thou in hand has the stane[y],
Der[z] sal thai do the nane,
For the stane es of swilk might,
Of the sal men have na syght[a].
Wit ye[b] wel that sir Ywayne
Of thir wordes was ful fayne[c];

Dictionary, to which 'swyke' might be referred, are *swican*, decipere; *swica*, proditor; and *beswica*, fraus. But in Alfred's translation of Orosius we have 'ealle the cyningas mid his *swice* of shoh:' which Mr. Barrington renders, 'slew all the kings by his deceitful arts.'"—ANON.]

[l] Traps of this kind are not uncommon in romance. Thus sir Lancelot, walking round the chambers of a strange castle, treads on a board which throws him into a cave twelve fathoms deep. Mort. Arth. B. xix. ch. vii.

[m] spurs. [n] cut.

[o] mourning. [p] more.

[q] but even so he thought to have passed forward, through.

[r] the other portcullis.

[s] so. [t] twain.

[u] This ring is used in another adventure.

[w] yield.

[x] covers. [Mr. Ritson, who disdained to follow Warton even when correct, has misinterpreted this word in his Glossary. The same anonymous writer quoted above has observed, "Partially regarding the context rather than the etymon, Ritson explains *hilles* 'protects, preserves;' although an attentive perusal of the whole passage might have suggested that the virtue of this magic stone consisted in *covering* or *concealing* its wearer from the sight, as the bark *covers* or *conceals* the tree. Lye gives us hilan, to *hill*, tegere. From the same root is to be deduced the word 'hyllynges' occurring in the Squyr of Lowe Degre (left unexplained by Ritson), and which must mean an upper covering for a bed, something similar to a counterpane."

Your *hyllynges* with furres of armyne
Powdred with golde of hew full fyne
Your blankettes, &c.—V. 839. PRICE.]

[y] stone. [z] harm.

[a] no man will see you. [b] know ye.

[c] glad.

In at the dore sho hem led,
And did him sit opon hir bed,
A quylt ful nobil lay tharon,
Richer saw he never none, &c.

Here he is secreted. In the mean time, the Lord of the castle dies of his wounds, and is magnificently buried. But before the interment, the people of the castle search for sir Ywayne.

Half his stede thar fand thai[d]
That within the yates[e] lay;
Bot the knight thar fand thai noght:
Than was thar mekil sorow unsoght,
Dore ne window was thar nane,
Whar he myght oway gane.
Thai said he sold thare be laft[f],
Or else he cowth of weche craft[g],
Or he cowth of nygromancy,
Or he had wenges for to fly.
Hastily than went thai all
And soght him in the maydens hall,
In chambers high es noght at hide,
And in solers[h] on ilka side.
Sir Ywaine saw ful wele al that,
And still opon the bed he sat:
Thar was nane that anes mynt
Unto the bed at smyte[i] a dynt[k]:
Al obout thai smate so fast,
That mani of thair wapins brast;
Mekyl sorow thai made ilkane,
For thai ne myght wreke thair lord bane.
Thai went oway with dreri chere,
And sone tharefter come the Ber[l];
A lady folowd white so mylk,
In al that lond was none swilk:
Sho wrang her fingers, outbrast the blode,
For mekyl wa[m] sho was nere wode[n];
Hir fayr har scho alto drogh[o],
And ful oft fel sho down in swogh[p];
Sho wepe with a ful dreri voice.
The hali water, and the croyce,

[d] they found.
[e] gates.
[f] he still was there.
[g] understood witchcraft.
[h] high chambers.
[i] i. e. on account of the ring.
[k] never once *minded*, or thought, to strike at the bed, not seeing him there.
[l] bier.
[m] great grief.
[n] mad.
[o] drew. So in the Lay of the Erle of Tholouse. MSS. Mus. Ashmol. 45.

The erle hymselfe an axe DROGH,
A hundred men that day he slough.

[p] swoon.

Was born bifore the procession;
Thar folowd mani a moder son.
Bifore the cors rade a knyght
On his stede that was ful wight[q];
In his armurs wele arayd,
With sper and target gudely grayd.
Than sir Ywayn herd the cry
And the dole of that fayr lady, &c.

Sir Ywayne desires the damsel's permission to look at the lady of the deceased knight through a window. He falls in love with her. She passes her time in praying for his soul.

Unto his saul was sho ful hulde[r]:
Opon a sawter al of gulde[s],
To say the sal-mas[t] fast sho bigan.

The damsel[u], whose name is Lunet, promises sir Ywaine an interview with the Lady. She uses many arguments to the Lady, and with much art, to show the necessity of her marrying again, for the defence of her castle.

The maiden redies hyr ful rath[w],
Bilive sho gert syr Ywaine bath[x],
And cled hym sethin in gude scarlet,
Forord[y] wele, and with gold fret[z];

[q] swift.
[r] bound, obligated. [faithful.]
[s] psaltery, a harp, of gold. [Psalter.—RITSON.]
[t] soul mass, the mass of requiem.
[u] There is a damsel of this name in Morte Arthur, B. vii. ch. xvi.
[w] early, soon.
[x] made him bathe immediately.
[y] furrured, furred.
[z] In another part of this romance, a knight is dressed by a lady.

A damisel come unto me....
Lufsumer lifed[1] never in land;
Hendly scho[2] toke me by the hand,
And sone that gentyl creature
Al unlaced myne armure;
Into a chamber sho me led,
And with a mantil scho me cled,
It was of purpur fair and fine,
And the pane[3] of riche ermine;
Al the folk war went us fra[4],
And thare was none than bot we twa[5];
Scho served me hendely to hend,
Her maners might no man amend,
Of tong scho was trew and renable[6],
And of her semblant[7] soft and stabile;
Ful fain I wald[8], if that I might,
Have woned[9] with that swete wight.

In Morte Arthur, Sir Launcelot going into a nunnery is unarmed in the abbess's chamber. B. xiii. ch. i. In Morte Arthur, sir Galahad is disarmed, and clothed "in a cote of red sendall and a mantell *furred* with fyne ERMYNES," &c. B. xiii. ch. i. In the British Lay, or romance, of Launval (MSS. Cott. Vespas. B. 14. i.) we have,

Un cher mantel de BLANCHE ERMINE,
Couvert de purpre Alexandrine.

There is a statute, made in 1337, prohibiting any under 100*l.* per annum to wear fur. I suppose the richest fur was ermine; which, before the manufactures of gold and silver, was the greatest article of finery in dress. But it continued in use long afterwards, as appears by ancient portraits. In the Statutes of Cardinal Wolsey's College at Oxford, given in the year 1525, the students are enjoined, "Ne magis pre-

[1] lovelier lived. [2] courteously she. [3] border. [4] from.
[5] two. [6] reasonable. [7] look. [8] would. [9] lodged.

A girdel ful riche for the nanes,
Of perry and of preciows stanes.
Sho talde him al how he sold do
Whan that he come the lady to.

He is conducted to her chamber.

Bot yit sir Ywayne had grete drede,
When he unto chamber yede;
The chamber, flore, and als the bed,
With klothes of gold was al over spred[a].

tiosis aut sumptuosis utantur PELLIBUS." De Vestitu, &c. fol. 49. MSS. Cott. Tit. F. iii. This injunction is a proof that rich furs were at that time a luxury of the secular life. In an old poem written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, about 1436, entitled the English Policie, *exhorting all England to keepe the sea*, a curious and valuable record of the state of our traffic and mercantile navigation at that period, it appears that our trade with Ireland, for furs only, was then very considerable. Speaking of Ireland, the writer says,

—Martens goode been her marchandie,
Hertes hides, and other of venerie,
Skinnes of otter, squirrell, and Irish hare;
Of sheepe, lambe, and foxe, is her chaffare.

See Hacklvyt's Voiages, vol. i. p. 199. edit. 1598.

At the sacking of a town in Normandy, Froissart says, "There was founde so moche rychesse, that the boyes and vyllaynes of the hooste sette nothynge by goode FURRED gownes." Berner's Transl. tom. i. fol. lx. a.

[a] In the manners of romance, it was not any indelicacy for a lady to pay amorous courtship to a knight. Thus in Davie's Geste of Alexander, written in 1312, queen Candace openly endeavours to win Alexander to her love. MS. penes me, p. 271. [Cod. Hospit. Linc. 150.] She shews Alexander, not only her palace, but her bedchamber.

——— Quoth the quene,
Go we now myn esteris to seone[1]:
Oure mete schol, thar bytweone[2],
Ygraithed[3] and redy beone[4],
Scheo[5] ladde him to an halle of nobleys,
Then he dude of his harneys[6]:
Of Troye was ther men[7] the storye[8]
How Gregoys[9] had the victorye:
Theo bemes ther weore[10] of bras.
Theo wyndowes weoren of riche glass[11]:
Theo pinnes[12] weore of ivorye.
The king went with the ladye,
Himself alone, from bour to bour,
And syze[13] muche riche tresour,
Gold and seolver, and preciouse stones,
Baudekyns[14] made for the nones[15],
Mantellis, robes, and pavelounes[16],
Of golde and seolver riche foysounes[17];
And heo[18] him asked, par amour,
Zef he syze ever suche a tresour.
And he said, in his contray
Tresour he wiste[19] of grete noblay.
Heo[20] thozte more that heo saide.
To anothir stude[21] sheo he gan him lede,
That hir owne chambre was,
In al this world richer none nas.
Theo atyr[22] was therein so riche
In al thys world nys him non lyche[23].
Heo ladde him to a stage,
And him schewed one ymage,
And saide, Alexander leif thou me[24],
This ymage is made after the[25];
Y dude hit in ymagoure[26],
And caste hit after thy vigoure[27]:
This othir zeir, tho thou nolde[28]
To me come for love ne for golde,
Het is the ylyche[29], leove brother[30],
So any faucon[31] is anothir.
O Alisaunder, of grete renoun,
Thou taken art in my prisoun!

---

[1] to see my apartments. [2] our dinner shall, meanwhile. [3] prepared. [4] be. [5] she. [6] put off his armour. [7] for *ther men*, read *therein*, as MS. Laud. I. 74. Bibl. Bodl. [8] the story of Troy was in the tapestry, or painted on the walls of the hall. [9] Greeks. [10] The rafters were. [11] painted glass. [12] of the windows. [13] saw. [14] rich clothes. [15] that is, for the occasion: so the painting or tapestry, before mentioned, representing the Greeks victorious, was in compliment to Alexander. [16] pavilions. [17] stores. [18] she. [19] knew. [20] she. [21] stede. lodging. [22] the furniture. [23] none like it. [24] believe. [25] thee. [26] imagery. [27] figure. [28] wouldest not. [29] like. [30] dear brother, or friend. [31] as one

After this interview, she is reconciled to him, as he only in self-defence had slain her husband, and she promises him marriage.

Than hastily she went to Hall,
Thar abade hir barons all,
For to hald thair parlement[b],
And mari[c] hir by thair asent.

They agree to the marriage.

Than the lady went ogayne
Unto chameber to sir Ywaine;
Sir, sho said, so God me save,
Other lorde wil I nane have:
If I the left[d] I did noght right,
A king son, and a noble knyght.
Now has the maiden done hir thoght[e],
Syr Ywayne out of anger broght.
The Lady led him unto Hall,
Ogains[f] him rase the barons all,
And al thai said ful sekerly,
This Knight sal wed the Lady:
And ilkane said thamself bitwene[g],
So fair a man had thai noght sene,
For his bewte in hal and bowr:
Him semes to be an emperowr.
We wald that thai war trowth plight,
And weded sone this ilk nyght.
The lady set hir on the dese[h],
And cumand al to hald thaire pese[i];
And bad hir steward sumwhat say,
Or[k] men went fra cowrt away.
The steward said, Sirs, understandes,
Wer[l] is waxen[m] in thir landes;

Al thy streynthe helpethe the nowzt,
For womman the haveth bycowzt[32]
For womman the heveth in hire las[33].
O, quoth Alisaunder, alas,
That I were yarmed[34] wel,
And hed my sweord of browne stel,
Many an heid wolde y cleove,
Ar y wolde yn prison bileve[35].
Alysaunder, heo saide, thou saist soth,
Beo noither adrad no wroth[36];
For here, undir this covertour,
Y wil have the to myn amour, &c.

[b] assembly, consultation.
[c] marry.
[d] was I not to marry you.
[e] intention.
[f] against, before.
[g] among themselves.
[h] deis, the high-table. In the Geste of Alexander we have the phrase of *holding the deis*, MS. ut supr. p. 45.

There was gynning a new feste,
And of gleomen many a geste,
King Philip was in mal ese,
Alisaundre HELD THE DESE.

[i] peace.
[k] ere.
[l] war.
[m] grown.

falcon. In MSS. Laud, I. 174. ut supr. it is peny, for falcon.
[32] catched.
[33] her lace.
[34] Here, y is the Saxon i. See Hearne's Gl. Rob. Glouc. p. 738.
[35] be left, stay, even.
[36] neither affrighted nor angry.

The king Arthur es redy dight
To be her byn this fowre-tenyght:
He and his menye[n] ha thoght
To win this land if thai moght:
Thai wate[o] ful wele, that he es ded
That was lord here in this stede[p]:
None es so wight wapins to welde[q],
Ne that so boldly mai us belde,
And wemen may maintene no stowr[r],
Thai most nedes have a governowr:
Tharfor mi lady most nede
Be weded hastily for drede[s],
And to na lord wil sho take tent[t],
Bot if it be by yowr assent.
Than the lordes al on raw[u]
Held them wele payd of this saw[w].
Al assented hyr untill[x]
To tak a lord at hyr owyn will.
Than said the lady onone right,
How hald ye yow payd of this knight?
He profers hym on al wyse
To myne honor and my servyse,
And sertes, sirs, the soth to say,
I saw him never, or this day;
Bot talde unto me has it bene
He es the kyng son Uriene:
He es cumen of hegh parage[y],
And wonder doghty of vasselage[z],
War and wise, and ful curtayse,
He yernes[a] me to wife alwayse;
And nere the lese, I wate, he might
Have wele better, and so war right.
With a voice halely[b] thai sayd,
Madame, ful wele we hald us payd:
Bot hastes fast al that ye may,
That ye war wedded this ilk day:

[n] knights.
[o] know. [p] mansion, castle.
[q] active to wield weapons.
[r] fight. [s] fear.
[t] attention.
[u] on a row.
[w] opinion, word. It is of extensive signification, Emare, MS. ut supr.

I have herd minstrelles syng in SAW.

[x] unto. So Rob. Brunne, of Stonehenge, edit. Hearne, p. cxci.

In Afrik were thai compast and wrought
Geantz TILLE Ireland from thithen tham brought.

That is, "Giants brought them from Africa *into* Ireland."

[y] kindred. So in the Geste of Alexander, MS. p. 258.

They wer men of gret parage,
And haden fowrty wynter in age.

[z] courage.
[a] eagerly wishes. [b] wholly.

And grete prayer gan thai make
On alwise, that sho suld hym take.
Sone unto the kirk thai went,
And war wedded in thair present;
Thar wedded Ywaine in plevyne[c]
The riche lady ALUNDYNE,
The dukes doghter of Landuit,
Els had hyr lande bene destruyt.
Thus thai made the maryage
Omang al the riche barnage[d]:
Thai made ful mekyl mirth that day,
Ful grete festes on gude aray;
Grete mirthes made thai in that stede,
And al forgetyn es now the dede[e]
Of him that was thair lord fre;
Thai say that this es worth swilk thre.
And that thai lufed him mekil mor
Than him that lord was thare byfor.
The bridal[f] sat, for soth to tell,
Til king Arthur come to the well

[c] Fr. Plevine. See Du Fresne. PLEVINA.

[d] baronage. [e] death.

[f] Bridal is Saxon for the nuptial feast. So in Davie's Geste of Alexander. MS. fol. 41. penes me,

He wist nouzt of this BRIDALE,
Ne no man tolde him the tale.

In Gamelyn, or the Coke's Tale, v. 1267.

At every BRIDALE he would sing and hop.

Spenser, Faerie Qu. B. v. C. ii. st. 3.

—Where and when the BRIDALE cheare
Should be solemnised.——

And, vi. x. 13.

—Theseus her unto his BRIDALE bore.

See also Spenser's Prothalamion.

The word has been applied adjectively, for CONNUBIAL. Perhaps Milton remembered or retained its original use in the following passage of Samson Agonistes, ver. 1196.

And in your city held my nuptial feast:
But your ill-meaning politician lords,
Under pretence of BRIDAL friends and guests,
Appointed to await me thirty spies.

"Under pretence of friends and guests invited to the BRIDAL." But in Paradise Lost, he speaks of the evening star hastening to light the BRIDAL LAMP, which in another part of the same poem he calls the NUPTIAL TORCH. viii. 520. xi. 590. I presume this Saxon BRIDALE is Bride-Ale, the FEAST in honour of the *bride* or marriage. ALE, simply put, is the feast or the merry-making, as in Pierce Plowman, fol. xxxii. b. edit. 1550. 4to.

And then satten some and songe at the ALE [nale].

Again, fol. xxvi. b.

I am occupied everie daye, holye daye and other,
With idle tales at the ALE, and otherwhile in churches.

So Chaucer of his Freere, Urr. p. 87. v. 85.

And they were only glad to fill his purse,
And maden him grete festis at the NALE.

Nale is ALE. "They feasted him, or entertained him, with particular respect, at the parish-feast," &c. Again, Plowman's Tale, p. 125. v. 2110.

At the *Wrestling*, and at the *Wake*,
And the chief chaunters at the NALE.

See more instances, supr. vol. i. p. 56. That ALE is *festival*, appears from its sense in composition; as, among others, in the words Leet-ale, Lamb-ale, Whitson-ale, Clerk-ale, and Church-ale. LEET-ALE, in some parts of England, signifies the dinner at a court-leet of a manor for the

With al his knyghtes everilkane,
Behind leved thar noght ane[g].——
The king kest water on the stane,
The storme rase ful sone onane
With wikked[h] weders, kene and calde,
Als it was byfore-hand talde.
The king and his men ilkane
Wend tharwith to have bene slane,
So blew it stor[i] with slete and rayne:
And hastily than syr Ywayne[k]
Dight him graythly[l] in his gere,
With nobil shelde, and strong spere:

jury and customary tenants. LAMB-ALE is still used at the village of Kirtlington in Oxfordshire, for an annual feast or celebrity at lamb-shearing. WHITSON-ALE is the common name in the midland counties for the rural sports and feasting at Whitsontide. CLERK-ALE occurs in Aubrey's manuscript History of Wiltshire: "In the Easter holidays was the CLARKES-ALE, for his private benefit and the solace of the neighbourhood." MSS. Mus. Ashm. Oxon. CHURCH-ALE was a feast established for the repair of the church, or in honour of the church-saint, &c. In Dodsworth's Manuscripts, there is an old indenture, made before the Reformation, which not only shows the design of the Church-ale, but explains this particular use and application of the word Ale. The parishioners of Elveston and Okebrook, in Derbyshire, agree jointly, "to brew four ALES, and every ALE of one quarter of malt, betwixt this and the feast of saint John Baptist next coming. And that every inhabitant of the said town of Okebrook shall be at the several ALES. And every husband and his wife shall pay two pence, every cottager one penny, and all the inhabitants of Elveston shall have and receive all the profits and advantages coming of the said ALES, to the use and behoof of the said church of Elveston. And the inhabitants of Elveston shall brew eight ALES betwixt this and the feast of saint John Baptist, at the which ALES the inhabitants of Okebrook shall come and pay as before rehersed. And if he be away at one ALE, to pay at the toder ALE for both," &c. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. vol. 148. f. 97. See also our Church-Canons, given in 1603. Can. 88. The application of what is here collected to the word BRIDALE, is obvious. But Mr. Astle has a curious record, about 1575, which proves the BRIDE-ALE synonymous with the WEDDYN-ALE. During the course of queen Elizabeth's entertainments at Kenilworth-castle, in 1575, a BRYDE-ALE was celebrated with a great variety of shows and sports. Laneham's Letter, dated the same year. fol. xxvi. seq. What was the nature of the merriment of the CHURCH-ALE, we learn from the WITCHES-SONG in Jonson's Masque of Queens at Whitehall in 1609, where one of the Witches boasts to have killed and stole the fat of an infant, begotten by a piper at a CHURCH-ALE. S. 6.

Among bishop Tanner's manuscript additions to Cowell's Law-Glossary in the Bodleian library, is the following Note, from his own Collections. [Lit. V.] "A.D. 1468. Prior Cant. et Commissarii visitationem fecerunt (diocesi Cant. vacante per mortem archiepiscopi) et ibi publicatum erat, quod Potationes factæ in ecclesiis, vulgariter dictæ YEVEALYS[1], vel BREDEALYS[2], non essent ulterius in usu sub pœna excommunicationis majoris."

Had the learned author of the Dissertation on BARLEY WINE been as well acquainted with the British as the Grecian literature, this long note would perhaps have been unnecessary.

[g] one.

[h] wicked is here, *accursed*; in which sense it is used by Shakspeare's Caliban, Tempest, act i. sc. 2.

As WICKED dew as e'er my mother brush'd
With raven's feather, &c.

[i] strong.

[k] to defend the fountain, the office of the lord of this castle.

[l] readily.

[1] give-ales, or gift-ales.

[2] bride-ales.

When he was dight in seker wede,
Than he umstrade[m] a nobil stede:
Him thoght that he was als lyght
Als a fowl es to the flyght.
Unto the Well fast wendes he,
And sone when thai myght him se,
Syr Kay, for he wald noght fayle,
Smertly askes the batayle.
And alsone than said the kyng,
Sir Kay, I grante the thine askyng.

Sir Ywaine is victorious, who discovers himself to king Arthur after the battle.

And sone sir Ywaine gan him tell
Of al his far how it byfell,
With the knight how that he sped,
And how he had the Lady wed;
And how the Mayden him helpid wele:
Thus tald he to him ilka dele.
Sir kyng, he sayd, I yow byseke,
And al yowr menye milde and meke,
That ye wald grante to me that grace,
At[n] wend with me to my purchace,
And se my Kastel and my Towre,
Than myght ye do me grete honowre.
The kyng granted him ful right
To dwel with him a fowretenyght.
Sir Ywayne thanked him oft sith[o],
The knyghtes war al glad and blyth,
With sir Ywaine for to wend:
And sone a squier has he send
Unto the kastel, the way he nome,
And warned the Lady of thair come,
And that his Lord come with the kyng.
And when the Lady herd this thing,
It es no lifand man with mowth
That half hir cumforth tel kowth.
Hastily that Lady hende
Cumand al hir men to wende,
And dight tham in thair best aray,
To kepe the king that ilk day:
Thai keped* him in riche wede
Rydeand on many a nobil stede;

[m] bestrode. [n] to. [o] oft-times. * waited on. See Tyrwh. Gl. Ch.

Thai hailsed[p] him ful curtaysly,
And also al his cumpany:
Thai said he was worthy to dowt[q],
That so fele folk led obowt[r]:
That was grete joy, I yow bihete[s],
With clothes spred[t] in ilka strete,
And damysels danccand ful wele,
With trompes, pipes, and with fristele:
The Castel and the Cetee rang
With mynstralsi and nobil sang.
Thai ordand tham ilkane in fer
To kepe the king on faire maner.
The Lady went withouten towne,
And with her many balde barowne,
Cled in purpure and ermyne,
With girdels al of gold ful fyne.
The Lady made ful meri chere,
Sho was al dight with drewries[u] dere;
Abowt hir was ful mekyl thrang,
The puple cried and sayd omang,
Welkum ertou, kyng Arthoure,
Of al this werld thou beres the floure!
Lord kyng of all kynges,
And blessed be he that the brynges!
When the Lady the Kyng saw,
Unto him fast gan sho draw,
To hald his sterap whils he lyght;
Bot sone when he of hir had syght,
With mekyl myrth thai samen[v] met,
With hende wordes sho him gret;
A thousand sithes welkum sho says,
And so es syr Gawayne the curtayse.
The king said, Lady white so flowr,
God gif the joy and mekil honowr,
For thou ert fayr with body gent:
With that he hir in armes hent,
And ful faire he gan hir falde[w],
Thar was many to bihalde:
It es no man with tong may tell
The mirth that was tham omell;

[p] saluted.
[q] to fear.
[r] so large a train of knights.
[s] promise you.
[t] tapestry spread on the walls.
[u] gallantries, jewels. Davie says, that in one of Alexander's battles, many a lady lost her drewery. Geste Alexander, MS. p. 86. Athens is called the *Drywery* of the world. ibid.
[v] together.
[w] fold.

Of maidens was thar so gude wane[x],
That ilka knight myght take ane.

The king stays here eight days, entertained with various sports.

And ilk day thai had solace sere
Of huntyng, and als of revere[y]:
For thar was a ful fayre cuntre,
With wodes and parkes grete plente;
And castels wroght with lyme and stane,
That Ywayne with his wife had tane.[z]

[x] assembly [a great many].

[y] hawking [for herons, ducks, &c.—PARK].

[z] There are three old poems on the exploits of Gawain, one of the heroes of this romance. There is a fourth in the Scotch dialect, by Clerke of Tranent, an old Scotch poet. See Lament for the Death of the Makkaris, st. xvii.

Clerke of Tranent eke has [death] tane
That made the *Aventers* of GAWANE.

Anc. Scot. P. 1576.

The two heroes of this romance, Ywain and Gawain, are mentioned jointly in a very old French version of the British or Armorican Lay of Launval, of which there is a beautiful vellum manuscript. MSS. Cott. Vespas. B. xiv. [supr. modo citat.]

Ensemble od eus GAWAYNS,
E sis cosins li beus YWAYNS.

This Lay, or Song, like the romance in the text, is opened with a feast celebrated at Whitsontide by king Arthur at Kardoyl, a French corruption from Carliol, by which is meant Cairleon in Wales, sometimes in romances confounded with Cardiff. [See Geoffr. Monm. ix. 12.]

"Jci commence le Lay de Launval."
Laventure de un Lay,
Cum ele avint vus cunteray,
Fait fu dun gentil vassal,
En Bretaigne lapelent Launval:
A Kardoyl suiornont li reys
Arthur, li prouz, e li curteys,
Pur les Escot, e pur les Pis,
Ki destrucient les pays;
En la terre de Logres[1] le trououent,
Mult souent le damagouent:
A la Pentecuste en estè,
I aveit li reys sojournè,
A les i dona riches duns,
E al cuntes[2], e al baruns,
A ceus de la Table Runde, &c.

That is, "Here begins the Lay of Launval.—[I will relate to you.] The Adventure of a certain Lay, made of a *gentle* vassal, whom in Bretaigne they called Launval. The brave and courteous king Arthur sojourned at Kardoyl, for making war against the Scots and Picts, who destroyed the country. He found them in the land of Logres, where they committed frequent outrages. The king was there at the feast of Pentecost, where he gave rich gifts to the counts and barons, and the knights of the round table," &c.

The writing of this manuscript of Launval seems about 1300. The composition is undoubtedly much earlier. There is another, MSS. Harl. 978. § 112. This I have cited in the First Dissertation. From this French Launval is translated, but with great additions, the English Launfall, of which I have given several extracts in the Third Dissertation prefixed to the first volume. [See also supr. vol. ii. p. 323, NOTE A.]

I presume this romance of Ywain and Gawayne is translated from a French one of the same title, and in the reign of Henry the Sixth; but not by Thomas Chestre, who translated, or rather paraphrased, Launval, or Sir Launfall, and who seems to have been master of a more copious and poetic style. It is not however unlikely, that Chestre translated from a more modern French copy of Launval, heightened

[1] Logres, or Loegria, from Locrine, was the middle part of Britain.

[2] counts. So in Sir Robert of Gloucester, we have *Contass* for *countess*. On which word his editor Hearne observes, that king James the First used to call a *Countess* a *cuntys*; and he quotes one of James's letters, "Come and bring the three Cuntys [for *countesses*] with you." Gloss. p. 635.

SECTION XLIV.

The Notbrowne Mayde. Not older than the sixteenth century. Artful contrivance of the story. Misrepresented by Prior. Metrical Romances, Guy, syr Bevys, and Kynge Apolyn, printed in the reign of Henry. The Scole howse, a Satire. Christmas Carols. Religious Libels in rhyme. Merlin's Prophecies. Laurence Minot. Occasional disquisition on the late continuance of the use of waxen tablets. Pageantries of Henry's Court. Dawn of Taste.

I FEAR I shall be pronounced a heretic to modern criticism, in retracting what I have said in a preceding page, and in placing the NOTBROWNE MAYDE under some part of this reign*. Prior, who, about the year 1718, paraphrased this poem, without improving its native beauties, supposes it to have been three hundred years old. It appears from two letters preserved in the British Museum, written by Prior to Wanley, lord Oxford's librarian, that Prior consulted Wanley about this ancient ballad[a]. It is, however, certain, that Wanley, an antiquarian of unquestionable skill and judgement in these niceties, whatever directions and information he might have imparted to Prior on this subject, could never have communicated such a decision. He certainly in these letters gives no such opinion[b]. This is therefore the hasty con-

and improved from the old simple Armorican tale of which I have here produced a short extract. [See supr. vol. ii. p. 306. note [k].] [The original of [Ywaine and Gawin] is Le chevalier au Lion, by Chrestien or Christian de Troyes, an eminent French poet who died in 1191; [and] the only ancient copy of the [English version] is contained in the Cotton MS. Galba, E. ix. which seems to have been written in the time of Richard II., or towards the close of the fourteenth century.—RITSON.] The same perhaps may be said of the English metrical romance Emare, who marries the king of Galys, or Wales, originally an Armorican tale, before quoted. MSS. Cott. Calig. A. 2. fol. 69. [See Diss. III. prefixed to the first volume,] [and Mr. Ritson's Metrical Romances, vol. ii. where it is printed.—PRICE.] The last stanza confirms what has been advanced in the First Dissertation, concerning the connection between Cornwall and Bretagne, or Armorica. fol. ult.

A grette feste thar was holde
Of erles and barons bolde,
As testymonieth thys story:
Thys is on of BRYTAYNE LAYES,
That was used in olde dayes,
Men callys playn the GARYE.

I believe the last line means, "Made for an entertainment,"—"Which men call playing the GARYE." The reader may perhaps recollect, that the old Cornish Miracle interlude was called the *Guary Mirakil*, that is, the *Miracle Play*. [See supr. vol. ii. p. 20. note [c]. In Cornish, *Plán an guare* is the level place, the plain of sport and pastime, the theatre of games, &c. *Guare* is a Cornish verb, to sport, to play. In affinity with which, is probably *garish*, gay, splendid. Milton, Il Pens. v. 141. Day's *garish* eye. Shakspeare, Rom. and Jul. iii. 4. The *garish* sun. King Richard the Third, A *garish* flag. Compare Lye, Sax. Dict. v. ȝeapplan. To dress fine.

Who was the translator of Emare, is not known. I presume it was translated in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and very probably by Thomas Chestre, the translator of Launval.

* [i. e. the reign of Henry VIII., but Herbert says he possessed an edition which was printed about 1502, i. e. the 18th year of Henry VII.—PARK.]

[a] MSS. Harl. 3777.

[b] These letters are printed in the Additions to Pope's Works, in two volumes, published about two years ago. [Namely in 1776. This publication has been at-

jecture of Prior, who thought that the curiosity which he was presenting to the world would derive proportionable value from its antiquity, who was better employed than in the petty labour of ascertaining dates, and who knew much more of modern than ancient poetry.

The NOT-BROWNE MAYDE first appeared in Arnolde's CHRONICLE, or CUSTOMS OF LONDON, which was first printed about the year 1521. This is perhaps the most heterogeneous and multifarious miscellany that ever existed. The collector sets out with a catalogue of the mayors and sheriffs, the customs and charters, of the city of London. Soon afterwards we have receipts to pickle sturgeon, to make vinegar, ink, and gunpowder; how to raise parsley in an hour; the arts of brewery and soap-making; an estimate of the livings in London; an account of the last visitation of saint Magnus's church; the weight of Essex cheese, and a letter to cardinal Wolsey. The NOT-BROWNE MAYDE is introduced, between an estimate of some subsidies paid into the exchequer, and directions for buying goods in Flanders. In a word, it seems to have been this compiler's plan, by way of making up a volume, to print together all the notices and papers, whether ancient or modern, which he could amass, of every sort and subject. It is supposed, that he intended an antiquarian repertory: but as many recent materials were admitted, that idea was not at least uniformly observed; nor can any argument be drawn from that supposition, that this poem existed long before, and was inserted as a piece of antiquity.

The editor of the PROLUSIONS infers[c], from an identity of rhythmus and orthography, and an affinity of words and phrases, that this poem appeared after sir Thomas More's JEST OF THE SERJEANT AND FREER, which, as I have observed, was written about the year 1500. This reasoning, were not other arguments obvious, would be inconclusive, and might be turned to the opposite side of the question. But it is evident from the language of the NOTBROWNE MAYDE, that it was not written earlier than the beginning, at least, of the sixteenth century*. There is hardly an obsolete word, or that requires a glossary, in the whole piece; and many parts of Surrey and Wyat are much more difficult to be understood. Reduce any two stanzas to modern orthography, and they shall hardly wear the appearance of ancient poetry. The reader shall try the experiment on the two following, which occur accidentally[d].

HE.

Yet take good hede, for ever I drede
That ye could nat sustayne,
The thornie wayes, the depe valèis,
The snowe, the frost, the rayne,

tributed to the late George Steevens, Esq.; but I heard from Mr. Isaac Reed that it was culled by Baldwin from the communications of Mr. Steevens in the St. James's Chronicle, and put forth with a preface by William Cooke, Esq —PARK.]

[c] Prolusions, or Select Pieces of Ancient Poetry, Lond. 1760. 8vo. Pref. p. vii., [edited by E. Capell.—PARK.]

* [But might it not be modernized to the style of 1500, in the edition of 1521? Herbert MS. Note.—PARK.]

[d] V. 168.

The colde, the hete: for, dry or wete,
We must lodge on the playne;
And us abofe[e] none other rofe
But a brake bush or twayne.
Which sone sholde greve you, I believe;
And ye wolde gladly than,
That I had to the grene wode go
Alone a banyshed man.———

SHE.

Among the wylde dere, such an archère,
As men say that ye be,
May ye not fayle of good vitayle
Where is so great plentè:
And water clere of the ryvère
Shall be full swete to me;
With which in hele, I shall ryght wele
Endure, as ye shall see:
And, or we go, a bedde or two
I can provyde anone.
For, in my mynde, of all mankynde
I love but you alone.

The simplicity of which passage Prior has thus decorated and dilated.

HENRY.

Those limbs, in lawn and softest silk array'd,
From sun-beams guarded, and of winds afraid;
Can they bear angry Jove? can they resist
The parching dog-star, and the bleak north-east?
When, chill'd by adverse snows and beating rain,
We tread with weary steps the longsome plain;
When with hard toil we seek our evening food,
Berries and acorns from the neighbouring wood;
And find among the cliffs no other house,
But the thin covert of some gather'd boughs;
Wilt thou not then reluctant send thine eye
Around the dreary waste; and weeping try
(Though then, alas! that trial be too late)
To find thy father's hospitable gate,
And seats, where ease and plenty brooding sate?
Those seats, whence long excluded thou must mourn;
That gate, for ever barr'd to thy return:
Wilt thou not then bewail ill-fated love,
And hate a banish'd man, condemn'd in woods to rove?

[e] i. e. above.

EMMA.

Thy rise of fortune did I only wed,
From its decline determined to recede;
Did I but purpose to embark with thee
On the smooth surface of a summer's sea;
While gentle Zephyrs play in prosperous gales,
And Fortune's favour fills the swelling sails;
But would forsake the ship, and make the shore,
When the winds whistle, and the tempests roar?
No, Henry, no: one sacred oath has tied
Our loves; one destiny our life shall guide;
Nor wild nor deep our common way divide.
When from the cave thou risest with the day,
To beat the woods, and rouse the bounding prey,
The cave with moss and branches I'll adorn,
And cheerful sit, to wait my lord's return:
And, when thou frequent bring'st the smitten deer
(For seldom, archers say, thy arrows err),
I'll fetch quick fuel from the neighbouring wood,
And strike the sparkling flint, and dress the food;
With humble duty and officious haste,
I'll cull the farthest mead for thy repast;
The choicest herbs I to thy board will bring,
And draw thy water from the freshest spring:
And, when at night with weary toil opprest,
Soft slumbers thou enjoy'st, and wholesome rest;
Watchful I'll guard thee, and with midnight prayer
Weary the gods to keep thee in their care;
And joyous ask, at morn's returning ray,
If thou hast health, and I may bless the day.
My thoughts shall fix, my latest wish depend,
On thee, guide, guardian, kinsman, father, friend:
By all these sacred names be Henry known
To Emma's heart; and grateful let him own,
That she, of all mankind, could love but him alone!

What degree of credit this poem maintained among our earlier ancestors, I cannot determine. I suspect the sentiment was too refined for the general taste. Yet it is enumerated among the popular tales and ballads by Laneham, in his narrative of queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenilworth castle in 1575[f]. I have never seen it in manuscript. I believe it was never reprinted from Arnolde's Chronicle, where it first appeared in 1521, till so late as the year 1707. It was that year revived in a collection called the MONTHLY MISCELLANY*,

[f] Fol. 34.

* [Read the Muses Mercury for June 1707, according to Dr. Percy. See Reliques of Engl. Poetry, ii. 27.—PARK.]

or MEMOIRS FOR THE CURIOUS, and prefaced with a little essay on our ancient poets and poetry, in which it is said to have been three hundred years old. Fortunately for modern poetry, this republication suggested it to the notice of Prior, who perhaps from the same source might have adopted or confirmed his hypothesis, that it was coeval with the commencement of the fifteenth century.

Whoever was the original inventor of this little dramatic dialogue, he has shown no common skill in contriving a plan, which powerfully detains our attention, and interests the passions, by a constant succession of suspense and pleasure, of anxiety and satisfaction. Betwixt hopes perpetually disappointed, and solicitude perpetually relieved, we know not how to determine the event of a debate, in which new difficulties still continue to be raised, and are almost as soon removed. In the midst of this vicissitude of feelings, a striking contrast of character is artfully formed, and uniformly supported, between the seeming unkindness and ingratitude of the man, and the unconquerable attachment and fidelity of the woman, whose amiable compliance unexpectedly defeats every objection, and continually furnishes new matter for our love and compassion. At length, our fears subside in the triumph of suffering innocence and patient sincerity. The Man, whose hard speeches had given us so much pain, suddenly surprises us with a change of sentiment, and becomes equally an object of our admiration and esteem. In the disentanglement of this distressful tale, we are happy to find, that all his cruelty was tenderness, and his inconstancy the most invariable truth; his levity an ingenious artifice, and his perversity the friendly disguise of the firmest affection. He is no longer an unfortunate exile, the profligate companion of the thieves and ruffians of the forest, but an opulent earl of Westmoreland; and promises, that the lady, who is a baron's daughter, and whose constancy he had proved by such a series of embarrassing proposals, shall instantly be made the partner of his riches and honours. Nor should we forget to commend the invention of the poet, in imagining the modes of trying the lady's patience, and in feigning so many new situations; which, at the same time, open a way to description, and to a variety of new scenes and images.

I cannot help observing here, by the way, that Prior has misconceived and essentially marred his poet's design, by softening the sternness of the Man, which could not be intended to admit of any degree of relaxation. Henry's hypocrisy is not characteristically nor consistently sustained. He frequently talks in too respectful and complaisant a style. Sometimes he calls Emma my *tender maid*, and my *beauteous Emma*; he fondly dwells on the ambrosial plenty of her flowing ringlets gracefully wreathed with variegated ribands, and expatiates with rapture on the charms of her snowy bosom, her slender waist, and harmony of shape. In the ancient poem, the concealed lover never abates his affectation of rigour and reserve, nor ever drops an expression which

may tend to betray any traces of tenderness. He retains his severity to the last, in order to give force to the conclusion of the piece, and to heighten the effect of the final declaration of his love. Thus, by diminishing the opposition of interests, and by giving too great a degree of uniformity to both characters, the distress is in some measure destroyed by Prior. For this reason, Henry, during the course of the dialogue, is less an object of our aversion, and Emma of our pity. But these are the unavoidable consequences of Prior's plan, who presupposes a long connection between the lovers, which is attended with the warmest professions of a reciprocal passion. Yet this very plan suggested another reason why Prior should have more closely copied the cast of his original. After so many mutual promises and protestations, to have made Henry more obdurate, would have enhanced the sufferings and the sincerity of the amiable Emma.

It is highly probable that the metrical romances of RICHARD CUER DE LYON, GUY EARL OF WARWICK, and SYR BEVYS OF SOUTHAMPTON, were modernised in this reign from more ancient and simple narrations*. The first was printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in 1528[h]. The second without date, but about the same time, by William Copland. I mean that which begins thus,

[S]Ithen the tyme that God was borne,
And crystendome was set and sworne.

With this colophon, "Here endeth the booke of the most victoryous prynce Guy earle of Warwyk. Imprinted at London in Lothbury, over against saynt Margaret's church by Wyllyam Copland[i]." Richard Pinson printed SIR BEVYS without date. Many quarto prose romances were printed between the years 1510 and 1540[k]. Of these, KYNGE APPOLYN of THYRE is not one of the worst.

In the year 1542, as it seems, Robert Wyer printed, "Here begynneth a lytell boke named the SCOLE HOWSE, wherein every man may rede a goodly Prayer of the condycyons of women†." Within the leaf

* [These three romances were pronounced by Ritson to be extant in MSS. above 300 years old; and one of them, at least (Sir Bevis), excepting the typographical incorrectness of the old printed copy, differs no otherwise from it than in its orthography and the slight variations inseparable from repeated transcription. The ancient MS. copy of Richard Cuer de Lion is as long at least as the old editions. But some MS. copies are so totally different from each other, as not to have two lines in common; being translations from the French by different hands. This is the case with respect to Sir Guy; there are two distinct translations, both very old, one of which is line for line the same with the printed copy; but it will not be found that the phraseology or style is more polished, or the story more amplified or intricate, in the editions than they are in the MS. Simplicity, indeed, is a fault of which few people will have reason to complain in the perusal of an old metrical romance, let its antiquity be what it it may. Ritson's Obs. p. 35.—PARK.]

[h] In quarto. See supr. vol. i. p. 155. seq.

[i] In 4to.

[k] See supr. p. 64.

† [Thomas Petyt printed another edition in 1541 or 1561, for the title and colophon bear different dates: and a third was printed by John Kyng in 1560.—PARK.] [It has also been reprinted among the Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry. —PRICE.]

is a border of naked women. This is a satire against the female sex. The writer was wise enough to suppress his name, as we may judge from the following passage.

Trewly some men there be,
That lvye alwaye in greate horroure;
And say, it goeth by destenye
To hange or wed, bothe hath one houre:
And whether it be, I am well sure,
Hangynge is better of the twayne,
Sooner done, and shorter payne.

In the year 1521, Wynkyn de Worde printed a sett of Christmas Carols[l]. I have seen a fragment of this scarce book, and it preserves this colophon: "Thus endeth the Christmasse carolles newly imprinted at London in the Flete-strete at the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde. The yere of our Lorde, M.D.XXI[m]." These were festal chansons for enlivening the merriments of the Christmas celebrity; and not such religious songs as are current at this day with the common people under the same title, and which were substituted by those enemies of innocent and useful mirth the puritans. The boar's head soused was anciently the first dish on Christmas day, and was carried up to the principal table in the Hall with great state and solemnity. Hollinshed says, that in the year 1170, upon the day of the young prince's coronation, king Henry the Second "served his sonne at the table as sewer, bringing up the BORES HEAD with trumpets before it according to the manner[n]." For this indispensable ceremony, as also for others of that season, there was a Carol, which Wynkyn de Worde has given us in the miscellany just mentioned, as it was sung in his time, with the title, "A CAROLL bringyng in the Bores heed."

Caput Apri defero,
Reddens laudes Domino.
The Bore's head in hand bringe I,
With garlans gay and rosemary.
I pray you all synge merely,
Qui estis in convivio.

The Bore's head, I understande,
Is the chefe servyce[o] in this lande:
Loke whereever it be fande[p]
Servite cum cantico.

[l] For many small miscellaneous pieces under the reign of Henry VIII., the more inquisitive reader is referred to MSS. Cott. Vesp. A. 25.

[m] In quarto. [See Ritson's Ancient Songs, p. 126.—PARK.]

[n] Chron. iii. 76. See also Polyd. Virg. Hist. p. 212. 10. ed. 1534.

[o] that is, the chief dish served at a feast.

[p] found.

Be gladde lordes, bothe more and lasse[q],
For this hath ordeyned our stewarde
To chere you all this Christmasse,
The Bore's head with mustarde.

This carol, yet with many innovations, is retained at Queen's college in Oxford. Other antient Christmas carols occur with Latin Burthens or Latin intermixtures. As thus,

Puer nobis natus est de Virgine Maria.
Be glad lordynges, be the more or lesse,
I brynge you tydynges of gladnesse[r].

The Latin scraps were banished from these jocund hymns when the Reformation had established an English liturgy. At length appeared, "Certaine of David's Psalmes intended for Christmas Carolls fitted to the most common but solempne tunes every where familiarly used, by William Slatyr, printed by Robert Young 1630[s]."

It was impossible that the reformation of religion could escape without its rhyming libels. Accordingly, among others, we have, "An Answer to a papystical exhortation, pretending to avoyd false doctrine, under that colour to mayntayne the same," printed in 1548, and beginning,

Every pilde[t] pedlar
Will be a medlar.

In the year 1533, a proclamation was promulged, prohibiting evil-disposed persons to preach, either in public or private, "after their *own braine*, and by playing of enterludes, and printing of false fond bookes, ballades, rhymes, and other lewd treatyses in the English tongue, concerning doctrines in matters now in question and controversie," &c.[u] But this popular mode of attack, which all understood, and in which the idle and unlearned could join, appears to have been more powerful than royal interdictions and parliamentary censures.

In the year 1540, Thomas lord Cromwell, during the short interval which Henry's hasty passion for Catharine Howard permitted between his commitment and execution, was insulted in a ballad written by a defender of the declining cause of popery, who certainly showed more zeal than courage, in reproaching a disgraced minister and a dying man. This satire, however unseemly, gave rise to a religious controversy in verse, which is preserved in the archives of the Antiquarian Society.

I find a poem of thirty octave stanzas, printed in 1546, called the Downfal of Antichristes Mas, or Mass, in which the nameless satirist is unjustly severe on the distresses of that ingenious class of mechanics who got their living by writing and ornamenting service-books for the old papistic worship, now growing into decay and disuse;

[q] great and small.
[r] MSS. Harl. 5396. fol. 4. fol. 18.
[s] In octavo.
[t] pilled, i. e. bald.
[u] Fox, Martyrolog. f. 1339. edit. 1576.

insinuating at the same time, in a strain of triumph, the great blow their *craft* had received, by the diminution of the number of churches in the dissolution of the monasteries[w]. It is, however, certain, that this busy and lucrative occupation was otherwise much injured by the invention and propagation of typography, as several catholic rituals were printed in England: yet still they continued to employ writers and illuminators for this purpose. The finest and the latest specimen of this sort I have seen, is Cardinal Wolsey's LECTIONARY, now preserved at Christ-church in Oxford, a prodigious folio on vellum, written and embellished with great splendor and beauty by the most elegant artists, either for the use of his own private chapel, or for the magnificent chapel which he had projected for his college, and peculiarly characteristic of that prelate's predominant ideas of ecclesiastic pomp.

Wynkyn de Worde printed a TRETISE OF MERLYN, or his prophecies in verse, in 1529. Another appeared by John Hawkyns, in 1533. Metrical and prosaic prophecies attributed to the magician Merlin, all originating from Geoffrey of Monmouth's historical romance, and of oriental growth, are numerous and various. Merlin's predictions were successively accommodated by the minstrel-poets to the politics of their own times. There are many among the Cotton manuscripts, both in French and English, and in other libraries[x]. Laurence Minot above cited, who wrote about 1360, and in the northern dialect, has applied some of them to the numerous victories of Edward the Third[y]. As thus:

Men may rede in Romance[z] right,
Of a grete clerk that MERLIN hight:

[w] In a roll of John Morys, warden of Winchester college, an. xx. Ric. II. A. D. 1397, are large articles of disbursement for grails, legends, and other service-books for the choir of the chapel, then just founded. It appears that they bought the parchment; and hired persons to do the business of writing, illuminating, noting, and binding, within the walls of the college. As thus: "*Item* in xi doseyn iiij pellibus emptis pro i legenda integra, que incipit folio secundo *Quia dixerunt*, continente xxxiiij quaterniones, (pret. doseyn iiij s. vi d. pret. pellis iiij d. ob.) lis. *Item* in scriptura ejusdem Legende, lxxij s. Et in illuminacione et ligacione ejusdem, xxx s. *Item* in vj doseyn de velym emptis pro factura vj Processionalium, quorum quilibet continet xv quaterniones, (pret. doseyn iiij s. vi d.) xxvij s. Et in scriptura, notacione, illuminacione, et ligacione eorundem, xxxiij s." The highest cost of one of these books is, 7 l. 13 s. Vellum, for this purpose, made an article of *staurum* or store. As, "*Item* in vj doseyn de velym emptis in staurum pro aliis libris inde faciendis, xxxiiij s. xj d." The books were covered with deer-skin. As, "*Item* in vj pellibus cervinis emptis pro libris predictis cooperiendis, xiij s. iiij d." In another roll (xix. Ric. II. A. D. 1396.) of warden John Morys above-mentioned, disbursements of diet for SCRIPTORES enter into the quarterly account of that article. "EXPENSE extraneorum superveniencium, iij SCRIPTORUM, viij serviencium, et x choristarum, ix l. iiij s. x d." The whole diet expenses this year, for strangers, writers, servants, and choristers, amount to 20 l. 19 s. 10 d. In another roll of 1399, (Rot. Comp. Burss. 22 Ric. II.) writers are in commons weekly with the regular members of the society.

[x] See Geoffr. Monm. vii. 3. And Rob. Glouc. p. 132. 133. seq. 254. 256. Of the authority of Merlin's Prophecies in England in 1216, see Wykes's Chron. sub ann. Merlin's Prophecies were printed in French at Paris, in 1498. And Merlini Vitæ et Prophetiæ, at Venice, 1554.

[y] MS. Galb. E. ix. ut supr.

[z] In another place Minot calls the book on which his narrative is founded the ROMANCE:—

Ful many bokes er of him wreten,
Als thir clerkes wele may witten[a];
And zit[b] in many preve nokes[c]
May men find of Merlin bokes.
Merlin said thus with his mouth,
Out of the North into the Sowth,
Suld cum a Bare[d] over the se,
That suld mak many men to fle;
And in the se, he said, ful right,
Suld he schew[e] full mekill myght:
And in France he suld bigin[f]
To make tham wrath that ere thare in:
Untill the se his taile reche sale[g],
All folk of France to mekill bale[h].
Thus have I mater for to make
For a nobill Prince[i] sake.
Help me, God, my wit is thin[k],
Now LAURENCE MINOT will bigin.

A Bore es broght on bankes bare,
With ful batail bifor his brest,
For John[m] of France will he noght spare
In Normondy to tak his rest.——
At Cressy when thai brak the brig[n],
That saw Edward with both his ine[o];
Than liked him no langer to lig[p],
Ilk Inglis man on others rig[q];
Over that water er thai went[r],
To batail er thai baldly big,
With brade ax[s], and with bowes bent,
With bent bowes thai war ful bolde,
For to fell of[t] the Frankisch men.
Thai gert[u] tham lig with cares colde.
Ful sari[w] was sir Philip[x] then:
He saw the toun o ferrum[y] bren[z],
And folk for ferd war fast fleand[a]:

How Edward, als the Romance saies,
Held his sege before Calais.

[a] as scholars well know.
[b] and yet. [c] privy nooks.
[d] Should come a Boar. This Boar is king Arthur in Merlin's Prophecies.
[e] Should he show. [f] begin.
[g] his tail shall reach to the sea.
[h] to the great destruction of the French.
[i] that is, king Edward the Third.
[k] weak, tenuis.
[m] King John. [John duke of Normandy, son to king Philip, whom he succeeded August 23, 1350.—RITSON.]
[n] bridge. [o] eyne, eyes. [p] lie idle.
[q] The English ran over one another, pressed forward.
[r] Froissart calls this the passage or ford of Blanch taque, B. i. ch. cxxvii. Berners's Transl. fol. lxiii. a.
[s] broad-ax, battle-ax.
[t] fall upon.
[u] caused. [w] sorry.
[x] Philip of Valois, son of John, king of France.
[y] perhaps Vernon. [afar off.—RITSON.]
[z] burn.
[a] flying for fear.

The teres he lete ful rathly ren[b]
Out of his eghen[c], I understand.
Than cum Philip, ful redy dight,
Toward the toun with all his rowt;
With him come mani a kumly knight,
And all umset[d] the Bare obout:
The Bare made tham ful law to lout,
And delt tham knokkes to thaire mede*,
He gert tham stumbill that war stout.
Thare helpid nowther staf ne stede[e].
Stedes strong bilevid still[f]
Biside Cressy opon the grene[g].
Sir Philip wanted all his will
That was wele on his sembland[h] sene,
With spere and schelde, and helmis schene[i],
The Bare than durst thai noght habide[k].
The king of Beme[l] was cant[m] and kene,
Bot thare he left both play and pride.
Pride in prese ne prais I noght[n].
Omong thir princes prowd in pall,
Princes suld be wele bithoght[o]
When kinges suld tham tyll[p] counsail call.

The same boar, that is, Edward the Third, is introduced by Minot as resisting the Scottish invasion in 1347, at Nevil's cross near Durham[q].

[b] quickly, fast, run. [c] eyes. [d] beset.
* reward.

[e] lances and horses were now of no service.

[f] stood still. Bleve. Sax. Chauc. Tr. Cr. iv. 1357.

[g] a plain. So in Minot's Siege of Tournay, MSS. ibid.

A Bore with brenis bright
Es broght opon zowre grene,
That as a semely sizht,
With schilterouns faire and schene.

[h] countenance.[semblance.—RITSON.]

[i] bright helmets.

[k] They could no longer withstand the Boar.

[l] John king of Bohemia. By Froissart he is called inaccurately the king of Behaigne, or Charles of Luxemburg. See Froissart, ut supr. fol. lxiv. b. The lord Charles of Bohemia, his son, was also in the battle and killed, being lately elected emperor. Hollinsh. iii. 372.

[m] gay, alert.

[n] I cannot praise the mere pomp of royalty.

[o] advised, prepared. [p] to.

[q] The reader will recollect that this versification is in the structure of that of the Lives of the Saints, where two lines are thrown into one. viz. VNDECIM MILLIA VIRGINUM. MSS. Coll. Trin. Oxon. 57.

Ellevene thousand virgines, that fair companye was,
Imartird wer for godis sone, ich wille telle that cas.
A kyng ther was in Bretaygne, Maur was his name,
A douzter he hadde that het Vrse, a mayde of guod fame.
So fair woman me nyste non, ne so guod in none poynte,
Cristene was al hire ken, swithe noble and queynte:
Of hire fairhede and guodnesse me told in eche sonde side,
That the word com into Engelonde, and selle wher wide.
A kyng there was in Engelonde, man of gret powèr,
Of this maide he herde telle gret nobleize far and ner.

The minstrel, who used the perpetual re-

Sir David the Bruse*
Was at distance,
When Edward the Baliolfe[r]
Rade[s] with his lance:
The north end of Ingland
Teched him to daunce,
When he was met on the more
With mekill mischance.
Sir Philip the Valayse
May him noght advance[t],
The flowres that faire war,
Er[u] fallen in Fraunce!
The flowres er now fallen,
That fers[x] war and fell,
A Barc[y] with his bataille,
Has done tham to dwell.
Sir David the Bruse
Said he sulde fonde[z]
To ride thurgh all Ingland,
Wuld he noght wonde[a]:
At the Westminster Hall,
Suld his stedes stonde,
Whils oure king Edward
War out of the londe.[b]

turn of a kind of plain chant, made his pause or close at every hemistic. In the same manner, the verses of the following poem were divided by the minstrel. MSS. Cott. Jul. v. fol. 175. Pergamen.

[The transcript is not later than the year 1300.]

Als ẏ yod on ay Monday, by twene Wiltindon and Walle,
Me ane after brade way, ay litel man ẏ mette withalle,
The leste that ever ẏ sathe, to say oither in boure oither in halle,
His robe was noither grene na gray, bot alle yt was of riche palle.
On me he cald and bad me bide, wel stille ẏ stode ay litel space;
Fro Lanchester the Parke syde, ẏeen he come wel faire his pace: &c.
I biheld that litel man, bi the strete als we gon gae[1],
His berde was syde ay large span, and glided als the fether of pae[2].
His heved[3] was wyte as any swan, his higehen[4] were gret and grai, &c.
His robe was al golde biganne, well cristlik maked i understande,
Botones asurd everilke ane, from his elbouthe on til his hande[5].

They enter a castle.

The bankers on the binkes lay[6], and faire lordes sette ẏ fonde,
In ilk ay hirn ẏ herd ay lay, and levedys southe me loud sange[7].

* David Bruce, king of Scotland. See P. Langtoft, p. 116.

[r] warlike. [Edward de Baliol. Edward the Third was not in England when the affair at Nevill's Cross happened.—RITSON.]

[s] rode. [t] could do him no service.

[u] are. [x] fierce. [y] boar.

[z] should attempt.

[a] wander in going. [stop, stay.—RITSON.]

[b] MSS. ut supr. Galb., E. ix.

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[1] went on. [2] His beard was a span broad, and shone like a peacock's plumage. [3] head. [4] eyes. [5] buttons, every one of them azure, from his elbow to his hand. [6] cushions, or tapestry, on the benches laid. [7] In every corner I heard a Lay, and ladies, &c.

Also in Edward's victory over the Spaniards in a sea-fight, in 1350, a part of Minot's general subject.

I wald noght spare for to speke,
Wist I to spede,
Of wight men with wapin[a],
And worthly in wede.
That now er driven to dale[b],
And ded all thaire dede,
Thai sail in the see-gronde[c],
Fissches to fede!
Fele[d] Fissches thei fede,
For all thaire grete fare[e],
It was in the waniand[f]
That thai come thare.
Thai sailed furth in the Swin
In a somers tyde,
With trompès and taburns[g],
And mikell other pryde[h].

I have seen one of Merlin's PROPHESIES, probably translated from the French, which begins thus.

Listeneth now to Merlin's saw,
And I woll tell to aw[i],
What he wrat for men to come,
Nother by greffe ne by plume.[k]

[a] active with weapons. [b] sorrow.
[c] sea-bottom. [d] many. [e] feasting.
[f] Q. waning of the moon?
[g] tambourins, tabours or drums. In Chaucer we have TABOURE, Fr. to drum.
[h] MSS. ut supr.
[i] all.

[k] I know not when this piece was written. But the word *greffe* is old French for *Graphium*, or *Stylus*. It is generally supposed, and it has been positively asserted by an able French antiquary, that the ancient Roman practice of writing with a style on waxen tablets lasted not longer than the fifth century. Hearne also supposes that the pen had succeeded to the style long before the age of Alfred. Lel. Itin. Vol. vii. Pref. p. xxi. I will produce an instance of this practice in England so late as the year 1395. In an accompt-roll of Winchester college, of that year, is the following disbursement:—"Et in i tabula ceranda cum viridi cera pro intitulatione capellanorum et clericorum Capelle ad missas et alia psallenda, viij*d*."[1] This very curious and remarkable article signifies, that a tablet covered with green wax was kept in the chapel, for noting down with a style, the respective courses of daily or weekly portions of duty, alternately assigned to the officers of the choir. So far, indeed, from having ceased in the fifth century, it appears that this mode of writing continued throughout all the dark ages. Among many express proofs that might be produced of the centuries after that period, Du Cange cites these verses from a French metrical romance, written about the year 1376. Lat. Gloss. v. GRAPHIUM[2].

Les uns se prennent à écrire,
Des greffes[3] en tables de cire;

[1] Viz. "COMPUTUS magistri Johis Morys Custodis a die Sabbati proxime post festum Annunciationis beate Marie anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum xvij^mo, usque diem Veneris proxime ante festum sancti Michaelis extunc proxime sequens anno regis predicti xviij^vo, vid^lt per xxvj septimanas." It is indorsed, "Computus primus post ingressum in Collegium. Anno octavo post inceptionem Operis."
[2] See ibid. STYLISONUS.
[3] Styles. Lat. *Graphium*.

The public pageantries of this reign are proofs of the growing familiarity and national diffusion of classical learning. I will select an in-

Les autres suivent la coustume
De fournir lettres à la plume.

Many ample and authentic records of the royal household of France, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, written on waxen tablets, are still preserved. Waxen tablets were constantly kept in the French religious houses, for the same purpose as at Winchester college. Thus in the Ordinary of the Priour of saint Lo at Rouen, printed at Rouen, written about the year 1250:—"Qui, ad missam, lectiones aut tractus dicturi sunt, in tabula cerea primitus recitentur." pag. 261. Even to this day, several of the collegiate bodies in France, more especially the chapter of the cathedral of Rouen, retain this usage of marking the successive rotation of the ministers of the choir. See the Sieur le Brun's Voyage Liturgique, 1718. p. 527. The same mode of writing was used for registering the capitular acts of the monasteries in France. Du Cange, in reciting from an ancient manuscript the *Signs* enjoined to the monks of the order of saint Victor at Paris, where the rule of silence was rigorously observed, gives us, among others, the tacit signals by which they called for the style and tablet:—"*Pro* SIGNO *Grafii.*—Signo metalli præmisso, extenso pollice cum indice simila [simula] scribentem. *Pro* SIGNO *Tabularum.*—Manus ambas complica, et ita disjunge quasi aperiens Tabulas." Gloss. ut supr. v. SIGNA. tom. iii. p. 866. col. 2. edit. vet. Among the implements of writing allowed to the Carthusians, *Tabulæ* and *Graphium* are enumerated. Statut. Antiq. Carthusian. 2 part. cap. xvi. § 8. This, however, at Winchester college, is the only express specification which I have found of the practice, in the religious houses of England[4]. Yet in many of our old collegiate establishments it seems to be pointed out by implication; and the article here extracted from the roll at Winchester college, explains the manner of keeping the following injunction in the Statutes of saint Elizabeth's college at Winchester, now destroyed, which is a direction of the same kind, and cannot be well understood without supposing a waxen tablet. These statutes were given in 1301. "Habeat itaque idem præcentor unam Tabulam semper in capella appensam, in qua scribat quolibet die sabbati post prandium, et ordinet, qualem Missam quis eorum capellanorum in sequenti septimana debeat celebrare; quis qualem lectionem in crastino legere debeat; et sic de cæteris divinis officiis in prædicta capella faciendis. Et sic cotidie post prandium ordinet idem præcentor de servicio diei sequentis: hoc diligentius observando, quod capellani Missam, ad quam die sabbati, ut præmittitur, intitulantur, per integram celebrent septimanam." Dugd. Monast. tom. iii. Eccles. Coll. i. 10. Nothing could have been a more convenient method of temporary notation, especially at a time when parchment and paper were neither cheap nor common commodities, and of carrying on an account, which was perpetually to be obliterated and renewed: for the written surface of the wax being easily smoothed by the round or blunt end of the style, was soon again prepared for the admission of new characters. And among the Romans, the chief use of the style was for fugitive and occasional entries. In the same light, we must view the following parallel passage of the Ordination of bishop Wykeham's sepulchral chantry, founded in Winchester cathedral, in the year 1404:—"Die sabbati cujuslibet septimanæ futuræ, monachi prioratus nostri in ordine sacerdotali constituti, valentes et dispositi ad celebrandum, ordinentur et intitulentur in Tabula seriatim ad celebrandum Missas prædictas cotidie per septimanam tunc sequentem," &c. B. Lowth's WYKEHAM. Append. p. xxxi. edit. 1777. Without multiplying superfluous citations[5], I think we may fairly conclude, that whenever a *Tabula* pro *Clericis intitulandis* occurs in the more ancient rituals of our ecclesiastical fraternities, a PUGILLARE or waxen tablet, and not a schedule of parchment or paper, is intended. The inquisitive reader, who wishes to see more foreign evidences of this mode of writing during the course of the middle ages, is referred to a Memoir drawn up with great diligence and research by M. l'Abbé Lebeuf. Mem. Litt. tom. xx. p. 267. edit. 4to.

The reasonings and conjectures of Wise and others, who have treated of the Saxon AESTEL, more particularly of those who contend that king Alfred's STYLE is still in being at Oxford, may perhaps receive elucidation or correction from what is here

[4] But see Wanley's account of the text of S. Chad. Catal. Codd. Anglo-Sax. p. 289. seq.

[5] See Statut. Eccles. Cath. Lichf. Dugd. Mon. iii. p. 244. col. 2. 10. p. 247. col. 2. 20. Statut. Eccles. Collegiat. de Tonge, ibid. Eccles. Coll. p. 152. col. 2. 40.

stance, among others, from the shows exhibited with great magnificence at the coronation of queen Anne Boleyn, in the year 1533. The procession to Westminster abbey began from the Tower; and the queen, in passing through Gracechurch-street, was entertained with a representation of mount Parnassus. The fountain of Helicon, by a bold fiction unknown to the bards of antiquity, ran in four streams of Rhenish wine from a basin of white marble. On the summit of the mountain sate Apollo, and at his feet Calliope. On either side of the declivity were arranged four of the Muses, playing on their respective musical instruments. Under them were written epigrams and poesies in golden letters, in which every Muse praised the queen, according to her character and office. At the Conduit in Cornhill appeared the three Graces; before whom, with no great propriety, was the spring of *Grace* perpetually running wine. But when a conduit came in the way, a religious allusion was too tempting and obvious to be omitted. Before the spring, however, sate a poet, describing in metre the properties or functions of every Grace: and then each of these four Graces allotted in a short speech to the queen, the virtue or accomplishment over which she severally presided. At the Conduit in Cheapside, as my chronicler says, she was saluted with "a rich pageaunt full of melodie and song." In this pageant were Pallas, Juno, and Venus: before them stood Mercury, who presented to her majesty, in the name of the three goddesses, a golden ball or globe divided into three parts, signifying wisdom, riches, and felicity. At entering saint Paul's *gate*, an ancient portal leading into the church-yard on the east, and long since destroyed, three ladies richly attired showered on her head wafers, in which were contained Latin distichs. At the eastern side of saint Paul's church-yard, two hundred scholars of saint Paul's school addressed her in chosen and apposite passages from the Roman poets, translated into English rhymes. On the leads of saint Martin's church stood a choir of boys and men, who sung, not spiritual hymns, but *new balads* in praise of her majesty. On the conduit without Ludgate, where the arms and angels had been *refreshed*, was erected a tower with four turrets, within each of which was placed a Cardinal Virtue, symbolically habited. Each of these personages in turn uttered an oration, promising to protect and accompany the queen on all occasions[1]. Here we see the pagan history and my-

casually collected on a subject, which needs and deserves a full investigation.

To a Note already labouring with its length I have only to add, that without supposing an allusion to this way of writing, it will be hard to explain the following lines in Shakspeare's Timon of Athens, act i. sc. 1.

—— —— My free drift
Halts not particularly, but moves itself
In a wide sea of wax.——

Why Shakspeare should here allude to this peculiar and obsolete fashion of writing, to express a poet's design of describing general life, will appear, if we consider the freedom and facility with which it is executed. It is not yet, I think, discovered, on what original Shakspeare formed this drama.

[1] Hall's Chronicle, fol. ccxii. Among the Orations spoken to the Queen, is one too curious to be omitted. At Leadenhall sate saint Anne with her numerous progeny, and Mary Cleophas with her four children. One of the children made "a

thology predominating in those spectacles, which were once furnished from the Golden Legend. Instead of saints, prophets, apostles, and confessors, we have Apollo, Mercury, and the Muses. Instead of religious canticles, and texts of scripture, which were usually introduced in the course of these ceremonies, we are entertained with profane poetry, translations from the classics, and occasional verses; with exhortations, not delivered by personified doctors of the church, but by the heathen divinities.

It may not be foreign to our purpose, to give the reader some distinct idea of the polite amusements of this reign, among which, the Masque, already mentioned in general terms, seems to have held the first place. It chiefly consisted of music, dancing, gaming, a banquet, and a display of grotesque personages and fantastic dresses. The performers, as I have hinted, were often the king, and the chief of the nobility of both sexes, who under proper disguises executed some preconcerted stratagem, which ended in mirth and good humour. With one of these shows, in 1530, the king formed a scheme to surprise cardinal Wolsey, while he was celebrating a splendid banquet at his palace of Whitehall[m]. At night his majesty in a masque, with twelve more masquers all richly but strangely dressed, privately landed from Westminster at Whitehall stairs. At landing, several small pieces of cannon were fired, which the king had before ordered to be placed on the shore near the house. The cardinal, who was separately seated at the banquet in the presence-chamber under the cloth of state, a great number of ladies and lords being seated at the side-tables, was alarmed at this sudden and unusual noise; and immediately ordered lord Sandys, the king's chamberlain, who was one of the guests, and in the secret, to inquire the reason. Lord Sandys brought answer, that thirteen foreign noblemen of distinction were just arrived, and were then waiting in the great hall below; having been drawn thither by the report of the cardinal's magnificent banquet, and of the beautiful ladies which were present at it. The cardinal ordered them immediately into the banqueting-room, to which they were conducted from the hall with twenty new torches and a concert of drums and fifes. After a proper refreshment, they requested in the French language to dance with the ladies, whom they kissed, and to play with them at mum-chance[n]; producing at the same time a great golden cup filled with many hundred crowns. Having played for some time with the ladies, they designedly lost all that remained in the cup to the cardinal; whose sagacity was not easily to be deceived, and who now began, from some circumstances, to suspect one of them to be the king. On finding their plot in danger, they answered, "If your grace can point him out, he will readily discover himself." The cardinal pointed to a masque with a black beard, but he was mistaken, for

goodlie oration to the queene, of the *fruitfulness* of saint Anne, and of her generation; trusting the *like fruit should come of hir.*"

[m] It then belonged to Wolsey.

[n] A game of hazard with dice.

it was sir Edward Nevil. At this, the king could not forbear laughing aloud; and pulling off his own and sir Edward Nevil's masque, convinced the cardinal, with much arch complaisance, that he had for once guessed wrong. The king and the masquers then retired into another apartment to change their apparel; and in the meantime the banquet was removed, and the table covered afresh with perfumed clothes. Soon afterwards, the king, with his company, returned, and took his seat under the cardinal's canopy of state. Immediately two hundred dishes* of the most costly cookery and confectionary were served up; the contrivance and success of the royal joke afforded much pleasant conversation, and the night was spent in dancing, dice-playing, *banketting and other triumphs*[o]. The old chronicler Edward Hall, a cotemporary and a curious observer, acquaints us, that at Greenwich, in 1512, "on the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the king with eleven others was disguised after the maner of Italie, called a Maske, a thing not seene before in England; they were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with gold, with visors and caps of gold. And after the banket doone, these maskers came in, with six gentlemen disguised in silke, bearing staffe-torches, and desired the ladies to danse; some were content, and some refused; and after they had dansed and communed togither, as the fashion of the maske is, they tooke their leave and departed, and so did the queene and all the ladies[p]."

I do not find that it was a part of their diversion in these entertainments to display humour and character†. Their chief aim seems to have been, to surprise, by the ridiculous and exaggerated oddity of the visors, and by the singularity and splendor of the dresses. Every thing was out of nature and propriety. Frequently the Masque was attended with an exhibition of some gorgeous machinery, resembling the wonders of a modern pantomime. For instance, in the great hall of the palace, the usual place of performance, a vast mountain covered with tall trees arose suddenly, from whose opening caverns issued hermits, pilgrims, shepherds, knights, damsels, and gypsies, who being regaled with spices and wine danced a morisco, or morris-dance. They were then again received into the mountain, which with a symphony of rebecs and recorders closed its caverns; and tumbling to pieces, was replaced by a ship in full sail, or a castle besieged. To be more particular. The following device was shown in the hall of the palace at Greenwich. A castle was reared, with numerous towers, gates, and battlements; and furnished with every military preparation for sustaining a long siege.

* [Can we imagine, that though the Cardinal was giving such a magnificent entertainment, he would have had 200 costly dishes in reserve, ready to set on, if he had not been in the secret about the king's masqued visit? As to the mistake about his person, this might be real or pretended. —ASHBY.]

[o] Hollinsh. Chron. iii. 921. seq.

[p] Chron. fol. xv. [See supr. vol. ii. p. 21 et seq.]

† [Of these there was probably about as much as would be found in a modern masquerade, consisting of the king and his court, lords of the bed-chamber and maids of honour.—ASHBY.]

On the front was inscribed *Le fortresse dangereux*. From the windows looked out six ladies, clothed in the richest russet satin, "laid all over with leaves of gold, and every one knit with laces of blew silk and gold, on their heads coifs and caps all of golde." This castle was moved about the hall; and when the queen had viewed it for a time, the king entered the hall with five knights, in embroidered vestments, spangled and plated with gold, of the most curious and costly workmanship. They assaulted the castle; and the six ladies, finding them to be champions of redoubted prowess, after a parley, yielded their perilous fortress, descended, and danced with their assailants. The ladies then led the knights into the castle, which immediately vanished, and the company retired[q]. Here we see the representation of an action. But all these magnificent mummeries, which were their evening-amusements on festivals, (notwithstanding a parley*, which my historian calls a *communication*, is here mentioned,) were yet in dumb show[r], and without dialogue.

But towards the latter part of Henry's reign, much of the old cumbersome state began to be laid aside. This I collect from a set of new regulations given to the royal household about the year 1526, by cardinal Wolsey. In the Chapter *For keeping the Hall and ordering of the Chapel*, it is recited, that by the frequent intermission and disuse of the solemnities of dining and supping in the great hall of the palace, the proper officers had almost forgot their duty, and the manner of conducting that very long and intricate ceremonial. It is therefore ordered, that when his majesty is not at Westminster, and with regard to his palaces in the country, the formalities of the Hall, which ought not entirely to fall into desuetude, shall be at least observed when he is at Windsor, Beaulieu, or Newhall[s] in Essex, Richmond, Hampton-court, Greenwich, Eltham, and Woodstock; and that at these places only, the whole choir of the chapel shall attend. This attempt to revive that which had begun to cease from the nature of things, and from the growth of new manners, perhaps had but little or no lasting effect; and with respect to the Chapel, my record adds, that when the king is on journeys or progresses, only six singing boys and six gentlemen of the choir shall make a part of the royal retinue; who "daylie in absence of *the*

[q] Hollinsh. iii. 812.

* [About the terms on which to surrender the fortress that six fine ladies had defended.—ASHBY.]

[r] But at a most sumptuous Disguising in 1519, in the hall at Greenwich, the figure of FAME is introduced, who, "in French, declared the meaning of the trees, the rocke, and turneie." But as this show was a political compliment, and many foreigners present, an explanation was necessary. See Hall, Chron. fol. lxvi. This was in 1512. But in the year 1509, a more rational evening-amusement took place in the Hall of the old Westminster-palace, several foreign embassadors being present. "After supper, his grace [the king] with the queene, lords, and ladies, came into the White Hall, which was hanged richlie; the hall was scaffolded and railed on all parts. There was an ENTERLUDE of the gentlemen of his chapell before his grace, and diverse freshe songes." Hall, Chron. fol. xi. xii. [See supra, vol. ii. p. 392.]

[s] A new house built by Henry the Eighth. Hollinsh. Chron. iii. 852.

residue of the chapel shall have a Masse of our Ladie bifore noon, and on Sondaies and holidaies, masse of the day besides our Lady-masse, and an anthempne in the afternoone: for which purpose, no *great carriage* of either vestiments or bookes shall require[t]." Henry never seems to have been so truly happy, as when he was engaged in one of these progresses; in other words, moving from one seat to another, and enjoying his ease and amusements in a state of royal relaxation. This we may collect from a curious passage in Hollinshed; who had pleased and perhaps informed us less, had he never deserted the dignity of the historian. "From thence the whole court remooved to Windsor, then beginning his progresse, and exercising himself dailie in shooting, singing, dansing, wrestling, casting of the barre, plaieing at the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of songes, and making of ballades.—And when he came to Oking[u], there were kept both justes turneies[w]." I make no apology for these seeming digressions. The manners and the poetry of a country are so nearly connected, that they mutually throw light on each other.

The same connection subsists between the state of poetry and of the arts; to which we may now recall the reader's attention with as little violation of our general subject.

We are taught in the mythology of the ancients, that the three Graces were produced at a birth. The meaning of the fable is, that the three most beautiful imitative arts were born and grew up together. Our poetry now beginning to be divested of its monastic barbarism, and to advance towards elegance, was accompanied by proportionable improvements in Painting and Music. Henry employed many capital painters, and endeavoured to invite Raphael and Titian into England. Instead of allegorical tapestry, many of the royal apartments were adorned with historical pictures. Our familiarity with the manners of Italy, and affectation of Italian accomplishments, influenced the tones and enriched the modulation of our musical composition. Those who could read the sonnets of Petrarch must have relished the airs of Palestrina. At the same time, Architecture, like Milton's lion *pawing to get free*, made frequent efforts to disentangle itself from the massy incumbrances of the Gothic manner; and began to catch the correct graces, and to copy the true magnificence, of the Grecian and Roman models. Henry was himself a great builder; and his numerous edifices, although constructed altogether on the ancient system, are sometimes interspersed with chaste ornaments and graceful mouldings, and often marked with a legitimacy of proportion, and a purity of design, before unattempted. It was among the literary plans of Leland, one of the most classical scholars of this age, to write an account of Henry's palaces, in imitation of

[t] "ORDENAUNCES made for the kinges household and chambres." Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud, K. 48. fol. It is the original on vellum. In it, Sir Thomas More is mentioned as Chancellour of the Duchie of Lancaster.

[u] Woking in Surrey, near Guildford, a royal seat. [w] Chron. iii. 806.

Procopius, who is said to have described the palaces of the emperor Justinian. Frequent symptoms appeared, that perfection in every work of taste was at no great distance. Those clouds of ignorance which yet remained began now to be illuminated by the approach of the dawn of truth.

SECTION XLV.

Effects of the Reformation on our poetry. Clement Marot's Psalms. Why adopted by Calvin. Version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins. Defects of this version, which is patronised by the Puritans in opposition to the Choral Service.

THE reformation of our church produced an alteration for a time in the general system of study, and changed the character and subjects of our poetry. Every mind, both learned and unlearned, was busied in religious speculation; and every pen was employed in recommending, illustrating, and familiarising the Bible, which was now laid open to the people.

The poetical annals of king Edward the Sixth, who removed those chains of bigotry which his father Henry had only loosened, are marked with metrical translations of various parts of the sacred scripture. Of these the chief is the versification of the Psalter by Sternhold and Hopkins; a performance, which has acquired an importance, and consequently claims a place in our series, not so much from any merit of its own, as from the circumstances with which it is connected.

It is extraordinary, that the protestant churches should be indebted to a country in which the reformation had never begun to make any progress, and even to the indulgence of a society which remains to this day the grand bulwark of the catholic theology, for a very distinguishing and essential part of their ritual.

About the year 1540, Clement Marot, a valet of the bedchamber to king Francis the First, was the favorite poet of France. This writer, having attained an unusual elegance and facility of style, added many new embellishments to the rude state of the French poetry. It is not the least of his praises, that La Fontaine used to call him his master. He was the inventor of the rondeau, and the restorer of the madrigal; but he became chiefly eminent for his pastorals, ballads, fables, elegies, epigrams, and translations from Ovid and Petrarch*. At length, being

* [Hence was it observed in a poem before quoted, at p. 44.

In Fraunce did *Marot* rayne,
And neighbour thearunto
Was Petrark murthing full with Dante,
Who erst did wonders do.

PARK.]

tired of the vanities of profane poetry, or rather privately tinctured with the principles of Lutheranism, he attempted, with the assistance of his friend Theodore Beza, and by the encouragement of the professor of Hebrew in the university of Paris, a version of David's Psalms into French rhymes. This translation, which did not aim at any innovation in the public worship, and which received the sanction of the Sorbonne as containing nothing contrary to sound doctrine, he dedicated to his master Francis the First, and to the Ladies of France. In the dedication to the Ladies or *les Dames de France*, whom he had often before addressed in the tenderest strains of passion or compliment, he seems anxious to deprecate the raillery which the new tone of his versification was likely to incur, and is embarrassed how to find an apology for turning saint. Conscious of his apostasy from the levities of life, in a spirit of religious gallantry he declares that his design is to add to the happiness of his fair readers, by substituting divine hymns in the place of *chansons d'amour*, to inspire their susceptible hearts with a passion in which there is no torment, to banish that fickle and fantastic deity CUPID from the world, and to fill their apartments with the praises, not of the *little god*, but of the true Jehovah.

E voz doigts sur les espinettes
Pour dire SAINCTES CHANSONETTES.

He adds, that the golden age would now be restored, when we should see the peasant at his plough, the carman in the streets, and the mechanic in his shop, solacing their toils with psalms and canticles; and the shepherd and shepherdess, reposing in the shade, and teaching the rocks to echo the name of the Creator.

Le Laboureur a sa charruë,
Le Charretier parmy le ruë,
Et l'Artisan en sa boutique,
Avecques un PSEAUME ou CANTIQUE,
En son labour se soulager.
Heureux qui orra le Berger
Et la Bergere au bois estans,
Fair que rochers et estangs,
Apres eux chantant la hauteur
Du sainct nom de Createur[a].

Marot's Psalms soon eclipsed the brilliancy of his madrigals and sonnets. Not suspecting how prejudicial the predominant rage of psalm-singing might prove to the ancient religion of Europe, the catholics themselves adopted these sacred songs as serious ballads, and as a more rational species of domestic merriment. They were the common accompaniments of the fiddle. They were sold so rapidly, that the printers

[a] Les Oevvres de Clement Marot de Cahors, valet de chambre du roy, &c. A Lyon, 1551. 12mo. See ad calc. Traductions, &c. p. 192.

could not supply the public with copies. In the festive and splendid court of Francis the First, of a sudden nothing was heard but the psalms of Clement Marot. By each of the royal family and the principal nobility of the court a psalm was chosen, and fitted to the ballad-tune which each liked best*. The dauphin prince Henry, who delighted in hunting, was fond of *Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire*, or *Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks*, which he constantly sung in going out to the chase. Madame de Valentinois, between whom and the young prince there was an attachment, took *Du fond de ma pensée*, or, *From the depth of my heart, O Lord.* The queen's favorite was, *Ne vueilles pas, O Sire*, that is, *O Lord, rebuke me not in thine indignation*, which she sung to a fashionable jig†. Antony king of Navarre sung, *Revenge moy, pren le querelle*, or, *Stand up, O Lord, to revenge my quarrel*, to the air of a dance of Poitou[b]. It was on very different principles that psalmody flourished in the gloomy court of Cromwell. This fashion does not seem in the least to have diminished the gaiety and good humour of the court of Francis.

At this period, John Calvin, in opposition to the discipline and doctrines of Rome, was framing his novel church at Geneva, in which the whole substance and form of divine worship was reduced to praying, preaching, and singing. In the last of these three, he chose to depart widely from the catholic usage; and, either because he thought that novelty was sure to succeed, that the practice of antiphonal chanting was superstitious, or that the people were excluded from bearing a part in the more solemn and elaborate performance of ecclesiastical music, or that the old papistic hymns were unedifying, or that verse was better remembered than prose, he projected, with the advice of Luther, a species of religious song, consisting of portions of the psalms intelligibly translated into the vernacular language, and adapted to plain and easy melodies, which all might learn, and in which all might join. This scheme, either by design or accident, was luckily seconded by the publication of Marot's metrical psalms at Paris, which Calvin immediately introduced into his congregation at Geneva‡. Being set to simple and almost mo-

* [This mode of adaptation may be seen in the Godly and Spirituall Songs, &c., printed at Edinburgh in 1597, and reprinted there in 1801.—PARK.]

† [Jig does not here signify a *dance*, but a *tune*.—PARK.]

[b] See Bayle's Dict. v. MAROT.

‡ [Marot's French translation of the Psalms, said the late Mr. Mason, became popular in the court where it had its origin; not, as it seems, because it was a version of the Psalms, but as being a version in *rhyme*, and what the taste of the time deemed good poetry. Devotion it must be believed had little to do in this matter; the version was fashionable! Calvin conceived it might be turned to a pious purpose. The verses were easy and prosaic enough to be intelligible to the meanest capacity. The melodies to which they were set rivalled the words in plainness and simplicity. They who could read the one would find little difficulty in learning to sing the other. As therefore it was the protestant father's aim to open the Scriptures entirely which had been so long shut up in a dead language, nothing would come more opportune than this version of the psalter; which, united with prayer in their own tongue, would enable his congregation to understand and join in the one, and become choristers of the other. Essays, &c. on English Church Music.—PARK.]

notonous notes by Guillaume de Franc, they were soon established as the principal branch in that reformer's new devotion, and became a characteristical mark or badge of the Calvinistic worship and profession. Nor were they sung only in his churches. They exhilarated the convivial assemblies of the Calvinists, were commonly heard in the streets, and accompanied the labours of the artificer. The weavers and woollen manufacturers of Flanders, many of whom left the loom and entered into the ministry, are said to have been the capital performers in this science. At length Marot's psalms formed an appendix to the catechism of Geneva, and were interdicted to the catholics under the most severe penalties. In the language of the orthodox, psalm-singing and heresy were synonymous terms.

It was Calvin's system of reformation, not only to strip religion of its superstitious and ostensible pageantries, of crucifixes, images, tapers, superb vestments, and splendid processions, but of all that was estimable in the sight of the people, and even of every simple ornament, every significant symbol, and decent ceremony; in a word, to banish every thing from his church which attracted or employed the senses, or which might tend to mar the purity of an abstracted adoration, and of a mental intercourse with the Deity. It is hard to determine how Calvin could reconcile the use of singing, even when purged from the corruptions and abuses of popery, to so philosophical a plan of worship. On a parallel principle, and if any artificial aids to devotion were to be allowed, he might at least have retained the use of pictures in the church. But a new sect always draws its converts from the multitude and the meanest of the people, who can have no relish for the more elegant externals. Calvin well knew that the manufacturers of Germany were no judges of pictures. At the same time it was necessary that his congregation should be kept in good humour by some kind of pleasurable gratification and allurement, which might qualify and enliven the attendance on the more rigid duties of praying and preaching. Calvin therefore, intent as he was to form a new church on a severe model, had yet too much sagacity to exclude every auxiliary to devotion. Under this idea, he permitted an exercise, which might engage the affections without violating the simplicity of his worship; and sensible that his chief resources were in the rabble of a republic, and availing himself of that natural propensity which prompts even vulgar minds to express their more animated feelings in rhyme and music, he conceived a mode of universal psalmody, not too refined for common capacities, and fitted to please the populace. The rapid propagation of Calvin's religion, and his numerous proselytes, are a strong proof of his address in planning such a sort of service. France and Germany were instantly infatuated with a love of psalm-singing; which being admirably calculated to kindle and diffuse the flame of fanaticism, was peculiarly serviceable to the purposes of faction, and frequently served as the trumpet to rebellion. These energetic hymns of Geneva, under the

conduct of the Calvinistic preachers, excited and supported a variety of popular insurrections; they filled the most flourishing cities of the Low Countries with sedition and tumult, and fomented the fury which defaced many of the most beautiful and venerable churches of Flanders.

This infectious frenzy of sacred song soon reached England, at the very critical point of time, when it had just embraced the reformation; and the new psalmody was obtruded on the new English liturgy by some few officious zealots, who favored the discipline of Geneva, and who wished to abolish, not only the choral mode of worship in general, but more particularly to suppress the TE DEUM, BENEDICTUS, MAGNIFICAT, JUBILATE, NUNC DIMITTIS, and the rest of the liturgic hymns, which were supposed to be contaminated by their long and ancient connection with the Roman missal, or, at least in their prosaic form, to be unsuitable to the new system of worship.

Although Wyat and Surrey had before made translations of the Psalms into metre, Thomas Sternhold was the first whose metrical version of the Psalms was used in the church of England. Sternhold was a native of Hampshire, and probably educated at Winchester college. Having passed some time at Oxford, he became groom of the robes to king Henry the Eighth. In this department, either his diligent services or his knack at rhyming so pleased the king, that his majesty bequeathed him a legacy of one hundred marks. He continued in the same office under Edward the Sixth, and is said to have acquired some degree of reputation about the court for his poetry. Being of a serious disposition, and an enthusiast to reformation, he was much offended at the lascivious ballads which prevailed among the courtiers; and, with a laudable design to check these indecencies, undertook a metrical version of the Psalter, "thinking thereby," says Antony Wood, "that the courtiers would sing them instead of their sonnets, *but did not*, only some few excepted[c]." Here was the zeal, if not the success, of his fellow labourer Clement Marot. A singular coincidence of circumstances is, notwithstanding, to be remarked on this occasion. Vernacular versions for general use of the Psalter were first published both in France and England, by laymen, by court-poets, and by servants of the court. Nor were the respective translations entirely completed by themselves; and yet they translated nearly an equal number of psalms, Marot having versified fifty*, and Sternhold fifty-one†. Sternhold died in the year 1549. His fifty-one psalms were printed the same

[c] Ath. Oxon. i. 76.

* ["Marot first published thirty psalms, and afterwards translated twenty more, which he published at Geneva in 1543, with the other thirty, together with a preface written by Calvin." The Rev. Charles Dunster's Considerations on Psalmody.—PARK.]

† [Mr. Haslewood has pointed out an edition printed by G. Whitchurch in 1551, which contains thirty-seven psalms by Sternhold, and to these seven more were adjoined. See Censura Literaria, x. 4.—PARK.]

year by Edward Whitchurch, under the following title:—"All such Psalms of David as Thomas Sternholde late grome of the kinges Maiestyes robes did in his lyfe tyme drawe into Englysshe metre*." They are without the musical notes, as is the second [third] edition in 1552. He probably lived to prepare the first edition for the press, as it is dedicated by himself to king Edward the Sixth.

Cotemporary with Sternhold, and his coadjutor, was John Hopkins; of whose life nothing more is known, than that he was a clergyman and a schoolmaster of Suffolk, and perhaps a graduate at Oxford about the year 1544. Of his abilities as a teacher of the classics, he has left a specimen in some Latin stanzas prefixed to Fox's MARTYROLOGY. He is rather a better English poet than Sternhold; and translated fifty-eight of the psalms, distinguished by the initials of his name.

Of the rest of the contributors to this undertaking, the chief, at least in point of rank and learning, was William Whyttingham, promoted by Robert earl of Leicester to the deanery of Durham, yet not without a strong reluctance to comply with the use of the canonical habiliments. Among our religious exiles in the reign of Mary, he was Calvin's principal favorite, from whom he received ordination. So pure was his faith, that he was thought worthy to succeed to the congregation of Geneva, superintended by Knox, the Scotch reformer; who, from a detestation of idols, proceeded to demolish the churches in which they were contained. It was one of the natural consequences of Whyttingham's translation from Knox's pastorship at Geneva to an English deanery, that he destroyed or removed many beautiful and harmless monuments of ancient art in his cathedral. To a man, who had so highly spiritualized his religious conceptions, as to be convinced that a field, a street, or a barn, were fully sufficient for all the operations

* ["Henry the Eighth," says Brathwaite, "for a few psalmes of David translated and turned into English meetre by Sternhold, made him groom of his privie chamber." English Gentleman, p. 191, 1630. Against George Wither of Lincoln's Inn, who had published "Hymnes and Songs of the Church" by royal license in 1623, it was alleged that he had "indecently obtruded upon the divine calling;" to which he indignantly replied, "I wonder what *divine calling* Hopkins and Sternhold had, more than I have, that *their* metricall Psalmes may be allowed of rather than my Hymnes. Surely, yf to have been *groomes of the privie-chamber* were sufficient to qualify them, that profession [the law] which I am of, may as well fitt me for what I have undertaken." Schollers Purgatory, p. 40. Wither proceeds to say:—"Excuse me, if I seeme a little too playne in discovering the faultiness of *that* whereof so many are overweening: for I do it not to disparage the pious endeavours of those who tooke paynes in that translation; but rather, commending their laborious and christian intention, do acknowledge that (considering the tymes they lived in, and of what *quality* they were) they made so worthye an attempt, as may justly shame us who came after, to see it no better seconded, during all the flourishing tymes which have followed their troublesome age; especially seeing, howe curiously our language and expressions are refined in our triviall discourses." Yet Wither, like his predecessors, professes to have used that "simplicity of speech which best becometh the subject," and to have as naturally and as plainly expressed the sense of Scripture, as most prose translations have done. Few things perhaps are more difficult in metrical composition, than to unite simplicity with gracefulness. Some of our most distinguished modern poets have failed to produce such union.—PARK.]

of christian worship, the venerable structures raised by the magnificent piety of our ancestors could convey no ideas of solemnity, and had no other charms than their ample endowments. Beside the psalms he translated[d], all which bear his initials, by way of innovating still further on our established formulary, he versified the Decalogue, the Nicene, Apostolic, and Athanasian Creeds, the Lord's Prayer, the TE DEUM, the Song of the three Children, with other hymns which follow the book of psalmody. How the Ten Commandments and the Athanasian Creed, to say nothing of some of the rest, should become more edifying and better suited to common use, or how they could receive improvement in any respect or degree, by being reduced into rhyme, it is not easy to perceive. But the real design was, to render that more tolerable which could not be entirely removed, to accommodate every part of the service to the psalmodic tone, and to clothe our whole liturgy in the garb of Geneva. All these (for he was a lover of music) were sung in Whyttingham's church of Durham, under his own directions. Heylin says, that from vicinity of situation, he was enabled to lend considerable assistance to his friend Knox in the introduction of the presbyterian hierarchy into Scotland. I must indulge the reader with a stanza or two of this dignified fanatic's divine poetry from his Creeds and the Decalogue. From the Athanasian Creed.

The Father God is, God the Son,
God Holy Ghost *also*;
Yet are there not three Gods *in all*,
But one God and *no mo*.

Of none the Father is, ne made,
Ne create, nor begot:
The Son is of the Father, not
Create, ne made, but got.

From the Apostolic Creed.

From thence shall he come for to judge,
All men both dead and quick;
I in the holy ghost believe,
And church that's catholick.

The Ten Commandments are thus closed.

Nor his man-servant, nor his maid,
Nor oxe, nor asse *of his*;
Nor any other thing that *to*
Thy neighbour *proper is*.

These were also versified by Clement Marot.

[d] Among them is the hundredth, and the hundred and nineteenth.

Twenty-seven of the psalms were turned into metre by Thomas Norton[e], who perhaps was better employed, at least as a poet, in writing the tragedy of GORBODUC in conjunction with lord Buckhurst. It is certain that in Norton's psalms we see none of those sublime strokes which sir Philip Sydney discovered in that venerable drama. He was of Sharpenhoe in Bedfordshire, a barrister, and in the opinion and phraseology of the Oxford biographer, a bold and busy Calvinist about the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth. He was patronised by the Protector Somerset; at whose desire he translated an epistle addressed by Peter Martyr to Somerset, into English, in 1550. Under the same patronage he probably translated also Calvin's Institutes.

Robert Wisdome, a protestant fugitive in the calamitous reign of queen Mary, afterwards archdeacon of Ely*, and who had been nominated to an Irish bishoprick by king Edward the Sixth, rendered the twenty-fifth psalm of this version[f]. But he is chiefly memorable for his metrical prayer, intended to be sung in the church, against the Pope and the Turk, of whom he seems to have conceived the most alarming apprehensions. It is probable, that he thought popery and mahometanism were equally dangerous to christianity, at least the most powerful and the sole enemies of our religion. This is the first stanza.

Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word,
From POPE and TURK defend us, Lord†!
Which both would thrust out of thy throne
Our Lord Jesus Christ, thy dear son!

Happily we have hitherto survived these two formidable evils!

[e] Marked N. [Mr. Haslewood, who took great pains to examine the distinct claims of the several contributors to this collective version of the psalms, has apportioned 28 to Norton, 25 to Kethe, 16 to Whyttingham, 43 to Sternhold, and 56 to Hopkins. John Pullain contributed 2, Robert Wisdom 1, and T. C. [Thomas Churchyard?] a different version of the 136th; D. Cox supplied a version of the Lord's prayer, and likewise a grace before and after meat, in sixteen lines each of alternate rhyme, in a Manuel of Christian Prayers by Abr. Flemming, 1694. Initials occur before other specimens, which with their conjectural appropriations may be seen in Cens. Lit. vol. x. 7.—PARK.]

* [After holding the rectory of Settrington in Yorkshire, he was presented to this archdeaconry by queen Elizabeth in 1559–60. In bishop Cox's Certificatorium (MS. Benet Coll. Lib.) he was returned as a priest and B.D. usually residing upon his living at Wilberton appropriated to the archdeaconry of Ely, as qualified for preaching, and licensed thereunto by the Queen's Majesty. See Mr. Gilchrist's complete edition of Corbet's poems, p. 228.—PARK.]

[f] See Strype's Cranmer, p. 274. 276, 277. Psalms 70, 104, 112, 122, 125, and 134, are marked with W. K. Psalm 136, with T. C. It is not known to whom these initials belong. [Those of W. K. have been assigned to William Kethe, an exile at Frankfort, and whose name occurs again in Sect. LVIII.—PARK.]

† [Wither, in a tract quoted above, thus glances at this church solecism. "My booke of hymnes being allowed by authority, are as fitt, I trust, to keepe company with David's Psalmes as Robert Wisdomes TURKE and POPE and those other apocryphal songs and praises which the stationers add to the Psalme booke for their more advantage." Schol. Purg. p. 35. "From Turke and Pope" is used by Wither to designate a certain psalm tune. See Table to his Lyric Versions, p. 300.—PARK.]

Among other orthodox wits, the facetious bishop Corbet has ridiculed these lines. He supposes himself seized with a sudden impulse to hear or to pen a puritanical hymn, and invokes the ghost of Robert Wisdome, as the most skilful poet in this mode of composition, to come and assist. But he advises Wisdome to steal back again to his tomb, which was in Carfax church at Oxford, silent and unperceived, for fear of being detected and intercepted by the Pope or the Turk. But I will produce Corbet's epigram, more especially as it contains a criticism written in the reign of Charles the First, on the style of this sort of poetry.

TO THE GHOST OF ROBERT WISDOME.

Thou once a body, now but ayre,
Arch-botcher of a psalm or prayer,
From Carfax come!
And patch us up a zealous lay,
With an old *ever and for ay* *,
Or *all and some.*
Or such a spirit lend me,
As may a hymne down sende me
To purge my braine;
But, Robert, looke behind thee,
Lest TURK or POPE doe find thee,
And goe to bed againe[g].

The entire version of the psalter was at length published by John Day, in 1562, attached for the first time to the common prayer, and entitled, "The whole Booke of Psalmes collected into English metre by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to sing them withall." Calvin's music was intended to correspond with the general parsimonious spirit of his worship: not to captivate the passions, and seduce the mind, by a levity, a variety, or a richness of modulation; but to infuse the more sober and unravishing ecstasies. The music he permitted, although sometimes it had wonderful effects, was to be without grace, elegance, or elevation. These apt notes were about forty tunes, of one part only, and in one unisonous key; remarkable for a certain uniform strain of sombrous gravity, and applicable to all the psalms in their turns, as the stanza and sense might allow. They also appear in the subsequent impressions, particularly of 1564 and 1577. They are believed to contain some of the original melo-

* [This patching or eking out of Wisdome's psalmody is thus glanced at in Jordan's Piety and Poesy contrasted, under "A Fancy upon Words."

If long he to that idol pray
His sight by Love's inflaming ray
Is lost *for ever and for* ay.
Rob. Wisdom.

Overbury, in his Characters, makes a precisian declare—he "had rather heare one of Robert Wisdomes psalmes than the best hymne a cherubim can sing:" and Sir J. Birkenhead sarcastically observes in his Assembly-man—"When Rous stood forth for his trial, Robin Wisdom was found the better poet."—PARK.]

[g] Poems, Lond. 1647. duod. p. 49.

dies, composed by French and German musicians. Many of them, particularly the celebrated one of the hundredth psalm, are the tunes of Goudimel and Le Jeune, who are among the first composers of Marot's French psalms[h]. Not a few were probably imported by the protestant manufacturers of cloth, of Flanders, and the Low Countries, who fled into England from the persecution of the Duke de Alva, and settled in those counties where their art now chiefly flourishes. It is not however unlikely, that some of our own musicians, who lived about the year 1562, and who could always tune their harps to the religion of the times, such as Marbeck, Tallis, Tye, Parsons, and Munday, were employed on this occasion; yet under the restriction of conforming to the jejune and unadorned movements of the foreign composers. I presume much of the primitive harmony of all these ancient tunes is now lost, by additions, variations, and transpositions.

This version is said to be *conferred with the Ebrue*: but I am inclined to think, that the translation was altogether made from the vulgate text, either in Latin or English.

It is evident that the prose psalms of our liturgy were chiefly consulted and copied, by the perpetual assumption of their words and combinations: many of the stanzas are literally nothing more than the prose-verses put into rhyme, as,

> Thus were they stained with the workes
> Of their owne filthie way;
> And with their owne inventions did
> A whoring go astray[i].

Whyttingham however, who had travelled to acquire the literature then taught in the foreign universities, and who joined in the translation of Coverdale's Bible, was undoubtedly a scholar, and an adept in the Hebrew language.

It is certain that every attempt to clothe the sacred Scripture in verse, will have the effect of misrepresenting and debasing the dignity of the original*. But this general inconvenience, arising from the nature of things, was not the only difficulty which our versifiers of the psalter had to encounter, in common with all other writers employed in a similar task. Allowing for the state of our language in the middle of the sixteenth century, they appear to have been but little qualified either by genius or accomplishments for poetical composition. It is for this

[h] See this matter traced with great skill and accuracy by Hawkins, Hist. Mus. iii. 518.

[i] Psalm cvi. 38.

* [Dr. Johnson in his life of Waller opined, that "poetical devotions cannot often please," and assigned strong reasons for such opinion; but these (as Mr. Dunster observed) are not irrefragable. The observer's own feelings, indeed, furnished a strong confutation, when with the hymns of Addison before him he declared that "such devotional poetry must always please." And in truth the dogma of Dr. Johnson, that "contemplative piety cannot be poetical," is completely refuted by the Task of Cowper, inasmuch as contemplative piety forms one of the most powerful charms by which that devout and christian poet accomplishes his poetical enchantment. See Hayley's Life.—PARK.]

reason that they have produced a translation entirely destitute of elegance, spirit, and propriety*. The truth is, that they undertook this work, not so much from an ambition of literary fame, or a consciousness of abilities; as from motives of piety, and in compliance with the cast of the times. I presume I am communicating no very new criticism when I observe, that in every part of this translation we are disgusted with a languor of versification, and a want of common prosody. The most exalted effusions of thanksgiving, and the most sublime imageries of the divine majesty, are lowered by a coldness of conception, weakened by frigid interpolations, and disfigured by a poverty of phraseology. John Hopkins expostulates with the Deity in these ludicrous, at least trivial, expressions:

Why doost withdrawe thy hand aback,
And hide it in thy lappe?
O, plucke it out, and be not slack
To give thy foes a rappe![k]

What writer who wished to diminish the might of the Supreme Being, and to expose the style and sentiments of Scripture, could have done it more skilfully, than by making David call upon God, not to *consume his enemies* by an irresistible blow, but to give them a rap? Although some shadow of an apology may be suggested for the word *rap*, that it had not then acquired its present burlesque acceptation, or the idea of

* ["But had they been better poets," said Mr. Warton in his MS. memoranda, "their performances had been less popular."—PARK.]

[k] Ps. lxxiv. 12. Perhaps this verse is not much improved in the translation of king James the First, who seems to have rested entirely on the image of *why withdrawest thou not thine hand?* which he has expressed in Hopkins's manner:

Why dost thou thus withdraw thy hand,
Ev'n thy right hand restraine?
Out of thy bosom, for our good,
Drawe backe the same againe!

In another stanza he has preserved Hopkins's rhymes and expletives, and, if possible, lowered his language and cadences. Ps. lxxiv. 1.

Oh why, our God, for evermore
Hast thou neglected us?
Why *smoaks* thy wrath against the sheep
Of thine own pasture *thus?*

Here he has chiefly displayed the *smoking* of God's wrath, which *kindles* in Hopkins. The particle *thus* was never so distinguished and dignified. And it is hard to say, why his majesty should choose to make the divine indignation *smoke*, rather than *burn*, which is suggested by the original.

[George Wither, who printed in the Netherlands, 1632, a lyric version of the Psalms, says he was commanded to perfect that translation by king James, and finished the same about the time of that monarch's translation to a better kingdom, viz. about March 1625. This version is an entirely different work from his Hymnes and Songs of the Church, published in 1623. It was designed, he tells us, to be brief, plain, and significant; and to combine the fullness of the sense with the relish of the Scripture phrase. In some of his efforts he assuredly has been successful. I will cite two verses from the first psalm.

Blest is he who neither straies
Where the godless man misguideth,
Neither stands in sinners waies,
Nor in scorners chair abideth;
But in God's pure lawe delights,
Thereon musing daies and nights.

Like a tree, sett near the springs,
He doth alway freshlie florish;
Still his fruits he timely brings,
And his leaf shall never perish:
Ev'rie thing shall prosper too,
Which he undertakes to do, &c.

PARK.]

a petty stroke, the vulgarity of the following phrase, in which the practice or profession of religion, or more particularly God's covenant with the Jews, is degraded to *a trade*, cannot easily be vindicated on any consideration of the fluctuating sense of words*:

For why, their hearts were nothing bent,
To him nor to his *trade*[l].

Nor is there greater delicacy or consistency in the following stanza:

Confound them that apply
And seeke to worke my shame;
And at my harme do laugh, and cry,
So, So, *there goeth the game*[m].

The psalmist says, that God has placed the sun in the heavens, "which cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber." Here is a comparison of the sun rising, to a bridegroom; who, according to the Jewish custom, was ushered from his chamber at midnight, with great state, preceded by torches and music. Sternhold has thus metrified the passage[n]:

In them the Lord made for the sun,
A place of great renown,
Who like a bridegroom ready trimm'd
Doth from his chamber come.

The translator had better have spared his epithet to the bridegroom; which, even in the sense of *ready-dressed*, is derogatory to the idea of the comparison; but *ready-trimm'd*, in the language of that time, was nothing more than *fresh-shaved*. Sternhold as often impairs a splendid description by an impotent redundancy, as by an omission or contraction of the most important circumstances.

The miraculous march of Jehovah before the Israelites through the wilderness in their departure from Egypt, with other marks of his omnipotence, is thus imaged by the inspired psalmist: "O God, when thou wentest forth before the people, when thou wentest through the wilderness; the earth shook, and the heavens dropped at the presence of God; even as Sinai also was moved at the presence of God, who is the God of Israel. Thou, O God, sentedst a gracious rain upon thine inheritance, and refreshedst it when it was weary.—The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels; and the Lord is among them, as

* ["In the whole book of Psalms," says Dr. Brown, "as they are versified by Sternhold and his companions, there are few stanzas which do not present expressions to excite the ridicule of some part of every congregation. This might well be abolished, as it exposeth one of the noblest parts of divine service to contempt." Diss. on Poetry and Music, p. 213.—PARK.]

[l] Ps. lxviii. 37.

[m] Ps. lxx. 3. [This seems to have been a technical expression.—PARK.]

[n] Ps. xix. 4.

in the holy place of Sinai." Sternhold has thus represented these great ideas:—

When thou didst march before thy folk,
The Egyptians from among,
And brought them from the wildernes,
Which was both wide and long:

The earth did quake, the *raine pourde downe,*
Heard were great claps of thunder;
The mount Sinai shooke in such sorte,
As it would cleave in sunder.

Thy heritage with drops of rain
Abundantly was *washt,*
And *if so be* it barren was,
By thee it was *refresht.*

God's *army is two millions,*
Of warriours *good and strong,*
The Lord also in Sinai
Is present them among[o].

If there be here any merit, it arises solely from preserving the expressions of the prose version; and the translator would have done better had he preserved more, and had given us no feeble or foreign enlargements of his own. He has shown no independent skill or energy. When once he attempts to add or dilate, his weakness appears. It is this circumstance alone, which supports the two following well-known stanzas[p]:

The Lord descended from above,
And bowde the heavens high;
And underneath his feet he cast
The darknesse of the skie.

On Cherubs and on Cherubims
Full roiallie he rode;
And on the winges of all the windes*
Came flying all abrode.

Almost the entire contexture of the prose is here literally transferred, unbroken and without transposition, allowing for the small deviations necessarily occasioned by the metre and rhyme. It may be said, that the translator has testified his judgment in retaining so much of the original, and proved he was sensible the passage needed not any adven-

[o] Ps. lxviii. 7. seq.
[p] Ps. xviii. 9, 10.
* [Dryden honoured these verses with high commendation, and conferred additional honour by an imitation of them in his *Annus Mirabilis*:—
On wings of all the winds to combat flies.
St. 55.—PARK.]

titious ornament. But what may seem here to be judgment or even taste, I fear, was want of expression in himself. He only adopted what was almost ready done to his hand.

To the disgrace of sacred music, sacred poetry, and our established worship, these psalms still continue to be sung in the church of England. It is certain, had they been more poetically translated, they would not have been acceptable to the common people. Yet however they may be allowed to serve the purposes of private edification, in administering spiritual consolation to the manufacturer and mechanic, as they are extrinsic to the frame of our liturgy, and incompatible with the genius of our service, there is perhaps no impropriety in wishing, that they were remitted and restrained to that church in which they sprung, and with whose character and constitution they seem so aptly to correspond. Whatever estimation in point of composition they might have attracted at their first appearance in a ruder age, and however instrumental they might have been at the infancy of the reformation in weaning the minds of men from the papistic ritual, all these considerations can now no longer support even a specious argument for their being retained. From the circumstances of the times, and the growing refinements of literature, of course they become obsolete and contemptible. A work grave, serious, and even respectable for its poetry, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, at length in a cultivated age has contracted the air of an absolute travestie. Voltaire observes, that in proportion as good taste improved, the psalms of Clement Marot inspired only disgust; and that although they charmed the court of Francis the First, they seemed only to be calculated for the populace in the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth[r].

To obviate these objections, attempts have been made from time to time to modernise this ancient metrical version, and to render it more tolerable and intelligible by the substitution of more familiar modes of diction. But, to say nothing of the unskilfulness with which these arbitrary corrections have been conducted, by changing obsolete for known words, the texture and integrity of the original style, such as it was, has been destroyed; and many stanzas, before too naked and weak, like a plain old Gothic edifice stripped of its few signatures of antiquity, have lost that little and almost only strength and support which they derived from ancient phrases. Such alterations, even if executed with prudence and judgment, only corrupt what they endeavour to explain; and exhibit a motley performance, belonging to no character of writing, and which contains more improprieties than those which it professes to remove. Hearne is highly offended at these unwarrantable and incongruous emendations, which he pronounces to be *abominable* in any book, "much more in a sacred work;" and is confident, that were Sternhold and Hopkins "now living, they would be so

[r] Hist. Mod. ch. ccvii.

far from owning what is ascribed to them, that they would proceed against the innovators as CHEATS[s]." It is certain, that this translation in its genuine and unsophisticated state, by ascertaining the signification of many radical words now perhaps undeservedly disused, and by displaying original modes of the English language, may justly be deemed no inconsiderable monument of our ancient literature, if not of our ancient poetry*. In condemning the practice of adulterating this primitive version, I would not be understood to recommend another in its place, entirely new. I reprobate any version at all, more especially if intended for the use of the church†.

In the mean time, not to insist any longer on the incompatibility of these metrical psalms with the spirit of our liturgy, and the barbarism of their style, it should be remembered, that they were never admitted into our church by lawful authority. They were first introduced by the puritans, and afterwards continued by connivance. But they never received any royal approbation or parliamentary sanction‡, notwithstanding it is said in their title page, that they are "set forth and ALLOWED to be sung in all churches of all the people together before and after evening prayer, and also before and after sermons: and moreover in private houses for their godly solace and comfort, laying apart all ungodly songs and ballads, which tend only to the nourishing of vice and the corrupting of youth." At the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, when our ecclesiastical reformation began to be placed on a solid and durable establishment, those English divines who had fled from the superstitions of queen Mary to Franckfort and Geneva, where they had learned to embrace the opposite extreme, and where, from an abhorrence of catholic ceremonies, they had contracted a dislike to the

[s] Gloss. Rob. Gl. p. 699. [Hearne complains also that these innovators have in several places changed the very initial letters that were to represent the several parts of the Psalms that every one turned into metre.—PARK.]

* [Sir John Hawkins observes, that the early translation of the psalms into metre "was the work of men as well qualified for the undertaking as any that the times they lived in could furnish; and he deemed Fuller had not greatly erred in saying that 'match these verses for their ages, they shall go abreast with the best poems of those times.'" Hist. of Music, iii. 512. —PARK.]

† [Dr. Huntingford, bishop of Gloucester, represented Mr. Warton as strongly attached to the church of England in all the offices of her liturgy. "This attachment," says Mr. Mant, "mixed with a decided antipathy to Calvinistic doctrine and discipline, may have disposed our historian not only to regard choral service with fondness, but to have reprobated somewhat too severely the practice of popular psalmody in our churches." Life of Warton, p. cvi.—PARK.]

‡ [This is humorously attested by Sir John Birkenhead in his witty character of an Assembly-man or Independent, who is made to tear the liturgy, and burn the book of common prayer: yet he has mercy (he adds) on Hopkins and Sternhold, because their metres are sung *without authority* (no statute, canon, or injunction at all)—only like himself, first crept into private houses, and then into churches. Wither gravely confirms the same in the following paragraph from his Scholler's Purgatory, before quoted: "By what publicke example did we sing David's Psalms in English meeter before the raigne of king Edward the Sixth? or by what *command* of the church do we sing them as they are now in use? Verily by none. But tyme and Christian devotion having first brought forth that practice, and custome ripening it, long toleration hath in a manner fully authorized the same."—PARK.]

decent appendages of divine worship, endeavoured, in conjunction with some of the principal courtiers, to effect an abrogation of our solemn church service, which they pronounced to be antichristian and unevangelical. They contended that the metrical psalms of David, set to plain and popular music, were more suitable to the simplicity of the gospel, and abundantly adequate to all the purposes of edification: and this proposal they rested on the authority and practice of Calvin, between whom and the church of England the breach was not then so wide as at present. But the queen and those bishops to whom she had delegated the business of supervising the liturgy, among which was the learned and liberal archbishop Parker, objected, that too much attention had already been paid to the German theology. She declared, that the foreign reformers had before interposed, on similar deliberations, with unbecoming forwardness; and that the Common Prayer of her brother Edward had been once altered, to quiet the scruples, and to gratify the cavils, of Calvin, Bucer, and Fagius. She was therefore invariably determined to make no more concessions to the importunate partisans of Geneva, and peremptorily decreed that the choral formalities should still be continued in the celebration of the sacred offices[t].

SECTION XLVI.

Metrical versions of Scripture. Archbishop Parker's Psalms in metre. Robert Crowley's puritanical poetry.

THE spirit of versifying the psalms, and other parts of the Bible, at the beginning of the reformation, was almost as epidemic as psalm-singing. William Hunnis, a gentleman of the chapel under Edward the Sixth, and afterwards chapel-master to queen Elizabeth, rendered into rhyme many select psalms*, which had not the good fortune to be rescued from oblivion by being incorporated into Hopkins's collection, nor to be sung in the royal chapel. They were printed in 1550, with this title: "Certayne Psalmes chosen out of the Psalter of David, and drawen furth into Englysh meter by William Hunnis servant to the ryght ho-

[t] See Canons and Injunctions, A.D. 1559. Num. xlix.

* [On the back of the title to a copy of Sir Thomas More's works, 1557, (presented to the library of Trin. Coll. Oxon. by John Gibbon, 1630,) the following lines occur, which bear the signature of our poet in a coëval hand.

"MY LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT.

To God my soule I do bequeathe, because it is his owen,
My body to be layd in grave, where to my frends best known:
Executors I wyll none make, thereby great stryffe may grow;
Because the goodes that I shall leave wyll not pay all I owe.

W: Hvnnys."—PARK.]

nourable syr William Harberd knight. Newly collected and imprinted[a]."

I know not if among these are his SEVEN SOBS *of a sorrowful soul for sin, comprehending the* SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS *in metre**. They are dedicated to Frances countess of Sussex, whose attachment to the gospel he much extols†, and who was afterwards the foundress of Sydney college in Cambridge. Hunnis also, under the happy title of a HANDFUL OF HONEY-SUCKLES, published *Blessings out of Deuteronomie, Prayers to Christ, Athanasius's Creed*, and *Meditations*‡, in metre with musical notes. But his spiritual nosegays are numerous. To say nothing of his RECREATIONS on *Adam's Banishment, Christ his Cribb*, and the *Lost Sheep*, he translated into English rhyme the whole book of GENESIS, which he calls a HIVE FULL OF HONEY[b]. But his honey-suckles and his honey are now no longer delicious. He was a large contributor to the PARADISE OF DAINTY DEVISES, of which more will be said in its place. In the year 1550, were also published by John Hall, or Hawle, a surgeon or physician of Maidstone in Kent, and author of many tracts in his profession, "Certayne chapters taken out of the proverbes of Solomon, with other chapters of the holy Scripture, and certayne Psalmes of David translated into English metre by John Hall[c]." By the remainder of the title it appears, that the pro-

[a] I have also seen Hunnis's "Abridgement or briefe meditation on certaine of the Psalmes in English metre," printed by R. Wier, 4to. [8vo. says Bishop Tanner.—PARK.]

* [The "Certayne Psalmes" did not appear among the "Seven Sobs," which were licensed to H. Denham Nov. 1581, and printed in 15—, 1585, 1589, 1597, 1629 and 1636. *Hunnis's "Seven Steps to Heaven"* were also licensed in 1581. The love of alliteration had before produced "a Surge of Sorrowing Sobs," in the "gorgeous gallery of gallant inventions," 1578.—PARK.]

† [Her ladyship's *virtue* and *courtesie* are extolled; but *godlie fear, firm faith*, &c. are only enumerated among the dedicator's *wishes*.—PARK.]

‡ [To these were added *the poore Widowes mite, Comfortable Dialogs betweene Christ and a Sinner*, a *Lamentation of youth's follies*, a *psalme of rejoising*, and a *praier for the good estate of Queen Elizabeth*. The last being the shortest is here given; for Hunnis was rather a prosaic penman.

Thou God that guidst both heaven and earth,
On whom we all depend;
Preserve our Queene in perfect health,
And hir from harme defend.
Conserve hir life, in peace to reigne,
Augment hir joyes withall:
Increase hir friends, maintaine hir cause,
And heare us when we call!
So shall all we that faithfull be
Rejoise and praise thy name:
O God, ô Christ, ô Holie-Ghost,
Give eare, and grant the same. Amen.
PARK.]

[b] Printed by T. Marshe, 1578. 4to [And entitled "A Hyve full of Hunnye contayning the firste Booke of Moses called Genesis. Turned into English Meetre by William Hunnis, one of the Gent. of her Majestie's Chappel and Maister to the Children of the same," &c. It is inscribed to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, in an acrostic on his name, which is followed by another on the versifiers "to the friendly reader." Thos. Newton has verses prefixed "in commendation of this his Frendes travayle," which was written, as it seems, "in the winter of his age." He names as previous productions of Hunnis "*Enterludes* and gallant *layes*, and *rondeletts* and *songs*, his *Nosegay* and his *Wydowes Myte*, with other fancies of his forge:" and he tells us, that in the prime of youth his pen "had depainted *Sonets Sweete*." This probably is allusive to his contributions in the "Paradise of Daintie Devises." Wood calls Hunnis a *crony* of Thomas Newton, the Latin poet. Ath. Oxon. i. 152.—PARK.]

[c] There is an edition in quarto dedicated to king Edward the Sixth with this title

verbs had been in a former impression unfairly attributed to Thomas Sternhold. The other chapters of Scripture are from Ecclesiasticus and saint Paul's Epistles. We must not confound this John Hall with his cotemporary Eliseus Hall, who pretended to be a missionary from heaven to the queen, prophesied in the streets, and wrote a set of metrical visions[d]. Metre was now become the vehicle of enthusiasm, and the puritans seem to have appropriated it to themselves, in opposition to our service, which was in prose*.

William Baldwyn, of whom more will be said when we come to the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES, published a *Phraselike declaration in English meeter on the* CANTICLES or SONGS OF SOLOMON, in 1549†.

"The Psalmes of David translated into English metre by T. Sternhold, sir T. Wyat, and William Hunnis, with certaine chapters of the Proverbes and select Psalmes by John Hall." I think I have seen a book by Hall called the "Court of Virtue," containing some or all of these sacred songs, with notes, 1565. 8vo. [16mo.] He has a copy of verses prefixed to Gale's Enchiridion of Surgery, Lond. 1563. See John Reade's Preface to his translation of F. Arcaeus's Anatomy.

[d] Strype, Ann. i. p. 291. ch. xxv. ed. 1725.

* [I suppose that church service of chant and anthem is here meant; otherwise, their preaching and praying was at least as bad *prose* as ours.—ASHBY.]

† [With the sight of this rare book I have been favoured by a friend; its title runs thus: "*The* CANTICLES *or* BALADES *of* SALOMON, *phraselyke declared in Englysh metres, by* WILLIAM BALDWIN.

Halleluiah.
Syng to the Lord sum pleasant song,
Of matter fresh and newe:
Unto his churche it doth belong
His prayses to renewe. Psalme cxviii.
M.D.XLIX."

Colophon: "Imprinted at London by *William Baldwin*, servaunt with Edwarde Whitchurche." Baldwin, in the dedication to his royal patron, expresses a pious wish that these swete and mistical songs may drive out of office "the baudy balades of lecherous love," which were indited and sung by idle courtiers in the houses of princes and noblemen. To forward the same purpose, he tells us "his Majesty [Edw. VI.] had given a notable example, in causyng the Psalmes, brought into fine Englysh meter, by his godly disposed servaunt *Thomas Sternholde*, to be song openly before his grace, in the hearing of all his subjectes." Baldwin's metrical paraphrase of the Song of Solomon exhibits a greater facility of versification than the psalmody of his predecessor, and the lyrical varieties of his metre render it far more pleasing. I extract a few short specimens from different parts of the volume.

Loe, thou my love art fayer;
Myselfe have made thee so:
Yea, thou art fayer, in dede,
Wherefore thou shalt not nede
In beautie to dispayer:
For I accept thee, lo,
For fayer.

For fayer, because thyne eyes
Are like the culvers, whyte;
Whose simplenes in dede,
All others doe excede:
Thy judgement wholly lyes
In true sence of [the] spryte,
Moste wyse.—Sign. B. 3. b.

In wysedome of the flesh, my bed,
Finde truste in wurkes of mannes devise,
By nyght, in darkenes of the dead,
I sought for Christe, as one unwyse,
Whome my soule loveth.

I sought hym long, but founde him not,
Because I sought hym not aryght;
I sought in wurkes, but now, I wot,
He is found by fayth, not in the nyght,
Whome my soule loveth.
Sign. E. 1. a.

Ye faythfull, would ye know
As full what one he is?
My wit and learnyng is too low
To shew that shape of his.—

My love is suche a gem,
My frende also is he:
Ye daughters of Jerusalem,
Suche is my love to me.
Sign. H. 3. a.

A more brief and much more prosaic version of Solomon's *Canticum Canticorum* was published, in 1575, by a rhymer hitherto unrecorded in these annals, or in

It is dedicated to Edward the Sixth[e]. Nineteen of the psalms in rhyme are extant by Francis Seagar*, printed by William Seres in 1553, with musical notes, and dedicated to Lord Russel[f].

Archbishop Parker also versified the psalter; not from any opposition to our liturgy, but, either for the private amusement and exercise of his religious exile, or that the people, whose predilection for psalmody could not be suppressed, might at least be furnished with a rational and proper translation. It was finished in 1557, and a few years afterwards printed by Day, the archbishop's printer, in quarto, with this title, "The whole Psalter translated into English metre, which contayneth an hundredth and fifty psalmes. The first Quinquagene[g]. *Quoniam omnis terræ deus, psallite sapienter.* Ps. 14. 47. Imprinted at London by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate beneath Saint Martyn's. Cum privilegio per decennium[h]." Without date of the printer[i], or name of the translator. In the metrical preface prefixed, he tries to remove the objections of those who censured versifications of Scripture, he pleads the comforts of such an employment to the persecuted theologist who suffers voluntary banishment, and thus displays the power of sacred music:—

The psalmist stayde with tuned songe
The rage of myndes agast,
As David did with harpe among
To Saule in fury cast.

the typographical antiquities of Herbert. His book was entitled, "A misticall devise of the spirituall and godly love betweene Christ the spouse, and the Church or Congregation: first made by the wise prince Saloman, and now newly set forth in verse by Jud Smith," &c. Printed by H. Kirckham, 16mo, b. l. A single stanza may suffice.

Come, wend unto my garden gay,
My sister and my spowse;
For I have gathered mirre with spice,
And other goodly bowes.

A fantastical and almost unintelligible pamphlet was printed in black letter, called "Beware the Cat," and was attributed to one *Stremer:* but in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, a black letter copy of verses is preserved, which ascribes the production peremptorily to the pen of Baldwin in these cryer-like lines:—

Wheras ther is a boke called *Beware the Cat*,
The verie truth is so that STREMER made not that:
Nor no suche false fabels fell ever from his pen,
Nor from his hart or mouth, as knoe mani honest men.
But wil ye gladli knoe who made that boke in dede,
One WYLLIAM BALDEWINE—God graunt him wel to spede.—PARK.]

[e] In quarto. I have seen also "The Ballads or Canticles of Solomon in Prose and Verse." Without date, or name of printer or author.

* [Sir Thomas Smith, the learned secretary to Edward VI. and to his sister Elizabeth, while a prisoner in the Tower in 1549, translated eleven of David's psalms into English metre, and composed three metrical prayers, which are now in the British Museum. MSS. Reg. 17. A. xvii.—PARK.]

[f] At the end is a poem, entitled "A Description of the Lyfe of Man, the World and Vanities thereof." Princ. "Who on earth can justly rejoyce?"

[g] The second quinquagene follows, fol. 146. The third and last, fol. 280.

[h] In black letter. Among the prefaces are four lines from lord Surrey's Ecclesiastes. Attached to every psalm is a prose collect. At the end of the psalms are versions of *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Quicunque vult*, &c. &c.

[i] Day had a license, June 3d, 1561, to print the psalms in metre. Ames, p. 238.

With golden stringes such harmonie
His harpe so sweete did wrest,
That he relievd his phrenesie
Whom wicked sprites possest[k].

Whatever might at first have been his design, it is certain that his version, although printed, was never published; and notwithstanding the formality of his metrical preface above-mentioned, which was professedly written to show the spiritual efficacy or virtue of the psalms in metre, and in which he directs a distinct and audible mode of congregational singing, he probably suppressed it, because he saw that the practice had been abused to the purposes of fanaticism, and adopted by the puritans in contradiction to the national worship; or at least that such a publication, whatever his private sentiments might have been, would not have suited the nature and dignity of his high office in the church. Some of our musical antiquaries, however, have justly conjectured, that the archbishop, who was skilled in music, and had formerly founded a music-school in his college of Stoke Clare*, intended these psalms, which are adapted to complicated tunes of four parts, probably constructed by himself, and here given in score, for the use of cathedrals; at a time, when compositions in counterpoint were uncommon in the church, and when that part of our choir-service called the motet or anthem, which admits a more artificial display of harmony, and which is recommended and allowed in queen Elizabeth's earliest ecclesiastical injunctions, was yet almost unknown, or but in a very imperfect state. Accordingly, although the direction is not quite comprehensible, he orders many of them to be sung by the *rector chori*, or chantor, and the *quier*, or choir, alternately. That at least he had a taste for music, we may conclude from the following not inelegant scale† of modulation, prefixed to his eight tunes above-mentioned.

[k] He thus remonstrates against the secular ballads:—

Ye songes so nice, ye sonnets all,
Of lothly lovers layes,
Ye worke mens myndes but bitter gall
By phansies peevish playes.

* [In the county of Suffolk. From the statutes of which college, as framed by Dr. Parker, Sir John Hawkins has given the following curious extract:—"Item to be found in the college, henceforth a number of quiristers, to the number of eight or ten or more, as may be borne conveniently of the stock, to have sufficient meat, drink, broth, and learning. Of which said quiristers, after their breasts (i. e. voices) be changed, we will the most apt of wit and capacity be helpen with exhibition of forty shillings, four marks, or three pounds a-piece, to be students in some college in Cambridge." Hist. of Music, iii. 508.—PARK.]

† [This scale, however elegant," says Mr. Ashby, "will not alone prove Archbishop Parker's right to this version of the psalms; because it is not only likely in general, that the translator would be a lover of music, but it so happens that the other claimant, John Keeper, had studied music and poetry at Wells." I presume that the following extract from the archbishop's diary will establish his claim to the performance. "This 6 August (his birth-day), Ann. Dom. 1557, I persist in the same constancy, upholden by the grace and goodness of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; by whose inspiration I have finished the Book of Psalms, turned into vulgar verse." (Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker.) "Vulgar" here means vernacular; as in the ministration of bap-

"THE NATURE OF THE EYGHT TUNES.

The first is meke, devout to see,
The second sad, in maiesty:
The third doth rage, and roughly brayth,
The fourth doth fawne, and flattry playth:
The fifth deligth, and laugheth the more,
The sixth bewayleth, it wepeth full sore:
The seventh tredeth stoute in froward race,
The eyghte goeth milde in modest pace."

What follows is another proof, that he had proposed to introduce these psalms into the choir-service. "The tenor of these partes be for the people when they will syng alone, the other partes put for the greater quiers, or to suche as will syng or play them privately[1]."

How far this memorable prelate, perhaps the most accomplished scholar that had yet filled the archbishoprick of Canterbury, has succeeded in producing a translation of the psalter preferable to the common one, the reader may judge from these stanzas of a psalm highly poetical, in which I have exactly preserved the translator's peculiar use of the hemistic punctuation.

To feede my neede: he will me leade
To pastures greene and fat:
He forth brought me: in libertie,
To waters delicate.

My soule and hart: he did convart,
To me he shewth the path:
Of right wisness: in holiness,
His name such vertue hath.

Yea though I go: through Death his wo
His vale and shadow wyde:
I feare no dart: with me thou art
With rod and staffe to guide.

tism, the sponsors are directed to let the child be taught the creed, &c. in the "*vulgar* tongue." And in the prefix to Drant's version of the Satires of Horace—"I have englished thinges not accordyng to the vain of the Latin proprietie, but of our own *vulgar* tongue."—PARK.]

[1] As the singing-psalms were never a part of our liturgy, no rubrical directions are any where given for the manner of performing them. In one of the Prefaces, written about 1550, it is ordered, "Whereas heretofore there hath been great diversitie of saying and singing in churches within this realm, some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, some the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln; now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one use." But this is said in reference to the chants, responds, suffrages, versicles, introites, kyrie-eleeysons, doxologies, and other melodies of the Book of Common Prayer, then newly published under lawful authority, with musical notes by Marbeck, and which are still used; that no arbitrary variations should be made in the manner of singing these melodies, as had been lately the case with the Roman missal, in performing which some cathedrals affected a manner of their own. The Salisbury missal was most famous and chiefly followed.

Thou shalt provyde: a table wyde,
For me against theyr spite:
With oyle my head: thou hast bespred,
My cup is fully dight.[m]

I add, in the more sublime character, a part of the eighteenth psalm, in which Sternhold is supposed to have exerted his powers most successfully, and without the interruptions of the pointing, which perhaps was designed for some regulations of the music, now unknown.

The earth did shake, for feare did quake,
The hils theyr bases shooke;
Removed they were, in place most fayre,
At God's ryght fearfull looke.

Darke smoke rose to hys face therefro,
Hys mouthe as fire consumde,
That coales as it were kyndled bright
When he in anger fumde.

The heavens full lowe he made to bowe,
And downe dyd he ensue[n];
And darkness great was undersete
His feete in clowdy hue.

He rode on hye, and dyd so flye,
Upon the Cherubins;
He came in sight, and made his flight
Upon the wyng of wyndes.

The Lorde from heaven sent downe his leaven
And thundred thence in ire;
He thunder cast in wondrous blast
With hayle and coales of fyre.[o]

Here is some degree of spirit, and a choice of phraseology. But on the whole, and especially for this species of stanza, Parker will be found to want facility, and in general to have been unpractised in writing English verses. His abilities were destined to other studies, and adapted to employments of a more archiepiscopal nature.

The industrious Strype, Parker's biographer, after a diligent search never could gain a sight of this translation*; nor is it even mentioned by Ames, the inquisitive collector of our typographical antiquities. In the late Mr. West's library there was a superb copy, once belonging to

[m] Fol. 13.
[n] follow.
[o] Fol. 35.
* [Neither did bishop Tanner; nor does Dr. Burney, in speaking of it in his History of Music, appear to have seen any copy. By Sir John Hawkins the discovery was announced. Mr. Todd describes a copy very curiously bound in the church library of Canterbury. See his Milton, vi. 116. —PARK.]

bishop Kennet, who has remarked in a blank page, that the archbishop permitted his wife dame Margaret to present the book to some of the nobility. It is certainly at this time extremely scarce, and would be deservedly deemed a fortunate acquisition to those capricious students who labour only to collect a library of rarities. Yet it is not generally known, that there are two copies in the Bodleian library of this anonymous version, which have hitherto been given to an obscure poet by the name of John Keeper. One of them, in 1643, appears to have been the property of bishop Barlow; and on the opposite side of the title, in somewhat of an ancient hand, is this manuscript insertion: "The auctor of this booke is one John Keeper*, who was brought upp in the close of Wells." Perhaps Antony Wood had no better authority than this slender unauthenticated note, for saying that John Keeper, a native of Somersetshire, and a graduate at Oxford in the year 1564, and who afterwards studied music and poetry at Wells, translated *The whole Psalter into English metre which containeth* 150 *psalms, etc. printed at London by John Day living over Aldersgate*, about 1570 [1574], in quarto: and added thereunto The Gloria Patri, Te Deum, The Song of the three Children, Quicunque vult, Benedictus, &c. all in metre. At the end of which, are musical notes set in four parts to several psalms. What other things, he adds, of poetry, music, or other faculties, he has published, I know not; nor any thing more; yet I suppose he had some dignity in the church of Wells[p]. If this version should really be the work of Keeper, I fear we are still to seek for archbishop Parker's psalms†, with Strype and Ames[q].

* [John Keeper, or Kepyer, occurs in the "Arbor of Amitie, wherein is comprised pleasant poems & pretie poesies, set forth by Thomas Howell, gentleman, anno 1568." Imprinted at London, by H. Denham, 12mo, b. l. Dedicated to Ladie Anne Talbot. Among the recommendatory copies of verses is one signed "John Keeper, student." See also "J. K. to his friend H." fol. 27 a. and "H. to K." ibid. Again, fol. 33 b. 34 a. 38, 39, &c.

Howell had another volume of verses in Pearson's collection, entitled "Devises for his owne exercise and his Friends pleasure," printed in 1581, 4to. The first of these occurs in the Bodleian library, and denotes him to have had a contraction of metrical spirit, which fitly adapted itself to posies for rings; ex. gr.

As flowres freshe to-day,
To-morrow in decay;
Such is th' uncertaine stay
That man hath here alway.

The following lines from a poem wherein a lover "describes his loss of liberty and craves return of love," are the very best I could trace in the volume, which is deemed unique, and therefore claimed an entire perusal:—

When first I cast my carelesse eye
Upon thy hue, that drew the dart,
I little thought thou shouldest lye
So deepe sunck downe in my poore hart;
I would full faine forgo my holde,
My free estate by wit to folde.

As birde alurde in winters sore,
On limed twigges that often bee,
Thinkes he is free as late before
Untill he 'sayes his flight to flee:
He cries, he flies, in vaine he tries,
On twigge in bondage there he lies.

So I, by lure of thy good grace,
That thought my hart at libertie,
Was wrapt unwares by featurde face,
With most extreme captivitie:
A Beautie hath me bondman made,
By love sincere, that shall not vade.

fol. 2.—PARK.]

[p] Ath. Oxon. i. 181.

† [This suggestion of Mr. Warton drew forth the following satisfactory investigation, it is conjectured, from the Rev. Dr. Lort, who was chaplain to the archbishop

A considerable contributor to the metrical theology was Robert Crowley, educated in Magdalene college at Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in 1542. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, he commenced printer and preacher in London. He lived in Ely-rents in Holborn; "where," says Wood, "he sold books, and at leisure times exercised the gift of preaching in the great city and elsewhere[r]." In 1550 he printed the first edition of PIERCE PLOWMAN'S VISION, but with the ideas of a controversialist, and with the view of helping forward the reformation by the revival of a book which exposed the absurdities of popery in strong satire, and which at present is only valuable or useful, as it serves to gratify the harmless researches of those peaceable philosophers who study the progression of ancient literature. His pulpit and his press, those two prolific sources of faction, happily co-operated in propagating his principles of predestination; and his shop and his sermons were alike frequented. Possessed of those talents which qualified him for captivating the attention and moving the passions of the multitude, under queen Elizabeth he held many dignities in a church, whose doctrines and polity his undiscerning zeal had a tendency to destroy. He translated into popular rhyme, not only the psalter, but the litany, with hymns, all which he printed together in 1549. In the same year, and in the same measure, he published *The Voice of the last Trumpet blown by the seventh angel.* This piece contains twelve several lessons, for the instruction or amendment of those who seemed at that time chiefly to need advice; and among whom he enumerates *lewd* priests, scholars, physicians, beggars, yeomen, gentlemen, magistrates, and women. He also attacked the abuses of his age in thirty-one EPIGRAMS, first printed in 1551. The subjects are placed alphabetically. In his first alphabet are *Abbayes, Alehouses, Alleys,* and *Almeshouses.* The second, *Bailiffs, Bawds, Beggars, Bear-baiting,* and *Brawlers.* They display, but without spirit or humour, the reprehensible practices and licentious manners which then prevailed. He published in 1551 a kind of metrical sermon on Pleasure and Pain, Heaven and Hell. Many of these, to say nothing of his almost innu-

of Canterbury:—"In the Lambeth library is a beautiful copy of this edition of the Psalms, on the back of which is written—'*to the right vertuouse and honorable Ladye the Countesse of Shrewsburye, from your lovinge frende, Margaret Parker.*' This is written in the hand of the time when she lived; and the binding of the book, which is richly gilded, seems also of the same date. But there is no date to the book, and where Antony Wood found that of 1570 for his copy, if it was of the same book with this, we are yet to seek. If that date really belongs to it, it cannot probably be the same edition with that in the Lambeth library, which has Margaret Parker's name written in it, for she died (as Strype tells us) in 1570: and if the book was printed in this or the foregoing year, Keeper could not (according to Antony Wood's account of him) be above 22 or 23 years of age. So that I think archbishop Parker may still keep *his title* to this version of the Psalms, till a stronger than Keeper shall be found to dispossess him." Gent. Mag. for 1781. p. 567.—PARK.]

[q] There is a metrical English version of the Psalms among the Cotton manuscripts about the year 1320, which has merit. See also supr. vol. i. p. 22.

[r] Ath. Oxon. i. 235.

merable controversial tracts in prose, had repeated editions, and from his own press. But one of his treatises, to prove that Lent is a human invention and a superstitious institution, deserves notice for its plan: it is a Dialogue between Lent and Liberty. The personification of Lent is a bold and a perfectly new prosopopeia. In an old poem* of this age against the papists, written by one doctor William Turner, a physician, but afterwards dean of Wells, the Mass, or mistress MISSA, is personified, who, arrayed in all her meretricious trappings, must at least have been a more theatrical figure[s]. Crowley likewise wrote, and printed in 1588, a rhyming manual, *The School of Vertue and Book of good Nurture.* This is a translation into metre, of many of the less exceptionable Latin hymns anciently used by the catholics, and still continuing to retain among the protestants a degree of popularity. One of these begins, *Jam Lucis orto sydere.* At the end are prayers and graces in rhyme. This book, which in Wood's time had been degraded to the stall of the ballad-singer, and is now only to be found on the shelf of the antiquary, was intended to supersede or abolish the original Latin hymns, which were only offensive because they were in Latin, and which were the recreation of scholars in our universities after dinner on festival days. At an archiepiscopal visitation of Merton college in Oxford, in the year 1562, it was a matter of inquiry, whether the *superstitious* hymns appointed to be sung in the Hall on holidays, were changed for the psalms in metre; and one of the fellows is accused of having attempted to prevent the singing of the metrical Te Deum in the refectory on All-saints day[t].

It will not be foreign to our purpose to remark here, that when doctor Cosins, prebendary of Durham, afterwards bishop, was cited before the parliament in 1640, for reviving or supporting papistic usages in his cathedral, it was alleged against him, that he had worn an embroidered cope, had repaired some ruinous cherubims, had used a consecrated knife for dividing the sacramental bread, had renovated the blue cap and golden beard of a little image of Christ on bishop Hatfield's tomb, had placed two lighted tapers on the altar which was decorated with emblematic sculpture, and had forbidden the psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins to be sung in the choir[u].

* [My late friend Mr. Fillingham, who underwent the task of framing an Index to Warton's History, pointed out that this was not a poem, but a Dialogue in *prose*, entitled "The Examination of the Masse." The speakers are,

"Mastres Missa.
Master Knowledge.
Master Fremouth.
Master Justice of the peace.
Peter Preco, the Cryer.
Palemon, the Judge.
Doctor Porphyry.
Sir Philip Philargirye."—PARK.]

[s] See Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. p. 138. See the speakers in Ochin's Dialogue against the Pope, Englished by Poynet, printed in 1549. Strype, ibid. 198.

[t] Strype's Parker, B. 11. Ch. ii. pag. 116, 117. Compare Life of Sir Thomas Pope, 2nd edit. p. 354.

[u] Neale's Hist. Purit. vol. ii. ch. vii. pag. 387. edit. 1733. Nalson's Collections, vol. i. pag. 789.

SECTION XLVII.

Tye's Acts of the Apostles in rhyme. His merit as a Musician. Early piety of king Edward the Sixth. Controversial Ballads and Plays. Translation of the Bible. Its effects on our Language. Arthur Kelton's Chronicle of the Brutes. First Drinking-song. Gammar Gurton's Needle.

But among the theological versifiers of these times, the most notable is Christopher Tye, a doctor of music at Cambridge in 1545, and musical preceptor to prince Edward, and probably to his sisters the princesses Mary and Elizabeth. In the reign of Elizabeth he was organist of the royal chapel, in which he had been educated. To his profession of music he joined some knowledge of English literature; and having been taught to believe that rhyme and edification were closely connected, and being persuaded that every part of the Scripture would be more instructive and better received if reduced into verse, he projected a translation of the Acts of the Apostles into familiar metre. It appears that the Book of Kings had before been versified, which for many reasons was more capable of shining under the hands of a translator. But the most splendid historical book, I mean the most susceptible of poetic ornament, in the Old or New Testament, would have become ridiculous when clothed in the fashionable ecclesiastical stanza. Perhaps the plan of setting a narrative of this kind to music was still more preposterous and exceptionable. However, he completed only the first fourteen chapters; and they were printed in 1553, by William Serres, with the following title, which, by the reader who is not acquainted with the peculiar complexion of this period, will hardly be suspected to be serious: "The Actes of the Apostles translated into Englyshe metre, and dedicated to the kinges most excellent maiestye by Cristofer Tye, doctor in musyke, and one of the Gentylmen of hys graces most honourable Chappell, with notes to eche chapter to synge and also to play upon the Lute, very necessarye for studentes after theyr studye to fyle their wittes, and alsoe for all christians that cannot synge, to reade the good and godlye storyes of the lives of Christ his apostles." It is dedicated in Sternhold's stanza, "To the vertuous and godlye learned prynce Edward the Sixth." As this singular dedication contains, not only anecdotes of the author and his work, but of his majesty's eminent attention to the study of the scripture, and of his skill in playing on the lute, I need not apologise for transcribing a few dull stanzas; especially as they will also serve as a specimen of the poet's native style and manner, unconfined by the fetters of translation.

Your Grace may note, from tyme to tyme,
That some doth undertake
Upon the Psalms to write in ryme,
The verse plesaunt to make:

And some doth take in hand to wryte
Out of the Booke of Kynges;
Because they se your Grace delyte
In suche like godlye thynges[a].

And last of all, I youre poore man,
Whose doinges are full base,
Yet glad to do the best I can
To give unto your Grace,

Have thought it good now to recyte
The stories of the Actes
Even of the Twelve, as Luke doth wryte,
Of all their worthy factes.———

Unto the text I do not ad,
Nor nothyng take awaye;
And though my style be gros and bad,
The truth perceyve ye may.———

My callynge is another waye,
Your Grace shall herein fynde
By notes set forth to synge or playe,
To recreate the mynde.

And though they be not curious[b],
But for the letter mete;
Ye shall them fynde harmonious,
And eke pleasaunt and swete.

A young monarch singing the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES in verse to his lute, is a royal character of which we have seldom heard. But he proceeds,

That such good thynges your Grace might move
Your Lute when ye assaye,
In stede of songes of wanton love,
These stories then to play.

[a] Strype says, that "Sternhold composed several psalms at first for his own solace; for he set and sung them to his organ. Which music king Edward VI. sometime hearing, for he was a Gentleman of the privy-chamber, was much delighted with them; which occasioned his publication and dedication of them to the said king." Eccles. Memor. B. i. ch. 2. p. 86.

[b] That is, they are plain and unisonous; the established character of this sort of music.

So shall your Grace plese God the lorde
In walkyng in his waye,
His lawes and statutes to recorde
In your heart night and day.

And eke your realme shall florish styll,
No good thynge shall decaye,
Your subjectes shall with right good will,
These wordes recorde and saye:

"Thy lyf, O kyng, to us doth shyne,
As God's boke doth thee teache;
Thou dost us feede with such doctrine
As Christes elect dyd preache."

From this sample of his original vein, my reader will not perhaps hastily predetermine, that our author has communicated any considerable decorations to his ACTS OF THE APOSTLES in English verse. There is as much elegance and animation in the two following initial stanzas of the fourteenth chapter, as in any of the whole performance, which I shall therefore exhibit: —

It chaunced in Iconium,
As they[c] oft tymes did use,
Together they into did come
The Sinagoge of Jewes;

Where they did preache and only seke
God's grace them to atcheve;
That they so spake tó Jew and Greke
That many did bileve.

Doctor Tye's ACTS OF THE APOSTLES were sung for a time in the royal chapel of Edward the Sixth; but they never became popular*. The impropriety of the design, and the impotency of the execution†, seem to have been perceived even by his own prejudiced and undiscerning age. This circumstance, however, had probably the fortunate

[c] Apostles.

* [Nash said, in 1596, "Dr. Tye was a famous musitian some few years since." See Have with you to Saffron Waldon.—PARK.]

† [Warton's estimate of the musical character and merits of Tye's work is altogether erroneous. So far from being "unisonous," it is throughout in four parts; nor was this "the established character of this sort of music" at that time. In point of fact it was just the reverse: Tallis, Tye, Bird, Farrant were profound harmonists, and music with them constantly assumed a combined and complicated—never a unisonous character. Equally erroneous is it to call the execution of the work "impotent." Dr. Tye, in disclaiming for his performance the epithet "curious," could only mean that he had not made it merely a vehicle for the display of the intricacies of harmony; for, although much of it is written in simple counterpoint, it exhibits frequent instances of fugue and even of canon. Of the latter a very beautiful example will be found in the ninth chapter. And, withal, there is such a graceful flow of melody pervading the composition, that the musician even of the nineteenth century listens to it with unabated delight. Much of it is worthy, as it is in the style, of its author's illustrious Italian cotemporary, Palestrina.—E. T.]

and seasonable effect of turning Tye's musical studies to another and a more rational system; to the composition of words judiciously selected from the prose psalms in four or five parts. Before the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, at a time when the more ornamental and intricate music was wanted in our service, he concurred with the celebrated Tallis and a few others in setting several anthems, which are not only justly supposed to retain much of the original strain of our ancient choral melody before the Reformation, but in respect of harmony, expression, contrivance, and general effect, are allowed to be perfect models of the genuine ecclesiastic style. Fuller informs us, that Tye was the chief restorer of the loss which the music of the church had sustained by the destruction of the monasteries[d]. Tye also appears to have been a translator of Italian. *The History of Nastagio and Traversari translated out of Italian into English by C. T.*, perhaps Christopher Tye, was printed at London in 1569[e].

It is not my intention to pursue any further the mob of religious rhymers, who, from principles of the most unfeigned piety, devoutly laboured to darken the lustre, and enervate the force, of the divine pages. And perhaps I have been already too prolix in examining a species of poetry, if it may be so called, which even impoverishes prose; or rather, by mixing the style of prose with verse, and of verse with prose, destroys the character and effect of both. But in surveying the general course of a species of literature, absurdities as well as excellencies, the weakness and the vigour of the human mind, must have their historian. Nor is it unpleasing to trace and to contemplate those strange incongruities, and false ideas of perfection, which at various times, either affectation, or caprice, or fashion, or opinion, or prejudice, or ignorance, or enthusiasm, present to the conceptions of men, in the shape of truth.

I must not, however, forget, that king Edward the Sixth is to be ranked among the religious poets of his own reign. Fox has published his metrical instructions concerning the eucharist, addressed to sir Antony Saint Leger. Bale also mentions his comedy called the WHORE OF BABYLON, which Holland the heroologist, who perhaps had never

[d] Worthies, ii. 244. Tallis here mentioned, at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, and by proper authority, enriched the music of Marbeck's liturgy. He set to music the *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, *Nunc dimittis*, and other offices, to which Marbeck had given only the *canto firmo*, or plain chant. He composed a new Litany still in use; and improved the simpler modulation of Marbeck's Suffrages, Kyries after the Commandments, and other versicles, as they are sung at present. There are two chants of Tallis, one to the *Venite Exultemus*, and another to the Athanasian Creed.

[e] In duodecimo.—I had almost forgot to observe, that John Mardiley, *clerk of the king's Mint, called Suffolk-house* in Southwark, translated twenty-four of David's Psalms into English verse, about 1550. He wrote also *Religious Hymns*. Bale, par. post. p. 106. There is extant his *Complaint against the stiff-necked papist in verse*, Lond. by T. Reynold, 1548. 8vo. and a *Short Resytal of certyne holie doctors*, against the real presence, *collected in myter* [metre] by John Mardiley. Lond. 12mo. See another of his pieces on the same subject, and in rhyme, presented and dedicated to queen Elizabeth, MSS. Reg. 17 B. xxxvii. The Protector Somerset was his patron.

seen it, and knew not whether it was a play or a ballad, in verse or prose, pronounces to be a most elegant performance[f]. Its elegance, with some, will not perhaps apologise or atone for its subject; and it may seem strange, that controversial ribaldry should have been suffered to enter into the education of a great monarch. But the genius, habits, and situation of his age should be considered. The reformation was the great political topic of Edward's court. Intricate discussions in divinity were no longer confined to the schools or the clergy. The new religion, from its novelty, as well as importance, interested every mind, and was almost the sole object of the general attention. Men emancipated from the severities of a spiritual tyranny, reflected with horror on the slavery they had so long suffered, and with exultation on the triumph they had obtained. These feelings were often expressed in a strain of enthusiasm. The spirit of innovation which had seized the times, often transgressed the bounds of truth. Every change of religion is attended with those ebullitions, which growing more moderate by degrees, afterwards appear eccentric and ridiculous.

We who live at a distance from this great and national struggle between popery and protestantism, when our church has been long and peaceably established, and in an age of good sense, of politeness and philosophy, are apt to view these effusions of royal piety as weak and unworthy the character of a king. But an ostentation of zeal and example in the young Edward, as it was natural, so it was necessary, while the reformation was yet immature. It was the duty of his preceptors, to impress on his tender years, an abhorrence of the principles of Rome, and a predilection to that happy system which now seemed likely to prevail. His early diligence, his inclination to letters, and his seriousness of disposition, seconded their active endeavours to cultivate and to bias his mind in favour of the new theology, which was now become the fashionable knowledge. These and other amiable virtues his contemporaries have given young Edward in an eminent degree. But it may be presumed, that the partiality which youth always commands, the specious prospects excited by expectation, and the flattering promises of religious liberty secured to a distant posterity, have had some small share in dictating his panegyric.

The new settlement of religion, by counteracting inveterate prejudices of the most interesting nature, by throwing the clergy into a state of contention, and by disseminating theological opinions among the people, excited so general a ferment, that even the popular ballads and the stage, were made the vehicles of the controversy between the papal and protestant communions[g].

[f] Heroolog. p. 27. [Qu. whether Holland might not have mistakingly read a play with the same title published in 1607 by Decker, and have applauded it as a royal production?—PARK.]

[g] See instances of rhyming libels already given, before the Reformation had actually taken place, in the present volume, p. 130. et seq.

The Ballad of LUTHER, the POPE, a CARDINAL, and a HUSBANDMAN, written in 1550, in defence of the reformation, has some spirit, and supports a degree of character in the speakers. There is another written about the same time, which is a lively satire on the English Bible, the vernacular liturgy, and the book of homilies[h]. The measure of the last is that of PIERCE PLOWMAN, with the addition of rhyme; a sort of versification which now was not uncommon.

Strype has printed a poem called the PORE HELP*, of the year 1550, which is a lampoon against the new preachers or gospellers, not very elegant in its allusions, and in Skelton's style. The anonymous satirist mentions with applause *Mayster Huggarde*, or Miles Hoggard, a shoemaker of London, and who wrote several virulent pamphlets against the reformation, which were made important by extorting laboured answers from several eminent divines[i]. He also mentions a *nobler clarke*, whose learned *Balad* in defence of the *holy Kyrke* had triumphed over all the raillery of its numerous opponents[k]. The same industrious annalist has also preserved *A song on bishop Latimer*, in the octave rhyme, by a poet of the same persuasion[l]; and in the catalogue of modern English prohibited books delivered in 1542 to the parish priests, to the intent that their authors might be discovered and punished, there is the *Burying of the Mass in English rithme*[m]. But it is not my intention to make a full and formal collection of these fugitive religious pasquinades, which died with their respective controversies.

In the year 1547, a proclamation was published to prohibit preaching. This was a temporary expedient to suppress the turbulent harangues of the catholic ministers, who still composed no small part of the parochial clergy; for the court of augmentations took care perpetually to supply the vacant benefices with the disincorporated monks, in order to exonerate the exchequer from the payment of their annuities. These men, both from inclination and interest, and hoping to restore the church to its ancient orthodoxy and opulence, exerted all their powers of decla-

[h] See Percy, Ball. ii. 102.

* [My erudite friend Mr. Douce, who is supposed to possess the only ancient copy of this little libel now remaining, thinks it was probably written by Skelton. The following is its title: "A PORE HELPE.

The bukler and defence
Of mother holy Kyrke,
And wepon to drive hence
Al that against her wircke."

Herbert, in his general history of printing, has blended this title with the poem itself, from which it may suffice to extract the passage relating to Miles Hoggard:

And also Maister Huggarde
Doth shewe hymselfe no sluggarde,
Nor yet no dronken druggarde,
But sharpeth up his wyt
And frameth it so fyt
These yonkers for to hyt
And wyll not them permyt
In errour styll to syt,
As it maye well speare
By his clarkely answere
The whiche intitled is
Agaynst what meaneth this.—PARK.]

[i] One of these pieces is, "A Confutation to the answer of a wicked ballad," printed in 1550. Crowley above mentioned wrote "A Confutation of Miles Hoggard's wicked ballad made in defence of the transubstantiation of the Sacrament." Lond. 1548. octavo.

[k] Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. Append. i. p. 34.

[l] Ibid. vol. i. Append. xliv. p. 121.

[m] Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. Rec. Num. xxvi. p. 257.

mation in combating the doctrines of protestantism, and in alienating the minds of the people from the new doctrines and reformed rites of worship. Being silenced by authority, they had recourse to the stage; and from the pulpit removed their polemics to the play-house. Their farces became more successful than their sermons. The people flocked eagerly to the play-house, when deprived not only of their ancient pageantries, but of their pastoral discourses, in the church. Archbishop Cranmer and the protector Somerset were the chief objects of these dramatic invectives[n]. At length, the same authority which had checked the preachers, found it expedient to control the players; and a new proclamation, which I think has not yet appeared in the history of the British drama, was promulgated in the following terms[o]. The inquisitive reader will observe, that from this instrument plays appear to have been long before a general and familiar species of entertainment; that they were acted not only in London but in the great towns; that the profession of a player, even in our present sense, was common and established; and that these satirical interludes are forbidden only in the English tongue. "Forasmuch as a great number of those that be COMMON PLAYERS of ENTERLUDES and PLAYES, as well within the city of London as elsewhere within the realm, doe for the most part play such ENTERLUDES, as contain matter tending to sedition, and contemning of sundry good orders and laws; whereupon are grown and daily are likely to growe and ensue, much disquiet, division, tumults and uprores in this realm[p]: the Kinges Majesty, by the advice

[n] Fuller, Ch. Hist. B. vii. Cent. xvi. p. 390.

[o] Dat. 3. Edw. VI. Aug. 8.

[p] It should, however, be remarked, that the reformers had themselves shown the way to this sort of abuse long before. Bale's comedy of The Three Laws, printed in 1538, is commonly supposed to be a Mystery, and merely doctrinal; but it is a satirical play against popery, and perhaps the first of the kind in our language. I have mentioned it in general terms before, under Bale as a poet; but I reserved a more particular notice of it for this place. [See the present volume, p. 78. et seq.] It is exceedingly scarce, and has this colophon:—"Thus endeth thys Comedy concernynge the thre lawes, of Nature, Moses, and Christ, corrupted by the Sodomytes, Pharisees, and Papystes, most wycked. Compyled by Johan Bale. Anno M. D. XXXVIII. And lately imprented per Nicolaum Bamburgensem." duod. It has these directions about the dresses, the first I remember to have seen, which show the scope and spirit of the piece. Signat. G. "The apparellynge of the six Vyces or fruytes of Infydelyte.—Let Idolatry be decked lyke an olde wytche, Sodomy lyke a monke of all sectes, Ambycyon lyke a byshop, Covetousnesse lyke a Pharisee or spyritual lawer, False Doctrine lyke a popysh doctour, and Hypocresy lyke a graye fryre. The rest of the partes are easye ynough to conjecture." A scene in the second Act is thus opened by Infidelitas.—"*Post cantionem, Infidelitas alta voce dicat*, OREMUS. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram formasti laicos, da, quæsumus, ut sicut eorum sudoribus vivimus, ita eorum uxoribus, filiabus, et domicellis perpetuo frui mereamur, per dominum nostrum Papam." Bale, a clergyman, and at length a bishop in Ireland, ought to have known, that this profane and impious parody was more offensive and injurious to true religion than any part of the missal which he means to ridicule. Infidelity then begins in English verse a conversation with *Lex Moysis*, containing the most low and licentious obscenity, which I am ashamed to transcribe, concerning the words of a Latin *anteme*, between an old *fryre*, or friar, *with spectacles on hys nose*, and dame Isabel an old nun, who *crows like a capon*. This is the most tolerable part of Infidelity's dialogue. Signat. C. iiij.

and consent of his dearest uncle Edward duke of Somerset, and the rest of his highnesse Privie Councell, straightly chargeth and commandeth all and everie his Majesties subjects, of whatsoever state, order, or degree they be, that from the ninth day of this present month of August untill the feast of All-saints next comming, they nor any of them, openly or secretly PLAY IN THE ENGLISH TONGUE, any kind of ENTERLUDE, PLAY, DIALOGUE, or other matter set forth in form of PLAY, in any place publick or private within this realm, upon pain, that whosoever shall PLAY in ENGLISH any such PLAY, ENTERLUDE, DIALOGUE, or other MATTER, shall suffer imprisonment, or other punishment at the pleasure of his Majestie[q]." But when the short date of this proclamation expired, the reformers, availing themselves of the stratagems of an enemy, attacked the papists with their own weapons. One of the comedies on the side of the reformation still remains[r]. But the writer, while his own religion from its simple and impalpable form was much less exposed to the ridicule of scenic exhibition, has not taken advantage of that opportunity which the papistic ceremonies so obviously afforded to burlesque and drollery, from their visible pomp, their number, and their absurdities; nor did he perceive an effect which he might have turned to his own use, suggested by the practice of his catholic antagonists in the drama, who, by way of recommending their own superstitious solemnities, often made them contemptible by theatrical representation.

This piece is entitled, *An Enterlude called* LUSTY JUVENTUS: *lively describing the Frailtie of youth: of Nature prone to vyce: by Grace and Good Councell traynable to vertue*[s]. The author, of whom nothing more is known, was one R. Wever, as appears from the colophon: "Finis, quod R. Wever. Imprinted at London in Paules churche yarde

It was a good world, when we had sech
wholsome storyes
Preached in our churche, on sondayes
and other feryes[1].
With us was it merye
When we went to Berye[2],
And to our Lady of Grace:
To the Bloud of Hayles
Where no good chere fayles,
And other holye place.

When the prests myght walke,
And with yonge wyves talke,
Then had we chyldren plentye;
Then cuckoldes myght leape
A score on a heape,
Now is there not one to twentye.
When the monkes were fatte, &c.

In another place, the old philosophy is ridiculed. Signat. E. v. where Hypocrisy says,

And I wyll rays up in the unyversitees
The seven sleepers there, to advance the
pope's decrees:
As Dorbel, and Duns, Durande, and
Thomas of Aquyne,
The Mastre of Sentens, with Bachon the
great devyne:
Henricus de Gandavo: and these shall
read *ad Clerum*,
Aristotle, and Albert *de secretis mulierum*:
With the commentaryes of Avicen and
Averoyes, &c.

[q] Fuller, ibid. p. 391. See also Stat. 2, 3. Edw. VI. A.D. 1548. Gibs. Cod. i. p. 261. edit. 1761.

[r] See supr. vol. ii. pp. 23. 523. 536. et seq. and Gibs. Cod. i. p. 191. edit. 1761.

[s] See Hawkins's Old Plays, i. p. 135.

[1] holidays.

[2] Bury Saint Edmunds.

by Abraham Vele at the signe of the Lambe." Hypocrisy is its best character, who laments the loss of her superstitions to the devil, and recites a long catalogue of the trumpery of the popish worship in the metre and manner of Skelton[t]. The chapter and verse of Scripture are often announced; and in one scene, a personage, called GOD'S MERCYFULL PROMISES, cites Ezekiel as from the pulpit:—

> The Lord by his prophet Ezekiel sayeth in this wise playnlye,
> As in the xxiii chapter it doth appere:
> *Be converted, O ye children*, &c.[u]

From this interlude we learn, that the young men, which was natural, were eager to embrace the new religion, and that the old were unwilling to give up those doctrines and modes of worship, to which they had been habitually attached, and had paid the most implicit and reverential obedience, from their childhood. To this circumstance the devil, who is made to represent Scripture as a novelty, attributes the destruction of his spiritual kingdom.

> The old people would beleve stil in my lawes,
> But the yonger sort lead them a contrary way;
> They wyll not beleve, they playnly say,
> In old traditions as made by men,
> But they wyll lyve as the Scripture teacheth them.[v]

The devil then, in order to recover his interest, applies to his son Hypocrisy, who attempts to convert a young man to the ancient faith, and says that the Scripture can teach no more than that *God is a good man*[w], a phrase which Shakspeare with great humour has put into the mouth of Dogberry[x]. But he adds an argument in jest, which the papists sometimes seriously used against the protestants, and which, if we consider the poet's ultimate intention, had better been suppressed:—

> The world was never mery,
> Since children were so bolde:
> Now every boy will be a teacher,
> The father a foole, and the chyld a preacher.[y]

It was among the reproaches of protestantism, that the inexperienced and the unlearned thought themselves at liberty to explain the Scriptures, and to debate the most abstruse and metaphysical topics of theological speculation. The two songs in the character of YOUTH, at the opening and close of this interlude, are flowery and not inelegant[z].

[t] From Bale's Three Lawes above mentioned, Sign. B. v.

> Here have I pratye gynnes,
> Both brouches, beades, and pynnes,
> With soch as the people wynnes
> Unto idolatrye, &c.

[u] Ibid. p. 159.

[v] Bale's Three Lawes, p. 133.

[w] Ibid. 141. [This phrase is from "Lusty Juventus," and might even be a popular expression prior to that play.—ASHBY.]

[x] Much Ado, iii. 8.

[y] Bale's Three Lawes, p. 143.

[z] Ibid. p. 121. 153.

The protestants continued their plays in Mary's reign; for Strype has exhibited a remonstrance from the Privy-council to the lord President of the North, representing, that "certain lewd [ignorant*] persons, to the number of six or seven in a company, naming themselves to be servants of sir Francis Lake, and wearing his livery or badge on their sleeves, have wandered about those north parts, and representing certain Plays and Enterludes," reflecting on her majesty and king Philip, and the formalities of the mass[a]. These were family-minstrels or players, who were constantly distinguished by their master's livery or badge.

When the English liturgy was restored at the accession of Elizabeth, after its suppression under Mary, the papists renewed their hostilities from the stage; and again tried the intelligible mode of attack by ballads, farces, and interludes. A new injunction was then necessary, and it was again enacted in 1559, that no person, but under heavy forfeitures, should abuse the Common Prayer in "any Enterludes, Plays, songs or rimes[b]." But under Henry the Eighth, so early as the year 1542, before the reformation was fixed or even intended on its present liberal establishment, yet when men had begun to discern and to reprobate many of the impostures of popery, it became an object of the legislature to curb the bold and seditious spirit of popular poetry. No sooner were the Scriptures translated and permitted in English, than they were brought upon the stage: they were not only misinterpreted and misunderstood by the multitude, but profaned or burlesqued in comedies and mummeries. Effectually to restrain these abuses, Henry, who loved to create a subject for persecution, who commonly proceeded to disannul what he had just confirmed, and who found that a freedom of inquiry tended to shake his ecclesiastical supremacy, framed a law, that *not* only Tyndale's English Bible, and all the printed English commentaries, expositions, annotations, defences, replies, and sermons, whether orthodox or heretical, which it had occasioned, should be utterly abolished; but that the kingdom should also be *purged* and *cleansed* of all religious plays, interludes, rhymes, ballads, and songs, which are equally *pestiferous and noysome* to the peace of the church[c].

Henry appears to have been piqued as an author and a theologist in

* [So in Puttenham's Arte of Poesie, "making the *lewd* well *learned*."—PARK.]

[a] Eccl. Mem. iii. Append. lii. p. 185. Dat. 1556. Sir Francis Lake is ordered to correct his servants so offending.

One Henry Nicholas a native of Amsterdam, who imported his own translations of many enthusiastic German books into England, about the year 1550, translated and published, "COMOEDIA, a worke in rhyme, conteyning an interlude of Myndes witnessing man's fall from God and Cryst, set forth by H. N. and by him newly perused and amended. Translated out of base Almayne into Englysh." Without date, in duodecimo. It seems to have been printed abroad. Our author was the founder of one of the numerous offsets of calvinistic fanaticism, called the Family of Love.

[b] Ann. i. Eliz.

[c] Stat. Ann. 34, 35. Henr. VIII. cap. i. Tyndale's Bible was printed at Paris 1536. [I know not of any such. Mr. Warton must mean Mathews's in 1537.—HERBERT.]

adding the clause concerning his own INSTITUTION OF A CHRISTIAN MAN, which had been treated with the same sort of ridicule. Yet under the general injunction of suppressing all English books on religious subjects, he formally excepts, among others, some not properly belonging to that class, such as the CANTERBURY TALES, the works of Chaucer and Gower, CHRONICLES, and STORIES OF MENS LIVES[d]. There is also an exception added about plays, and those only are allowed which were called MORALITIES, or perhaps interludes of real character and action, "for the rebuking and reproaching of vices and the setting forth of virtue." MYSTERIES are totally rejected[e]. The reservations which follow, concerning the use of a corrected English Bible, which was permitted, are curious for their quaint partiality, and they show the embarrassment of administration, in the difficult business of confining that benefit to a few, from which all might reap advantage, but which threatened to become a general evil, without some degrees of restriction. It is absolutely forbidden to be read or expounded in the church. The lord chancellor, the speaker of the house of commons, *captaines of the wars*, justices of the peace, and recorders of cities, may quote passages to enforce their public harangues, *as has been accustomed*. A nobleman or gentleman may read it, in his house, *orchards*, or *garden*, yet quietly, and without disturbance "of good order." A merchant also may read it *to himself privately*. But the common people, who had already abused this liberty to the purpose of division and dissensions, and under the denomination of *women*, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, and servingmen, are to be punished with one month's imprisonment, as often as they are detected in reading the Bible either privately or openly.

It should be observed, that few of these had now learned to read. But such was the privilege of peerage, that ladies of quality might read "to themselves and alone, and not to others," any chapter either in the Old or New Testament[f]. This has the air of a sumptuary law, which indulges the nobility with many superb articles of finery, that are interdicted to those of inferior degree[g]. Undoubtedly the duchesses and countesses of this age, if not from principles of piety, at least from mo-

[d] Stat. Ann. 34, 35. Hen. VIII. Artic. v. i.
[e] Ibid. Artic. ix.
[f] Ibid. Artic. x. seq.
[g] And of an old DIETARIL FOR THE CLERGY, I think by archbishop Cranmer, in which an archbishop is allowed to have two swans or two capons in a dish, a bishop two; an archbishop six blackbirds at once, a bishop five, a dean four, an archdeacon two. If a dean has four dishes in his first course, he is not afterwards to have custards or fritters. An archbishop may have six snipes, an archdeacon only two. Rabbits, larks, pheasants, and partridges, are allowed in these proportions. A canon residentiary is to have a swan only on a Sunday; a rector of sixteen marks, only three blackbirds in a week. See a similar instrument, Strype's Parker, Append. p. 65.

In the British Museum, there is a beautiful manuscript on vellum of a French translation of the Bible, which was found in the tent of king John, king of France, after the battle of Poictiers. Perhaps his majesty possessed this book on the plan of an exclusive royal right. [As perhaps there were few such copies in that great kingdom, and very little spirit of reading in the laity.—ASHBY.]

tives of curiosity, became eager to read a book which was made inaccessible to three parts of the nation. But the partial distribution of a treasure to which all had a right could not long remain. This was a MANNA to be *gathered by every man.* The claim of the people was too powerful to be overruled by the bigotry, the prejudice, or the caprice of Henry.

I must add here, in reference to my general subject, that the translation of the Bible, which in the reign of Edward the Sixth was admitted into the churches, is supposed to have fixed our language. It certainly has transmitted and perpetuated many ancient words which would otherwise have been obsolete or unintelligible. I have never seen it remarked, that at the same time this translation contributed to enrich our native English at an early period, by importing and familiarising many Latin words[h].

These were suggested by the Latin vulgate, which was used as a medium by the translators. Some of these, however, now interwoven into our common speech, could not have been understood by many readers even above the rank of the vulgar, when the Bible first appeared in English. Bishop Gardiner had therefore much less reason than we now imagine, for complaining of the too great clearness of the translation, when with an insidious view of keeping the people in their ancient ignorance, he proposed, that instead of always using English phrases, many Latin words should still be preserved, because they contained an inherent significance and a genuine dignity, to which the common tongue afforded no correspondent expressions of sufficient energy[i].

To the reign of Edward the Sixth belongs Arthur Kelton, a native of Shropshire or Wales. He wrote the CRONICLE OF THE BRUTES in English verse. It is dedicated to the young king, who seems to have been the general patron; and was printed in 1547[k]. Wood allows that

[h] More particularly in the Latin derivative substantives, such as, *divination, perdition, adoption, manifestation, consolation, contribution, administration, consummation, reconciliation, operation, communication, retribution, preparation, immortality, principality,* &c. &c. and in other words, *frustrate, inexcusable, transfigure, concupiscence,* &c. &c.

[i] Such as, *idololatria, contritus, holocausta, sacramentum, elementa, humilitas, satisfactio, ceremonia, absolutio, mysterium, penitentia,* &c. See Gardiner's proposals in Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. B. iii. p. 315. And Fuller, Ch. Hist. B. v. Cent. xvi. p. 238.

[k] Lond. Octavo. [16mo.] Pr. "In the golden time when all things."

[Herbert, who possessed a copy of the book, has thus imparted the title: "A Chronycle with a genealogie declaryng that the Brittons and Welshmen are lineallye dyscended from Brute. Newley and very wittely compyled in metre." Imp. by Richard Grafton. It appears to have been written (he adds) in the time of king Henry VIII., but he dying before it was printed, the author then dedicated it to king Edward VI. Typ. Ant i. 523. Richard Harvey, the brother of Gabriel, published a prose tract in 1593, entitled "Philadelphus, or a defence of Brutes and the Brutans history," but of Arthur Kelton's work no notice is taken. It opens with a personal invective against Buchanan for his rejection of the Brute tradition, proceeds with an affected division of his subject into three portions, which he terms Anthropology, Chronology and Topography, and concludes with three sarcastic "supposes of a student concerning Historie." The tract is pompous, pedantic

he was an able antiquary; but laments, that he "being withall poetically given, must forsooth write and publish his lucubrations in verse; whereby, for rhime's sake, many material matters, and the due timing of them, are omitted, and so consequently rejected by historians and antiquarians[l]." Yet he has not supplied his want of genealogical and historical precision with those strokes of poetry which his subject suggested; nor has his imagination been any impediment to his accuracy. At the end of his CRONICLE is the GENEALOGY OF THE BRUTES, in which the pedigree of king Edward the Sixth is lineally drawn through thirty-two generations, from Osiris the first king of Egypt. Here too Wood reproaches our author for his ignorance in genealogy. But in an heraldic inquiry, so difficult and so new, many mistakes are pardonable. It is extraordinary that a Welshman should have carried his genealogical researches into Egypt, or rather should have wished to prove that Edward was descended from Osiris: but this was with a design to show, that the Egyptian monarch was the original progenitor of Brutus, the undoubted founder of Edward's family. Bale says that he wrote, and dedicated to sir William Herbert, afterwards earl of Pembroke, a most elegant poetical panegyric on the Cambro-Britons[m]. But Bale's praises and censures are always regulated according to the religion of his authors.

The first CHANSON à BOIRE, or DRINKING-BALLAD, of any merit, in our language, appeared in the year 1551 *. It has a vein of ease and humour, which we should not expect to have been inspired by the simple beverage of those times. I believe I shall not tire my reader by giving it at length; and am only afraid that in this specimen the transition will be thought too violent from the poetry of the puritans to a convivial and *ungodlie* ballad.

I cannot eat but little meat,
My stomach is not good;
But sure I think that I can drink
With him that wears a hood[n].
Though I go bare, take ye no care,
I nothing am a colde;
I stuffe my skin so full within,
Of joly goode ale and olde.

and silly. Warner, in his Albion's England, 1586, traces the genealogy of Brute (the conqueror of this island, which from him "had Brutaine unto name") through all the wild fictions of mythology and allegory up to antediluvian origin, making him at once the grandson of Æneas, and calculating his descent to be thrice five degrees from Noah, and four times six from Adam. Warner's Chronicle is in metre, except an addition to his second book, which contains a breviate of the history of Æneas to the birth of his grandson Brutus. I do not observe, however, that any reference is made by him to Arthur Kelton.—PARK.]

[l] Ath. Oxon. i. 73.

[m] Bale, xi. 97.

* [Corrected by Ritson to the year 1575. —PARK.]

[n] a monk.

Backe and side go bare, go bare,
Booth foot and hand go colde;
But, belly, God send thee good ale inoughe,
Whether it be new or olde!

I love no rost, but a nut-browne toste,
And a crab laid in the fire;
A little bread shall do me stead,
Moche bread I noght desire.
No frost, no snow, no winde, I trowe,
Can hurt me if I wolde,
I am so wrapt, and throwly lapt
Of joly good ale and olde.
Backe and side, &c.

And TIB my wife, that as her life
Loveth well good ale to seeke,
Full oft drinkes shee, till ye may see
The teares run downe her cheeke.
Then doth she trowle to me the bowle
Even as a mault-worm sholde;
And[o], saith, "Sweet heart, I tooke my part
Of this joly good ale and olde."
Backe and side, &c.

Now let them drinke, till they nod and winke,
Even as good fellows should do:
They shall not misse to have the blisse
Good ale doth bringe men to.
And al goode sowles that have scoured bowles,
Or have them lustely trolde,
God save the lives of them and their wives,
Whether they be yong or olde!
Backe and side, &c.

This song opens the second act of GAMMER GURTON'S NEEDLE, a comedy, written and printed in 1551[p], and soon afterwards acted at Christ's College in Cambridge. In the title of the old edition it is said to have been written "by Mr. S.* master of artes," who probably was a member of that society. This is held to be the first comedy in our language; that is, the first play which was neither Mystery nor Morality, and which handled a comic story with some disposition of plot, and some discrimination of character[q]. The writer has a degree of

[o] having drunk, she says.

[p] On the authority of MSS. Oldys. A valuable black-letter copy, in the possession of Mr. Steevens, is the oldest I have seen. [The play was acted before it was printed, and it was not printed till 1575. —RITSON.]

* [i. e. Still, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells: from an original head, of whom at Cambridge, Mr Steevens had a plate engraved, which, after a few impressions were taken off, he destroyed.—PARK.]

[q] See supr. vol. ii. p. 523.

jocularity which sometimes rises above buffoonery, but is often disgraced by lowness of incident*. Yet in a more polished age he would have chosen, nor would he perhaps have disgraced, a better subject. It has been thought surprising that a learned audience could have endured some of these indelicate scenes. But the established festivities of scholars were gross, and agreeable to their general habits; nor was learning in that age always accompanied by gentleness of manners. When the sermons of Hugh Latimer were in vogue at court, the university might be justified in applauding GAMMER GURTON'S NEEDLE†

SECTION XLVIII.

Reign of queen Mary. Mirrour for Magistrates. Its inventor, Sackville lord Buckhurst. His life. Mirrour for Magistrates continued by Baldwyn and Ferrers. Its plan and stories.

TRUE genius, unseduced by the cabals and unalarmed by the dangers of faction, defies or neglects those events which destroy the peace of mankind, and often exerts its operations amidst the most violent commotions of a state. Without patronage and without readers, I may add without models, the earlier Italian writers, while their country was shook by the intestine tumults of the Guelfes and Guibelines, continued to produce original compositions both in prose and verse, which yet stand unrivalled. The age of Pericles and of the Peloponnesian war was the same. Careless of those who governed or disturbed the world, and superior to the calamities of a quarrel in which two mighty leaders contended for the prize of universal dominion, Lucretius wrote his sublime didactic poem on the system of nature, Virgil his bucolics, and Cicero his books of philosophy. The proscriptions of Augustus did not prevent the progress of the Roman literature.

In the turbulent and unpropitious reign of queen Mary, when controversy was no longer confined to speculation, and a spiritual warfare polluted every part of England with murthers more atrocious than the slaughters of the most bloody civil contest, a poem was planned, although not fully completed, which illuminates with no common lustre that interval of darkness, which occupies the annals of English poetry from Surrey to Spenser, entitled, A MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES‡.

* [Perhaps, as they were in general graver at Cambridge than at the inns of court, when they did unbend, they were more apt to exceed.—ASHBY.]

† [And yet, as Mr. Ashby suggests, if Wilson, who wrote the judicious treatise on Rhetoric in 1553, and himself a dean, could pronounce Hugh Latimer, "the father of all preachers" (vid. infra, Sect. LV.) why might not the court approve?—PARK.

‡ [A new edition of the Mirrour for Magistrates, printed from that of 1587, and collated with those of 1559, 1563, 1571, 1575, 1578 and 1610, appeared in 1815 under the editorship of Mr. Haslewood.—PRICE.]

More writers than one were concerned in the execution of this piece; but its primary inventor, and most distinguished contributor, was Thomas Sackville the first lord Buckhurst, and first earl of Dorset. Much about the same period, the same author wrote the first genuine English tragedy, which I shall consider in its proper place.

Sackville was born at Buckhurst, a principal seat of his ancient and illustrious family in the parish of Withiam in Sussex. His birth is placed, but with evident inaccuracy, under the year 1536[a]: at least it should be placed six years before. Discovering a vigorous understanding in his childhood, from a domestic tuition he was removed, as it may reasonably be conjectured, to Hart-hall, now Hertford-college, in Oxford. But he appears to have been a master of arts at Cambridge[b]. At both universities he became celebrated as a Latin and English poet; and he carried his love of poetry, which he seems to have almost solely cultivated, to the Inner Temple. It was now fashionable for every young man of fortune, before he began his travels, or was admitted into parliament, to be initiated in the study of the law. But instead of pursuing a science, which could not be his profession, and which was unaccommodated to the bias of his genius, he betrayed his predilection to a more pleasing species of literature, by composing the tragedy just mentioned, for the entertainment and honour of his fellow-students. His high birth, however, and ample patrimony soon advanced him to more important situations and employments. His eminent accomplishments and abilities having acquired the confidence and esteem of queen Elizabeth, the poet was soon lost in the statesman, and negotiations and embassies extinguished the milder ambitions of the ingenuous Muse. Yet it should be remembered, that he was uncorrupted amidst the intrigues of an artful court, that in the character of a first minister he preserved the integrity of a private man, and that his family refused the offer of an apology to his memory, when it was insulted by the malicious insinuations of a rival party. Nor is it foreign to our purpose to remark, that his original elegance and brilliancy of mind sometimes broke forth in the exercise of his more formal political functions. He was frequently disgusted at the pedantry and official barbarity of style, with which the public letters and instruments were usually framed: and Naunton relates, that his "secretaries had difficulty to please him, he was so *facete* and choice in his style[c]." Even in the decisions and pleadings of that rigid tribunal the star-chamber, which was never esteemed the school of rhetoric, he practised and encouraged an unaccustomed strain of eloquent and graceful oratory; on which account, says Lloyd, "so flowing was his invention, that he was called the star-chamber bell[d]." After he was made a peer by the title of Lord Buck-

[a] Archbishop Abbot, in Sackville's funeral-sermon, says he was aged 72 when he died, in the year 1608. If so, he was not 20 years of age when he wrote Gorboduc.

[b] Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. F. 767.

[c] Fragm. Regal. p. 70.

[d] Lloyd's Worthies, p. 678.

hurst, and had succeeded to a most extensive inheritance, and was now discharging the business of an envoy to Paris, he found time to prefix a Latin epistle to Clerke's Latin translation of Castilio's COURTIER, printed at London in 1571, which is not an unworthy recommendation of a treatise remarkable for its polite Latinity. It was either because his mistress Elizabeth paid a sincere compliment to his singular learning and fidelity, or because she was willing to indulge an affected fit of indignation against the object of her capricious passion, that when Sackville, in 1591, was a candidate for the chancellorship of the university of Oxford, she condescended earnestly to solicit the university in his favour, and in opposition to his competitor the earl of Essex. At least she appears to have approved the choice, for her majesty soon afterwards visited Oxford, where she was entertained by the new chancellor with splendid banquets and much solid erudition. It is neither my design nor my province, to develop the profound policy with which he conducted a peace with Spain, the address with which he penetrated or baffled the machinations of Essex, and the circumspection and success with which he managed the treasury of two opulent sovereigns. I return to Sackville as a poet, and to the history of the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES[c].

About the year 1557, he formed the plan of a poem, in which all the illustrious but unfortunate characters of the English history, from the conquest to the end of the fourteenth century, were to pass in review before the poet, who descends like Dante into the infernal region, and is conducted by SORROW. Although a descent into hell had been suggested by other poets, the application of such a fiction to the present design is a conspicuous proof of genius and even of invention. Every personage was to recite his own misfortunes in a separate soliloquy*. But Sackville had leisure only to finish a poetical preface called an INDUCTION, and one legend, which is the life of Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham. Relinquishing therefore the design abruptly, and hastily adapting the close of his INDUCTION to the appearance of Buckingham, the only story he had yet written, and which was to have been the last in his series, he recommended the completion of the whole to Richard Baldwyne and George Ferrers.

Baldwyne seems to have been graduated at Oxford about the year 1532. He was an ecclesiastic, and engaged in the education of youth†. I have already mentioned his metrical version of SOLOMON'S SONG,

* Many of his Letters are in the Cabala. And in the university register at Oxford, (Mar. 21, 1591,) see his Letter about the Habits. See also Howard's Coll. p. 297.

[c] [And Sackville was to have written "all the Tragedies" in this metrical mirror, from William the Conqueror to the Duke of Buckingham. See fol. 107 in edit. 1575, and fol. 205 in edit. 1587.—PARK.]

† [He further appears to have been one of those scholars who followed printing, in order to forward the reformation, and in 1549 styled himself "*servaunt* with Edward Whitchurch." Vid. supr. p. 159. Herbert, however, who thinks he assumed that modest appellation as corrector of the press, says "He appears afterwards to have qualified himself for a compositor." Typog. Ant. p. 551.—PARK.]

dedicated to king Edward the Sixth[f]. His patron was Henry lord Stafford[g].

George Ferrers, a man of superior rank, was born at Saint Albans, educated at Oxford, and a student of Lincoln's-inn. Leland, who has given him a place in his ENCOMIA, informs us, that he was patronised by lord Cromwell[h]. He was in parliament under Henry the Eighth; and, in 1542, imprisoned by that whimsical tyrant, perhaps very unjustly, and for some cabal now not exactly known. About the same time, in his juridical capacity, he translated the MAGNA CHARTA from French into Latin and English, with some other statutes of England[i]. In a scarce book, William Patten's *Expedition into Scotlande of the most woorthely fortunate prince Edward duke of Somerset*, printed at London in 1548[j], and partly incorporated into Hollinshed's history, it appears from the following passage that he was of the suite of the protector Somerset: "George Ferrers a gentleman of my lord Protectors, and one of the commissioners of the carriage of this army." He is said to have compiled the history of queen Mary's reign, which makes a part of Grafton's CHRONICLE[k]. He was a composer almost by profession of occasional interludes for the diversion of the court: and in 1553, being then a member of Lincoln's-inn, he bore the office of LORD OF MISRULE at the royal palace of Greenwich during the twelve days of Christmas. Stowe says, "George Ferrers gentleman of Lincolns-inn, being lord of the disportes all the 12 days of Christmas anno MDLIII[l], at Greenwich: who so pleasantly and wisely behaved himself, that the king had great delight in his pastymes[m]." No common talents were required for these festivities. Bale says that he wrote some rhymes, *rhythmos aliquot*[n]. He died at Flamstead in Hertfordshire in 1579. Wood's account of George Ferrers, our author, who, misled by Puttenham the author of the ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE, has confounded him with Edward Ferrers a writer of plays, is full of mistakes and inconsistencies[o]. Our author wrote the epitaph of his friend Thomas Phayer,

[f] See supr. p. 159.

[g] Ut infr. He wrote also *Three bookes of Moral Philosophy*, and *The Lives and Sayings of Philosophers, Emperors, Kings, etc.* dedicated to lord Stafford, often printed at London in quarto. Altered by Thomas Palfreyman, Lond. 1608. 12mo. Also, *Similies* and *Proverbs*; and *The Use of Adagies*. Bale says that he wrote "Comœdias etiam aliquot." pag. 108. [He was appointed to "*set forth a play* before the king in the year 1552–3." See Mr. Chalmers's Apology for the believers in the Shakspeare papers.—PRICE.]

[h] Fol. 66.

[i] For Robert Redman. No date. After 1540. At the end he is called George Ferrerz. In duodecimo. Redman printed Magna Charta in French, 1529. Duodecim. oblong.

[j] Dedicated to sir William Paget. Duodecimo. [And reprinted at Edinburgh in 1798, in a quarto volume entitled Fragments of Scottish History.—PRICE.] Compare Leland, ut supr. fol. 66.

[k] Stowe, Chron. p. 632.

[l] Hollin hed says 1552. fol. 1067.

[m] Chron. p. 608. [See supr. vol. ii. p. 525.]

[n] p. 108. Script. Nostr. Temp.

[o] Ath. Oxon. i. 193. The same mistake is in Meres's Wits Treasury, printed in 1598. In reciting the dramatic poets of those times he says, "Maister Edward Ferris the authour of the Mirrour for Magistrates." fol. 282. [340 of the new edition, where Mr. Bliss observes, "there seems to be no good reason for supposing that such an author as Edward Ferrers ever existed." Vid infra, Sect. LII. sub

the old translator of the Eneid into English verse, who died in 1560, and is buried in the church of Kilgarran in Pembrokeshire.

Baldwyne and Ferrers, perhaps deterred by the greatness of the attempt, did not attend to the series prescribed by Sackville; but inviting some others to their assistance, among which are Churchyard and Phayer, chose such lives from the newly published chronicles of Fabyan and Hall, as seemed to display the most affecting catastrophes, and which very probably were pointed out by Sackville. The civil wars of York and Lancaster, which Hall had compiled with a laborious investigation of the subject, appear to have been their chief resource[p].

These legends with their authors, including Sackville's part, are as follows. Robert Tresilian chief justice of England, in 1388, by Ferrers. The two Mortimers, surnamed Roger, in 1329 and 1387, by Baldwyne [Cavyll]. Thomas of Woodstock duke of Gloucester, uncle to Richard the Second, murdered in 1397, by Ferrers. Lord Mowbray, preferred and banished by the same king in 1398, by Churchyard [Chaloner]. King Richard the Second, deposed in 1399, by Baldwyne [Ferrers]. Owen Glendour, the pretended prince of Wales, starved to death in 1401, by Phaer. Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, executed at York in 1407, by Baldwyne. Richard Plantagenet earl of Cambridge, executed at Southampton in 1415, by Baldwyne. Thomas Montague earl of Salisbury, in 1428, by Baldwyne. James the First of Scotland, by Baldwyne. William de la Poole duke of Suffolk, banished for destroying Humphry duke of Gloucester in 1450, by Baldwyne. Jack Cade the rebel in 1450, by Baldwyne. Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, and his son the earl of Rutland, killed in 1460, by Baldwyne. Lord Clifford, in 1461, by Baldwyne. Tiptoft earl of Worcester, in 1470, by Baldwyne. Richard Nevil earl of Warwick, and his brother John lord Montacute, killed in the battle of Barnet, 1471, by Baldwyne. King Henry the Sixth murthered in the Tower of London, in 1471, by Baldwyne. George Plantagenet, third son of the duke of York, murthered by his brother Richard in 1478, by Baldwyne. Edward the Fourth, who died suddenly in 1483, by Skelton[q]. Sir Anthony Woodville, lord Rivers and Scales, governor of prince Edward,

fin. where Warton has maintained the same opinion.—PRICE.] None of his plays, which, Puttenham says, "were written with much skill and magnificence in his meter, and wherein the king had so much good recreation that he had thereby many good rewards," are now remaining, and, as I suppose, were never printed. He died, and was buried in the church of Badesley-Clinton in Warwickshire, 1561. He was of Warwickshire, and educated at Oxford. See Philips's Theatr. Poet. p. 221. Suppl. Lond. 1674. 12mo. Another Ferris [Richard] wrote *The dangerous adventure of* Richard Ferris *and others who undertooke to rowe from Tower wharfe to Bristowe in a small wherry-boate*, Lond. 1590 4to. I believe the names of all three should be written FERRERS.

[p] Hall's *Union of the two noble and illustrious families of Yorke and Lancaster* was printed at London, for Berthelette, 1542. fol. Continued by Grafton the printer, from Hall's manuscripts, Lond. 1548. fol.

[q] Printed in his Works. But there is an old edition of this piece alone, without date, in duodecimo.

murthered with his nephew lord Gray in 1483, by Baldwyne[r]. Lord Hastings betrayed by Catesby, and murthered in the Tower by Richard duke of Gloucester, in 1483[s]. Sackville's INDUCTION. Sackville's Duke of Buckingham. Collingbourne, *cruelly executed for making a foolish rhyme*, by Baldwyne. Richard duke of Gloucester, slain in Bosworth field by Henry the Seventh, in 1485, by Francis Seagers[t]. Jane Shore, by Churchyard[u]. Edmund duke of Somerset, killed in the first battle of Saint Albans in 1454, by Ferrers. Michael Joseph the blacksmith and lord Audely, in 1496, by Cavyl.

It was injudicious to choose so many stories which were then recent. Most of these events were at that time too well known to become the proper subject of poetry, and must have lost much of their solemnity by their notoriety. But Shakspeare has been guilty of the same fault. The objection, however, is now worn away, and age has given a dignity to familiar circumstances.

This collection, or set of poems, was printed in quarto, in 1559, with the following title:—"A MYRROVRE FOR MAGISTRATES, Wherein may be seen by example of others, with how greuous plages vices are punished, and howe frayl and vnstable worldly prosperitie is founde, euen of those whom Fortvne seemeth most highly to favour. *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.* Anno 1559. Londini, in ædibus Thomæ Marshe." A *Mirrour* was a favorite title of a book, especially among the old French writers*. Some anecdotes of the publication may be collected from Baldwyne's DEDICATION TO THE NOBILITIE, prefixed. "The wurke was begun and parte of it prynted in Queene Maries tyme, but hyndred by the Lord Chancellour that then was[w]: nevertheles, through the meanes of my lorde Stafford[x], the fyrst parte was licenced, and imprynted the fyrst year of the raygne of this our

[r] The Seconde Parte begins with this Life.

[s] Subscribed in Niccols's edition, "*Master* D." that is, John Dolman. It was intended to introduce here The two Princes murthered in the Tower, "by the lord Vaulx, who undertooke to penne it, says Baldwyne, but what he hath done therein I am not certaine." fol. cxiiii. b. Dolman above mentioned was of the Middle Temple. He translated into English Tully's Tusculane Questions, dedicated to Jewel bishop of Salisbury, and printed in 1561, duodecimo.

[t] A translator of the Psalms, see supr. p. 160.

[u] In the Prologue which follows, Baldwyne says, he was "exhorted to procure Maister Churchyarde to undertake and to penne as many more of the remaynder, as myght be attayned," &c. fol. clvi. a.

* [In the British Museum occur—*Miroir* des Pecheurs, en vers, 1468. *Miroir* de la Redemption humaine, 1482. *Miroir* de l'Ame pechercsse, 1531. *Miroir* Français, 1598.—PARK.]

[w] This chancellor must have been bishop Gardiner. [Herbert disproves this, by remarking, that Gardiner died November 13, 1555; and Sackville formed the plan of this book in 1557 (see p. 183). Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, succeeded him in the chancellorship on the new year's day following.—PARK.]

[x] Henry lord Stafford, son and heir of Edward last duke of Buckingham, a scholar and a writer. See Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 108. One of his books is dedicated to the Protector Somerset. Aubrey gives us a rhyming epitaph in Howard's chapel in Lambeth church, written by this nobleman to his sister the duchess of Norfolk. Surrey, vol. v. p. 236. It is subscribed "by thy most bounden brother Henry lord Stafford." Bale says that he was "vir multarum rerum ac disciplinarum notitia ornatus," and that he died in 1558, par. post. 112.

most noble and vertuous queene[y], and dedicated then to your honours with this preface. Since whych time, although I have been called to another trade of lyfe, yet my good lord Stafford hath not ceassed to call upon me to publyshe so much as I had gotten at other mens hands, so that through his lordshyppes earnest meanes I have now also set furth another parte, conteyning as little of myne owne as the fyrst parte doth of other mens[z]."

The plan was confessedly borrowed from Boccace's DE CASIBUS PRINCIPUM, a book translated, as we have seen, by Lydgate, but which never was popular, because it had no English examples. But Baldwyne's scope and conduct, with respect to this and other circumstances, will best appear from his Preface, which cannot easily be found, and which I shall therefore insert at large. "When the printer had purposed with himselfe to printe Lydgate's translation of Bochas of the FALL OF PRINCES, and had made pryvye therto many both honourable and worshipfull, he was counsayled by dyvers of them, to procure to have the story contynewed from where as Bochas left, unto this present time; chiefly of such as Fortune had dalyed with in this ylande.—Which advyse lyked him so well, that he requyred me to take paines therin. But because it was a matter passyng my wit and skyll, and more thankles than gaineful to meddle in, I refused utterly to undertake it, except I might have the help of suche, as in wit were apte, in learnyng allowed, and in judgement and estymacyon able to wield and furnysh so weighty an enterpryse, thinkyng even so to shift my handes. But he, earnest and diligent in his affayres, procured Atlas to set under his shoulder. For shortly after, divers learned men, whose manye giftes nede fewe prayses, consented to take upon them parte of the travayle. And when certaine of them, to the numbre of seven, were through a general assent at an appoynted tyme and place gathered together to devyse thereupon, I resorted unto them, bearing with me the booke of Bochas translated by Dan Lidgate, for the better observation of his order. Which although we liked wel, yet would it not conveniently serve, seeing that both Bochas and Lidgate were dead; neither were there any alive that meddled with like argument, to whom the UNFORTUNATE might make their mone. To make therefore a state mete for the matter, they all agreed that I should usurpe Bochas rowme, and the WRETCHED PRINCES complayne unto me; and take upon themselves every man for his parte to be sundry personages, and in their behalfes to bewaile unto ME their greevous chances, heavye destinies, and wofull misfortunes. This done, we opened such bookes of Cronicles as we had there present. And maister Ferrers, after he had found where Bochas left, which was about the ende of Kinge Edward the Thirdes raigne, to begin the matter sayde thus.

[y] Elizabeth.

[z] Signat. C. ii. [Mr. Haslewood remarks, that this dedication and the following extract from Baldwyne's preface, are taken from the edition of 1563.—PRICE.]

"'I marvayle what Bochas meaneth, to forget among his MISERABLE PRINCES such as wer of our nacion, whose numbre is as great, as their adventures wunderfull. For to let passe all, both Britons, Danes, and Saxons, and to come to the last Conquest, what a sorte are they[a], and some even in his [Boccace's] owne time, or not much before! As for example, king Richard the Fyrst, slayne with a quarle[b] in his chyefe prosperitie. Also king John his brother, as sum saye, poysoned. Are not their histories rufull, and of rare example? But as it should appeare, he being an Italian, minded most the Roman and Italike story, or els perhaps he wanted our countrey Cronicles. It were therefore a goodly and a notable matter, to search and discourse our whole story from the first beginning of the inhabiting of the yle. But seeing the printer's minde is, to have us folowe where Lidgate left, we will leave that great labour to other that may intend it, and (as blinde Bayard is alway boldest) I will begyn at the time of Rychard the Second, a time as unfortunate as the ruler therein. And forasmuch, frend Baldwyne, as it shal be your charge to note and pen orderlye the whole proces, I will, so far as my memorie and judgemente serveth, sumwhat further you in the truth of the storye. And therefore omittinge the ruffle of Jacke Strawe and his meyney[c], and the murther of manye notable men which therby happened, for Jacke, as ye knowe, was but a *poore prynce;* I will begin with a notable example which within a while after ensued. And although he be no Great Prynce, yet sithens he had a princely office, I will take upon me the miserable person of syr ROBERT TRESILIAN chyefe justyce of England, and of other which suffered with him. Therby to warne all of his authoritye and profession, to take hede of wrong judgements, misconstruynge of lawes, or wresting the same to serve the princes turnes, which ryghtfully brought theym to a miserable ende, which they may justly lament in manner ensuing[d].'" Then follows sir ROBERT TRESILIAN'S legend or history, supposed to be spoken by himself, and addressed to Baldwyne.

Here we see that a company was feigned to be assembled, each of which, one excepted, by turns personates a character of one of the great Unfortunate; and that the stories were all connected, by being related to the silent person of the assembly, who is like the chorus in the Greek tragedies, or the Host in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. The whole was to form a sort of dramatic interlude, including a series of independent soliloquies. A continuity to this imagined representation is preserved by the introduction, after every soliloquy, of a prose epilogue, which also serves as a prologue to the succeeding piece, and has the air of a stage-direction. Boccace had done this before. We have this interposition, which I give as a specimen, and which explains the method of the recital, between the tragedies of king RICHARD THE SECOND and OWEN GLENDOUR. "When he had ended this so wofull

[a] how many they are.
[b] quarell, the bolt of a cross-bow.
[c] multitude, crew.
[d] Signat. A. ii.

a tragedye, and to all PRINCES a right worthy instruction, we paused; having passed through a miserable tyme, full of pyteous tragedyes. And seyng the reygne of Henry the Fourth ensued, a man more ware and prosperous in hys doynges, although not untroubled with warres both of outforthe and inward enemyes, we began to serch what Pyers [peers] were fallen therein, wherof the number was not small: and yet because theyr examples were not muche to be noted for our purpose, we passed over all the Maskers, of whom kynge Rycharde's brother was chiefe: whych were all slayne and put to death for theyr trayterous attempt. And fyndynge Owen Glendoure next one of Fortune's owne whelpes, and the Percyes his confederates, I thought them unmete to be overpassed, and therefore sayd thus to the sylent cumpany, What, my maysters, is every one at once in a browne study, and hath no man affection to any of these storyes? You mynd so much some other belyke, that those do not move you. And to say the trouth, there is no special cause why they should. Howbeyt Owen Glendoure, becaus he was one of Fortune's darlynges, rather than he should be forgotten, I wil tel his tale for him, under the privelidge of Martine hundred. Which OWEN, cuming out of the wilde mountains lyke the Image of Death in al pointes, (his darte onlie excepted,) so sore hath famyne and hunger consumed hym, may lament his folly after this maner." This process was a departure from Sackville's idea; who supposes, as I have hinted, the scene laid in hell, and that the unfortunate princes appeared to him in succession, and uttered their respective complaints, at the gates of Elysium, under the guidance of SORROW.

Many stanzas in the legends written by Baldwyne[e] and Ferrers, and their friends, have considerable merit, and often shew a command of language and versification[f]. But their performances have not the pathos which the subject so naturally suggests. They give us, yet often with no common degree of elegance and perspicuity, the chronicles of Hall and Fabyan in verse. I shall therefore, in examining this part of the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES, confine my criticism to Sackville's INDUCTION and Legend of Buckingham.

[e] That is, Baldwyne had previously prepared and written his legend or monologue, and one of the company was to act his part, and assume this appearance. fol. xviii. b.

[f] These lines in Collingbourne's legend are remarkable, fol. cxliiii. a.

Like Pegasus a poet must have wynges,
To flye to heaven, or where him liketh best;
He must have knowledge of eternal thynges,
Almightie Jove must harbor in his brest.

[Mr. Haslewood states the reference in this note to agree with the edition of 1563, and that the extract accords with an improved reading which first appeared in 1571.—PRICE.]

SECTION XLIX.

Sackville's Induction to the Mirrour for Magistrates. Examined. A prelude to the Fairy Queen. Comparative view of Dante's Inferno.

SACKVILLE'S INDUCTION, which was to have been placed at the head of our English tragical story, and which loses much of its dignity and propriety by being prefixed to a single life, and that of no great historical importance, is opened with the following poetical landscape of winter[a].

The wrathfull winter, prochinge on apace,
With blustring blasts had all ybard the treene;
And old Saturnus with his frosty face
With chilling colde had pearst the tender greene:
The mantels rent, wherein enwrapped been
The gladsom groves, that nowe laye overthrowen,
The tapets torne, and every bloom downe blowne.

The soile that earst so seemly was to seen,
Was all despoyled of her beauty's hewe;
And soote freshe flowres, wherewith the sommers queen
Had clad the earth, now Boreas blastes downe blewe;
And small fowles flocking in theyr song did rewe
The winters wrath, wherewith eche thinge defaste
In wofull wise bewayld the sommer paste.

Hawthorne had lost his motley lyverye,
The naked twigges were shivering all for colde;
And droppinge downe the teares abundantly,
Eche thing, methought, with weping eye me tolde
The cruell season, bidding me witholde
Myselfe within: for I was gotten out
Into the feldes where as I walkt about.

When loe the night, with mistie mantels spred,
Gan darke the daye, and dim the azure skies, &c.

The altered scene of things, the flowers and verdure of summer deformed by the frosts and storms of winter, and the day suddenly over-

[a] See fol. cxvi. [Warton's text is taken from the edition of 1610, corrected by the emendations of Capell in his Prolusions. Some of these are manifestly erroneous, and the original readings have consequently been restored. Sir Egerton Brydges objects to the reading of the seventh line because "*bloom* applies to spring, not autumn." Have we then no autumnal *flowers?* It may be questioned whether the modern abstract idea of "bloom" was current in Sackville's day. But the succeeding stanza clearly justifies Warton's election. — Ritson.]

spread with darkness, remind the poet of the uncertainties of human life, the transient state of honour, and the instability of prosperity.

And sorrowing I to see the sommer flowers,
The lively greene, the lusty leas forlorne,
The sturdy trees so shattred with the showers,
The fieldes so fade, that floorisht so beforne;
It taught me wel, all earthly thinges be borne
To dye the death, for nought long time may last:
The sommors beauty yeelds to winters blast.

Then looking upwards to the heavens [l]eams,
With nightès starres thick-powdred every where,
Which erst so glistened with the golden streames
That chearfull Phebus spred downe from his sphere,
Beholding darke, oppressing day, so neare;
The sodayne sight reduced to my mynde
The sundry chaunges that in earth we fynde.

Immediately the figure of SORROW suddenly appears, which shows the poet in a new and bolder mode of composition.

And strayt forth stalking with redoubled pace,
For that I sawe the night drew on so fast,
In black all clad there fell before my face
A piteous wight, whom woe had all forwast;
Furth from her iyen the crystall teares outbrast,
And syghing sore her haundes she wronge and folde,
Tare al her haire that ruth was to beholde.

Her body small, forwithered and forespent,
As is the stalke that sommers drought oppprest;
Her wealked face with wofull teares besprent,
Her colour pale, and, as it seemed her best,
In woe and playnt reposed was her rest:
And as the stone that droppes of water weares,
So dented were her cheekes with fall of teares.—

I stoode agast, beholding all her plight,
Tween dread and dolour so distreynd in hart,
That while my heares upstarted with the sight,
The teares outstreamde for sorowe of her smart.
But when I sawe no ende, that could aparte
The deadly dole which she so sore dyd make,
With dolefull voyce then thus to her I spake.

Unwrap thy woes, whatever wight thou be!
And stint betime to spill thyselfe with playnt.
Tell what thou art, and whence, for well I see

Thou canst not dure with sorowe thus attaynt.
And with that worde, of sorrowe all forfaynt,
She looked up, and prostrate as she laye,
With piteous sounde, lo! thus she gan to saye.

Alas, I wretche, whom thus thou seest distrayned,
With wasting woes, that never shall aslake,
Sorrowe I am, in endeles tormentes payned,
Among the Furies in the infernall lake;
Where Pluto god of hell so grieslie blake
Doth holde his throne, and Lethes deadly taste
Doth reive remembrance of eche thyng forepast.

Whence come I am, the drery destinie,
And luckles lot, for to bemone of those,
Whom Fortune in this maze of miserie,
Of wretched chaunce, most wofull myrrours chose:
That when thou seest how lightly they did lose
Theyr pomp, theyr power, and that they thought most sure,
Thou mayest soon deeme no earthlye joye may dure.

Sorrow then conducts the poet to the classical hell, to the place of torments and the place of happiness.

I shall thee guyde first to the griesly lake,
And thence unto the blissfull place of rest:
Where thou shalt see and heare the playnt they make,
That whilom here bare swinge[b] among the best.
This shalt thou see. But great is the unrest
That thou must byde, before thou canst attayne
Unto the dreadfull place where those remayne.

And with these wordes as I upraysed stood
And gan to folowe her that straight forth paste,
Ere I was ware, into a desert wood
We nowe were come: where hand in hand embraced,
She led the way, and through the thicke so traced
As, but I had beene guyded by her might,
It was no waye for any mortal wight.

But loe! while thus amid the desert darke
We passed on, with steppes and pace unmeete,
A rumbling roar confusde, with howle and barke
Of dogs, shooke all the grounde under our feete,
And strooke the din within our eares so deepe,
As half distraught unto the ground I fell,
Besought returne, and not to visit hell.——

[b] sway.

An hydeous hole al vast, withouten shape,
Of endles depth, orewhelmde with ragged stone,
With oughly mouth and griesly jawes doth gape,
And to our sight confounds itself in one.
Here entred we, and yeding[c] forth, anone
An horrible lothly lake we might discerne,
As black as pitche, that cleped[d] is Averne.

A deadly gulfe where nought but rubbish growes,
With fowle blake swelth in thickened lumpes that lyes,
Which upp in th' ayre such stinking vapour throwes,
That over there may flye no fowle, but dyes
Choakt with the pest'lent savours that aryse.
Hither we come, whence forth we still did pace,
In dreadfull feare amid the dreadfull place.

Our author appears to have felt and to have conceived with true taste, that very romantic part of Virgil's Eneid, which he has here happily copied and heightened. The imaginary beings which sate within the porch of hell, are all his own. I must not omit a single figure of this dreadful group, nor one compartment of the portraitures which are feigned to be sculptured or painted on the SHIELD OF WAR, indented *with gashes deepe and wide.*

And, first, within the porch and jaws of hell
Sat deep REMORSE OF CONSCIENCE, all besprent
With tears; and to herself oft would she tell
Her wretchedness, and, cursing, never stent
To sob and sigh, but ever thus lament
With thoughtful care; as she that, all in vain,
Would wear and waste continually in pain:

Her eyes unstedfast, rolling here and there,
Whirl'd on each place, as place that vengeance brought,
So was her mind continually in fear,
Tost and tormented with the tedious thought
Of those detested crimes which she had wrought;
With dreadful cheer, and looks thrown to the sky,
Wishing for death, and yet she could not die.

Next, saw we DREAD, all trembling how he shook,
With foot uncertain, profer'd here and there;
Benumb'd with speech; and, with a gastly look,
Search'd every place, all pale and dead for fear,
His cap born up with staring of his hair;
'Stoin'd and amazed at his own shade for dread,
And fearing greater dangers than was need.

[c] going. [d] called.

And, next, within the entry of this lake,
Sat fell REVENGE, gnashing her teeth for ire;
Devising means how she may vengeance take;
Never in rest, till she have her desire;
But frets within so far forth with the fire
Of wreaking flames, that now determines she
To die by death, or 'veng'd by death to be.

When fell REVENGE, with bloody foul pretence,
Had show'd herself, as next in order set,
With trembling limbs we softly parted thence,
Till in our eyes another sight we met;
When fro my heart a sigh forthwith I fet,
Ruing, alas, upon the woeful plight
Of MISERY, that next appear'd in sight:

His face was lean, and some-deal pin'd away,
And eke his hands consumed to the bone;
But, what his body was, I cannot say,
For on his carkass rayment had he none,
Save clouts and patches pieced one by one;
With staff in hand, and scrip on shoulders cast,
His chief defence against the winter's blast:

His food, for most, was wild fruits of the tree,
Unless sometime some crums fell to his share,
Which in his wallet long, God wot, kept he,
As on the which full daint'ly would he fare;
His drink, the running stream, his cup, the bare
Of his palm closed; his bed, the hard cold ground:
To this poor life was MISERY ybound.

Whose wretched state when we had well beheld,
With tender ruth on him, and on his feers,
In thoughtful cares forth then our pace we held;
And, by and by, another shape appears
Of greedy CARE, still brushing up the breers;
His knuckles knob'd, his flesh deep dinted in,
With tawed hands, and hard ytanned skin:

The morrow grey no sooner hath begun
To spread his light, e'en peeping in our eyes,
But he is up, and to his work yrun;
But let the night's black misty mantles rise,
And with foul dark never so much disguise
The fair bright day, yet ceaseth he no while,
But hath his candles to prolong his toil.

By him lay heavy SLEEP, the cousin of Death,
Flat on the ground, and still as any stone,
A very corpse, save yielding forth a breath;
Small keep took he, whom fortune frowned on,
Or whom she lifted up into the throne
Of high renown, but, as a living death,
So dead alive, of life he drew the breath:

The body's rest, the quiet of the heart,
The travel's ease, the still night's feer was he,
And of our life in earth the better part;
Rever of sight, and yet in whom we see
Things oft that [tyde] and oft that never be;
Without respect, esteem[ing] equally
King CROESUS' pomp and IRUS' poverty.

And next, in order sad, OLD-AGE we found:
His beard all hoar, his eyes hollow and blind;
With drooping cheer still poring on the ground,
As on the place where nature him assign'd
To rest, when that the sisters had untwin'd
His vital thread, and ended with their knife
The fleeting course of fast-declining life:

There heard we him with broke and hollow plaint
Rue with himself his end approaching fast,
And all for nought his wretched mind torment
With sweet remembrance of his pleasures past,
And fresh delights of lusty youth forewaste;
Recounting which, how would he sob and shriek,
And to be young again of JOVE beseek!

But, an' the cruel fates so fixed be
That time forepast cannot return again,
This one request of JOVE yet prayed he,——
That, in such wither'd plight, and wretched pain,
As eld, accompany'd with her lothsome train,
Had brought on him, all were it woe and grief,
He might a while yet linger forth his lief,

And not so soon descend into the pit;
Where Death, when he the mortal corpse hath slain,
With rechless hand in grave doth cover it;
Thereafter never to enjoy again
The gladsome light, but, in the ground ylain,
In depth of darkness waste and wear to nought,
As he had ne'er into the world been brought:

But who had seen him sobbing how he stood
Unto himself, and how he would bemoan
His youth forepast,—as though it wrought him good
To talk of youth, all were his youth foregone,—
He would have mus'd, and marvel'd much, whereon
This wretched Age should life desire so fain,
And knows full well life doth but length his pain:

Crook-back'd he was, tooth-shaken, and blear-eyed;
Went on three feet, and, sometime, crept on four;
With old lame bones, that rattled by his side;
His scalp all pil'd, and he with eld forelore,
His wither'd fist still knocking at death's door;
Fumbling, and driveling, as he draws his breath;
For brief, the shape and messenger of Death.

And fast by him pale MALADY was placed:
Sore sick in bed, her colour all foregone;
Bereft of stomach, savour, and of taste,
Ne could she brook no meat but broths alone;
Her breath corrupt; her keepers every one
Abhorring her; her sickness past recure,
Detesting physick, and all physick's cure.

But, O, the doleful sight that then we see!
We turn'd our look, and on the other side
A grisly shape of FAMINE mought we see:
With greedy looks, and gaping mouth, that cry'd
And roar'd for meat, as she should there have dy'd;
Her body thin and bare as any bone,
Whereto was left nought but the case alone,

And that, alas, was gnaw'n on every where,
All full of holes; that I ne mought refrain
From tears, to see how she her arms could tear,
And with her teeth gnash on the bones in vain,
When, all for nought, she fain would so sustain
Her starven corpse, that rather seem'd a shade
Than any substance of a creature made:

Great was her force, whom stone-wall could not stay:
Her tearing nails snatching at all she saw;
With gaping jaws, that by no means ymay
Be satisfy'd from hunger of her maw,
But eats herself as she that hath no law;
Gnawing, alas, her carkass all in vain,
Where you may count each sinew, bone, and vein.

On her while we thus firmly fix'd our eyes,
That bled for ruth of such a dreary sight,
Lo, suddenly she shright in so huge wise
As made hell gates to shiver with the might;
Wherewith, a dart we saw, how it did light
Right on her breast, and, therewithal, pale DEATH
Enthrilling it, to reve her of her breath:

And, by and by, a dumb dead corpse we saw,
Heavy, and cold, the shape of Death aright,
That daunts all earthly creatures to his law,
Against whose force in vain it is to fight;
Ne peers, ne princes, nor no mortal wight,
No towns, ne realms, cities, ne strongest tower,
But all, perforce, must yield unto his power:

His dart, anon, out of the corpse he tooke,
And in his hand (a dreadful sight to see)
With great triumph eftsoons the same he shook,
That most of all my fears affrayed me;
His body dight with nought but bones, pardy;
The naked shape of man there saw I plain,
All save the flesh, the sinew, and the vein.

Lastly, stood WAR, in glittering arms yclad,
With visage grim, stern look[es] and blackly hued:
In his right hand a naked sword he had,
That to the hilts was all with blood imbrued;
And in his left (that kings and kingdoms rued)
Famine and fire he held, and therewithal
He razed towns, and threw down towers and all:

Cities he sack'd, and realms (that whilom flower'd
In honour, glory, and rule, above the rest)
He overwhelm'd, and all their fame devour'd,
Consum'd, destroy'd, wasted, and never ceas'd
Till he their wealth, their name, and all oppress'd:
His face forehew'd with wounds; and by his side
There hung his TARGE, with gashes deep and wide:

In mids of which depainted there we found
Deadly DEBATE, all full of snaky hair
That with a bloody fillet was ybound,
Outbreathing nought but discord every where:
And round about were pourtray'd, here and there,
The hugy hosts; DARIUS and his power,
His kings, his princes, peers, and all his flower.—

XERXES, the Persian king, yet saw I there,
With his huge host, that drank the rivers dry,
Dismounted hills, and made the vales uprear;
His host and all yet saw I slain, pardy:
Thebes I saw, all razed how it did lie
In heaps of stones; and Tyrus put to spoil,
With walls and towers flat-even'd with the soil.

But Troy, (alas!) methought, above them all,
It made mine eyes in very tears consume;
When I beheld the woeful word befall,
That by the wrathful will of gods was come,
And JOVE'S unmoved sentence and foredoom
On PRIAM king and on his town so bent,
I could not lin but I must there lament;

And that the more, sith destiny was so stern
As, force perforce, there might no force avail
But she must fall: and, by her fall, we learn
That cities, towers, wealth, world, and all shall quail;
No manhood, might, nor nothing mought prevail;
All were there prest, full many a prince and peer,
And many a knight that sold his death full dear:

Not worthy HECTOR, worthiest of them all,
Her hope, her joy, his force is now for nought:
O Troy, Troy, Troy, there is no boot but bale!
The hugy horse within thy walls is brought;
Thy turrets fall; thy knights, that whilom fought
In arms amid the field, are slain in bed;
Thy gods defil'd, and all thy honour dead:

The flames upspring, and cruelly they creep
From wall to roof, till all to cinders waste:
Some fire the houses where the wretches sleep;
Some rush in here, some run in there as fast;
In every where or sword, or fire, they taste:
The walls are torn, the towers whirl'd to the ground;
There is no mischief but may there be found.

CASSANDRA yet there saw I how they hal'd
From PALLAS' house, with spercled tress undone,
Her wrists fast bound, and with Greek rout impal'd;
And PRIAM eke, in vain how he did run
To arms, whom PYRRHUS with despite hath done
To cruel death, and bath'd him in the baign
Of his son's blood before the altar slain.

But how can I descrive the doleful sight
That in the shield so lively fair did shine?
Sith in this world, I think, was never wight
Could have set forth the half not half so fine:
I can no more, but tell how there is seen
Fair ILIUM fall in burning red gledes down,
And, from the soil, great Troy, NEPTUNUS' town.

These shadowy inhabitants of hell-gate are conceived with the vigour of a creative imagination, and described with great force of expression. They are delineated with that fulness of proportion, that invention of picturesque attributes, distinctness, animation, and amplitude, of which Spenser is commonly supposed to have given the first specimens in our language, and which are characteristical of his poetry. We may venture to pronounce that Spenser, at least, caught his manner of designing allegorical personages from this model, which so greatly enlarged the former narrow bounds of our ideal imagery, as that it may justly be deemed an original in that style of painting. For we must not forget, that it is to this INDUCTION that Spenser alludes, in a sonnet prefixed to his Pastorals, in 1579, addressed *To the right honourable* THE LORD OF BUCKHURST, *one of her maiesties priuie councell.*

In vaine I thinke, right honourable lord,
By this rude rime to memorize thy name,
Whose learned Muse hath writ her owne record,
In golden verse, worthy immortal fame.
Thou much more fit, were leisure for the same,
Thy gracious soveraignes prayses to compile,
And her imperiall majestie to frame
In loftie numbers and heroick stile.

The readers of the FAERIE QUEENE will easily point out many particular passages which Sackville's INDUCTION suggested to Spenser.

From this scene SORROW, who is well known to Charon, and to Cerberus the *hideous hound of hell*, leads the poet over the loathsome lake of *rude* Acheron, to the dominions of Pluto, which are described in numbers too beautiful to have been relished by his cotemporaries, or equalled by his successors.

Thence come we to the horrour and the hell,
The large great kyngdomes, and the dreadful raygne
Of Pluto in his trone where he dyd dwell,
The wide waste places, and the hugie playne;
The waylinges, shrykes, and sundry sorts of payne,

The syghes, the sobbes, the depe and deadly groane,
Earth, ayer, and all resounding playnt and moane[e].

Thence did we passe the threefold emperie
To the utmost boundes where Rhadamanthus raignes,
Where proud folke waile their wofull miserie;
Where dreadfull din of thousand dragging chaines,
And baleful shriekes of ghosts in deadly paines
Torturd eternally are heard most brim[f]
Through silent shades of night so darke and dim.

From hence upon our way we forward passe,
And through the groves and uncoth pathes we goe,
Which leade unto the Cyclops walles of brasse:
And where that mayne broad flood for aye doth floe,
Which parts the gladsome fields from place of woe:
Whence none shall ever passe t' Elizium plaine,
Or from Elizium ever turne againe.

Here they are surrounded by a troop of men, *the most in armes bedight*, who met an untimely death, and of whose destiny, whether they were sentenced to *eternal night* or to *blissfull peace*, it was uncertain.

Loe here, quoth SORROWE, Princes of renowne
That whilom sate on top of Fortune's wheele,
Now laid full low, like wretches whurled downe
Even with one frowne, that staid but with a smile, &c.

They pass in order before SORROW and the poet. The first is Henry duke of Buckingham, a principal instrument of king Richard the Third.

Then first came Henry duke of Buckingham,
His cloake of blacke, all pild, and quite forlorne,
Wringing his handes, and Fortune oft doth blame,
Which of a duke hath made him now her skorne;
With ghastly lokes, as one in maner lorne,
Oft spred his armes, stretcht handes he joynes as fast,
With rufull cheere and vapored eyes upcast.

[e] The two next stanzas are not in the first [second] edition of 1559 [1563]; but instead of them, the following stanza:—

Here pul'd the babes, and here the maids unwed
With folded hands their sorry chance bewayl'd;
Here wept the guiltless Slain, and lovers dead
That slew themselves when nothing else avayl'd.
A thousand sorts of sorrows here that wayl'd
With sighs, and teares, sobs, shrieks, and all yfere,
That, O alas! it was a hell to here, &c.

[The stanzas in the text are the interpolation of Niccols.—HASLEWOOD.]

[f] reme, i. e. cruel.

His cloake he rent, his manly breast he beat;
His hair al torne, about the place it layne:
My heart so molt[g] to see his grief so great,
As feelingly, methought, it dropt away:
His eyes they whurled about withouten staye:
With stormy syghes the place did so complayne,
As if his hart at eche had burst in twayne.

Thryse he began to tell his doleful tale,
And thryse the syghes did swalowe up his voyse;
At eche of whiche he shryked so withale,
As though the heavens ryved with the noyse:
Til at the last recovering his voyse;
Supping the teares that all his breast beraynde
On cruell Fortune weping thus he playnde.

Nothing more fully illustrates and ascertains the respective merits and genius of different poets, than a juxtaposition of their performances on similar subjects. Having examined at large Sackville's Descent into Hell, for the sake of throwing a still stronger light on his manner of treating a fiction which gives so large a scope to fancy, I shall employ the remainder of this Section in setting before my reader a general view of Dante's Italian poem, entitled COMMEDIA, containing a description of Hell, Paradise, and Purgatory, and written about the year 1310. In the mean time, I presume that most of my readers will recollect and apply the sixth Book of Virgil; to which, however, it may be necessary to refer occasionally.

Although I have before insinuated that Dante has in this poem used the ghost of Virgil for a mystagogue, in imitation of Tully, who in the SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS supposes Scipio to have been shown the other world by his ancestor Africanus, yet at the same time in the invention of his introduction, he seems to have had an eye on the exordium of an old forgotten Florentine poem called TESORETTO, written in *Frottola*, or a short irregular measure, exhibiting a cyclopede of theoretic and practic philosophy, and composed by his preceptor Brunetto Latini about the year 1270[h]. Brunetto supposes himself lost in a wood, at the foot of a mountain covered with animals, flowers, plants, and fruits of every species, and subject to the supreme command of a wonderful Lady, whom he thus describes: "Her head touched the heavens, which served at once for a veil and an ornament. The sky grew dark or serene at her voice, and her arms extended to the extremities of the earth[i]." This bold personification, one of the earliest of the rude ages

[g] melted.

[h] See supr. vol. ii. p. 406. note [n].

[i] See supr. vol. ii. p. 316. note [p]. [This translation is not quite correct:

Talor toccava 'l cielo
Si che parea suo velo:
E talor lo mutava
E talor lo turbava.

of poetry, is NATURE. She converses with the poet, and describes the creation of the world. She enters upon a most unphilosophical and indeed unpoetical detail of the physical system; developes the head of man, and points out the seat of intelligence and of memory. From physics she proceeds to morals; but her principles are here confined to theology and the laws of the church, which she couches in technical rhymes[k].

Dante, like his master Brunetto, is bewildered in an unfrequented forest. He attempts to climb a mountain, whose summit is illuminated by the rising sun. A furious leopard, pressed by hunger, and a lion, at whose aspect the *air is affrighted*, accompanied by a she-wolf, oppose his progress; and force him to fly precipitately into the profundities of a pathless valley, where, says the poet, *the sun was silent.*

Mi ripingeva dov e'l sol tace.[l]

In the middle of a vast solitude he perceives a spectre, of whom he implores pity and help. The spectre hastens to his cries: it was the shade of Virgil, whom Beatrix, Dante's mistress, had sent, to give him courage, and to guide him into the regions of hell[m]. Virgil begins a

E tal suo mandamento
Movea 'l fermamento;
E talor si spandea
Si che 'l mondo parea
Tutto nelle sue braccia.—PRICE.]

[k] Brunetto's Tesoretto was abstracted by himself from his larger prose work on the same subject, written in old French and never printed, entitled TESORO. See supr. vol. ii. pp. 316. note[p]. 406. note[n]. and Hist. Acad. Inscript. tom. vii. 296 seq. [No two works can be more opposite in their nature than the Tesoro and Tesoretto of Brunetto Latino. The former is a vast repository of all the learning current in the thirteenth century; and the latter, though thus spoken of by its Neapolitan editor, "Nel Tesoretto quasi affatto si ristrinse (sc. Brunetto) a formar l'uomo nelle morali virtù, sull'orme di Severino Boezio," has been more happily characterised by the Academy "poesia a foggia di frollota." It has been called "Tesoretto" by way of distinction from his larger work. The author, who entertained a more exalted opinion of its worth than subsequent ages have chosen to bestow upon it, terms it "Tesoro" in his address to Rustico di Filippo:

Io Brunetto Latino,
Che vostro in ogni guisa
Mi son sanza divisa;
A voi mi raccomando.
Poi vi presento e mando
Questo *ricco Tesoro,*
Che vale argento ed oro:

And again—

Lo *Tesoro* comenza, &c.
PRICE.]

The Tesoro was afterwards translated into Italian by one Bono Giamboni, and printed at Trevisa, viz. "Il Tesoro di Messer Brunetto Latino, Fiorentino, Precettore del divino poeta Dante: nel qual si tratta di tutte le cose che a mortali se appartengeno. *In Trivisa.* 1474. fol." After a table of chapters is another title, "Qui inchomincia el Tesoro di S. Brunetto Latino di firenze: e parla del nascimento e della natura di tutte le cose." It was printed again at Venice, by Marchio Sessa, 1533. octavo. Mabillon seems to have confounded this Italian translation with the French original. It. Italic. p. 169. See also Salviati, Avertis. Decam. ii. xii. Dante introduces Brunetto in the fifteenth Canto of the Inferno; and after the colophon of the first edition of the Italian Tesoro above mentioned, is this insertion:—"Risposta di Dante a Brunetto Latino ritrovado da lui nel quintodecimo canto nel suo Inferno." The Tesoretto or Little Treasure, mentioned above in the text, has been printed, but is exceedingly scarce.

[l] Inf. Cant. i. The same bold metaphor occurs below, Cant. v.

Evenni in luogo d' ogni LUCE MUTO.

[m] See supr. vol. ii. p. 404.

long discourse with Dante; and expostulates with him for choosing to wander through the rough obscurities of a barren and dreary vale, when the top of the neighbouring mountain afforded every delight. The conversation of Virgil, and the name of Beatrix, by degrees dissipate the fears of the poet, who explains his situation. He returns to himself, and compares this revival of his strength and spirits to a flower smitten by the frost of a night, which again lifts its shrinking head, and expands its vivid colours, at the first gleamings of the morning-sun.

Qual' il fioretti dal notturno gelo
Chinati et chiusi, &c.[n]——

Dante, under the conduct of Virgil, penetrates hell; but he does not on this occasion always avail himself of Virgil's descriptions and mythologies. At least the formation of Dante's imageries are of another school. He feigns his hell to be a prodigious and almost bottomless abyss, which from its aperture to its lowest depth preserves a rotund shape; or rather, an immense perpendicular cavern, which opening as it descends into different circles, forms so many distinct subterraneous regions. We are struck with horror at the commencement of this dreadful adventure.

The first object which the poet perceives is a gate of brass, over which were inscribed in characters of a dark hue, *di colore oscuro*, these verses.

Per me si và nella città dolente:
Per me si và nel eterno dolore:
Per me si và trà la perduta gente.
Giustizia moss e'l mio alto fattore:
Fece me li divina potestate,
La somma Sapienzia, e 'l primo Amore[o].
Dinanzi a me non fur cose create:
Se non eterne, el io duro eterno.
Lassate ogni speranza voi ch' entraste.[p]

That is, "By me is the way to the woeful city. By me is the way to the eternal pains. By me is the way to the damned race. My mighty maker was divine Justice and Power, the Supreme Wisdom, and the First Love. Before me nothing was created. If not eternal, I shall eternally remain. Put away all hope, ye that enter."

There is a severe solemnity in these abrupt and comprehensive sen-

[n] Cant. ii. In another part of the Inferno, Virgil is angry with Dante, but is soon reconciled. Here the poet compares himself to a cottager in the early part of a promising spring, who looks out in the morning from his humble shed, and sees the fields covered with a severe and unexpected frost. But the sun soon melts the ground, and he drives his goats afield. Cant. xxiv. This poem abounds in comparisons. Not one of the worst is a comic one, in which a person looking sharply and eagerly, is compared to an old tailor threading a needle. Inf. Cant. xv.

[o] He means the Platonic Ερως. The Italian expositors will have it to be the Holy Ghost.

[p] Cant. iii.

tences, and they are a striking preparation to the scenes that ensue. But the idea of such an inscription on the brazen portal of hell, was suggested to Dante by books of chivalry; in which the gate of an impregnable enchanted castle is often inscribed with words importing the dangers or wonders to be found within. Over the door of every chamber in Spenser's necromantic palace of Busyrane, was written a threat to the champions who presumed to attempt to enter[q]. This total exclusion of hope from hell, here so finely introduced and so forcibly expressed, was probably remembered by Milton, a disciple of Dante, where he describes

> Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
> And rest can never dwell, HOPE NEVER COMES
> THAT COMES TO ALL.[r]

I have not time to follow Dante regularly through his dialogues and adventures with the crowds of ghosts, ancient and modern, which he meets in the course of this infernal journey. In these interviews, there is often much of the party and politics of his own times, and of allusion to recent facts. Nor have I leisure particularly to display our author's punishments and phantoms. I observe in general, that the groundwork of his hell is classical, yet with many Gothic and extravagant innovations. The burning lakes, the fosses, and fiery towers which surround the city of DIS, and the three Furies which wait at its entrance, are touched with new strokes[s]. The Gorgons, the Hydra, the Chimera, Cerberus, the serpent of Lerna, and the rest of Virgil's, or rather Homer's, infernal apparitions, are dilated with new touches of the terrible, and sometimes made ridiculous by the addition of comic or incongruous circumstances, yet without any intention of burlesque. Because Virgil had mentioned the Harpies in a single word only[t], in one of the loathsome groves which Dante passes, consisting of trees whose leaves are black, and whose knotted boughs are hard as iron, the Harpies build their nests[u].

> Non frondi verdi, ma di color fosco,
> Non rami schietti, ma nodosi e 'nvolti,
> Non pomi v' eran, ma stecchi con tosco.

Cacus, whom Virgil had called *Semifer* in his seventh book, appears in the shape of a Centaur covered with curling snakes, and on whose neck is perched a dragon hovering with expanded wings[w]. It is supposed that Dante took the idea of his INFERNO from a magnificent nightly representation of hell, exhibited by the pope in honour of the bishop of Ostia on the river Arno at Florence, in the year 1304. This is mentioned by the Italian critics in extenuation of Dante's choice of so

[q] Fair. Qu. iii. xi. 54.
[r] Paradise Lost, i. 65.
[s] See Cant. ix. vii.
[t] Gorgones, Harpyiæque, vi. 289.
[u] Cant. xiii.
[w] Cant. xxv.

strange a subject. But why should we attempt to excuse any absurdity in the writings or manners of the middle ages? Dante chose this subject as a reader of Virgil and Homer. The religious MYSTERY represented on the river Arno, however magnificent, was perhaps a spectacle purely orthodox, and perfectly conformable to the ideas of the church. And if we allow that it might hint the subject, with all its inconsistencies, it never could have furnished any considerable part of this wonderful compound of classical and romantic fancy, of pagan and christian theology, of real and fictitious history, of tragical and comic incidents, of familiar and heroic manners, and of satirical and sublime poetry. But the grossest improprieties of this poem discover an originality of invention, and its absurdities often border on sublimity. We are surprised that a poet should write one hundred cantos on hell, paradise and purgatory. But this prolixity is partly owing to the want of art and method; and is common to all early compositions, in which every thing is related circumstantially and without rejection, and not in those general terms which are used by modern writers.

Dante has beautifully enlarged Virgil's short comparison of the souls lingering on the banks of Lethe, to the numerous leaves falling from the trees in Autumn.

> Come d'Autumno si levan le foglie
> L'un appresso del'altra, infin che'l ramo
> Vede a la terre tutte le sue spoglie;
> Similmente, il mal seme d'Adamo
> Getta si di quel lito ad una ad una
> Per cenni, com'augel per suo richiamo.[y]

In the Fields inhabited by unhappy lovers he sees Semiramis, Achilles, Paris, and Tristan, or sir Tristram. One of the old Italian commentators on this poem says, that the last was an English knight born in *Cornovaglio*, or Cornwall, a city of England[z].

Among many others of his friends, he sees Francisca the daughter of Guido di Polenta, in whose palace Dante died at Ravenna, and Paulo one of the sons of Malatesta lord of Rimini. This lady fell in love with Paulo; the passion was mutual, and she was betrothed to him in marriage; but her family chose rather that she should be married to Lanciotto, Paulo's eldest brother. This match had the most fatal consequences. The injured lovers could not dissemble or stifle their affection: they were surprised, and both assassinated by Lanciotto. Dante finds the shades of these distinguished victims of an unfortunate attachment at a distance from the rest, in a region of his INFERNO desolated by the most violent tempests. He accosts them both, and Francisca relates their history: yet the conversation is carried on with some

[y] Cant. iii.

[z] In the sixteenth Canto of the Paradiso, king Arthur's queen Geneura, who belongs to sir Tristram's romance, is mentioned.

difficulty, on account of the impetuosity of the storm which was perpetually raging. Dante, who from many circumstances of his own amours, appears to have possessed the most refined sensibilities about the delicacies of love, inquires in what manner, when in the other world, they first communicated their passion to each other. Francisca answers, that they were one day sitting together, and reading the romance of LANCELOT; where two lovers were represented in the same critical situation with themselves. Their changes of colour and countenance, while they were reading, often tacitly betrayed their yet undiscovered feelings. When they came to that passage in the romance, where the lovers, after many tender approaches, are gradually drawn by one uniform reciprocation of involuntary attraction to kiss each other, the book dropped from their hands. By a sudden impulse and an irresistible sympathy, they are tempted to do the same. Here was the commencement of their tragical history.

Noi leggiavam' un giorno per diletto
Di LANCILOTTO, comme amor le strinse;
Soli eravamo, et senza alcun sospetto.
Per più fiate gli occhi ci sospinse
Quella lettura et scolorocc' il viso:
Ma sol un punto fù qual che ci vinse.
Quando legemmo il disiato riso
Esser baciato dà cotanto amante
Questi che mai da me no fia diviso
La bocca mi basciò tutto tremante:
GALEOTTO[a] fù il libro, et chi lo scrisse
Quel giorno più non vi legemmo avante.[b]

But this picture, in which nature, sentiment, and the graces are concerned, I have to contrast with scenes of a very different nature. Salvator Rosa has here borrowed the pencil of Correggio. Dante's beauties are not of the soft and gentle kind.

— — Through many a dark and dreary vale
They pass'd, and many a region dolorous,
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp.[c]

A hurricane suddenly rising on the banks of the river Styx is thus described.

Et gia venia sù per le torbid onde
Un fracasso d'un suon pien di spavento,
Per cui tremavan amendue le sponde;
Non altrimenti fatto che d'un vento

[a] He is one of the knights of the Round Table, and is commonly called sir Galhaad, in Arthur's Romance.

[b] Cant. v.

[c] Milton, Par. L. ii. 618.

Impetuoso per gli avversi ardori
Che fier la salva senz' alcun rattento
Gli rami schianta i abatte, et porta i fiori,
Dinanzi polveroso và superbo,
Et fa fuggir le fiere et glipastori.[d]

Dante and his mystagogue meet the monster Geryon. He has the face of a man with a mild and benign aspect, but his human form ends in a serpent with a voluminous tail of immense length, terminated by a sting, which he brandishes like a scorpion. His hands are rough with bristles and scales. His breast, back, and sides have all the rich colours displayed in the textures of Tartary and Turkey, or in the labours of Arachne. To speak in Spenser's language, he is

——— a dragon, horrible and bright[e].

No monster of romance is more savage or superb.

Lo dosso, e'l petto, ad amenduo le coste,
Dipinte avea di nodi, e di rotelle,
Con più color sommesse e soppraposte
Non fur ma' in drappo Tartari ne Turchi,
Ne fur tar tale per Aragne imposte.[f]

The conformation of this heterogeneous beast, as a fabulous hell is the subject, perhaps immediately gave rise to one of the *formidable shapes* which sate on either side of the gates of hell in Milton. Although the fiction is founded in the classics.

The one seem'd woman to the waste, and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fold
Voluminous and vast, a serpent arm'd
With mortal sting[g].——

Virgil, seeming to acknowledge him as an old acquaintance, mounts the back of Geryon. At the same time Dante mounts, whom Virgil places before, "that you may not," says he, "be exposed to the monster's venomous sting." Virgil then commands Geryon not to move too rapidly, "for, consider, what a new burthen you carry!"

—— "Gerion muoviti omai,
Le ruote large, e lo scender sia poco:
Pensa la nuova soma che tu hai.[h]"

In this manner they travel in the air through Tartarus; and from the back of the monster Geryon, Dante looks down on the burning lake of Phlegethon. This imagery is at once great and ridiculous. But much

[d] Cant. ix.
[e] Fair. Qu. i. ix. 52.
[f] Cant. xvii. Dante says, that he lay on the banks of a river like a Beaver, the Castor. But this foolish comparison is affectedly introduced by our author for a display of his natural knowledge from Pliny, or rather from the Tesoro of his master Brunetto.
[g] Par. L. ii. 649.
[h] Cant. xvii.

later Italian poets have fallen into the same strange mixture. In this horrid situation, says Dante,

I sentia già dalla man destra il gorgo
Far sotto noi un orribile stroscio:
Perche con gli occhi in giù la testa sporsi
Allor fu io più timido allo scoscio
Perioch i vidi fuochi, e sente pianti,
Oud' io tremando tutto mi rancosco.[i]

This airy journey is copied from the flight of Icarus and Phaeton, and at length produced the Ippogrifo of Ariosto. Nor is it quite improbable, that Milton, although he has greatly improved and dignified the idea, might have caught from hence his fiction of Satan soaring over the infernal abyss. At length Geryon, having circuited the air like a falcon towering without prey, deposits his burthen and vanishes[k].

While they are wandering along the banks of Phlegethon, as the twilight of evening approaches, Dante suddenly hears the sound of a horn more loud than thunder, or the horn of Orlando[l].

Ma io senti sonare alto corno:——
Non sono si terribilimente Orlando.[m]

Dante descries through the gloom, what he thinks to be many high and vast towers, *molte alti torri.* These are the giants who warred against heaven, standing in a row, half concealed within and half extant without an immense abyss or pit.

Gli orribili giganti, cui minaccia
Giove del cielo ancora quando tuona.[n]

But Virgil informs Dante that he is deceived by appearances, and that these are not towers but the giants.

Sappi, che non son torri ma giganti
E son nel pezzo intorno della ripa
D'all umbilico in guiso, tutti quanti.[o]

One of them cries out to Dante with horrible voice. Another, Ephialtes, is clothed in iron and bound with huge chains. Dante wishes to see Briareus: he is answered, that he lies in an interior

[i] Cant. xvii.

[k] In the thirty-fourth Canto, Dante and Virgil return to light on the back of Lucifer, who (like Milton's Satan, ii. 927.) is described as having wings like sails,

Vele di mar non vid' io mai est celi.

And again,

—— Quando l' ale furo aperte assai.

This Canto begins with a Latin line,

Vexilla regis prodeunt inferni.

[l] Or Roland, the subject of archbishop Turpin's romance. See supr. vol i. p. 135.

[m] Cant. xxxi.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Ibid.

cavern biting his chain. Immediately Ephialtes arose from another cavern, and shook himself like an earthquake.

Non fu tremuoto già tanto rubesto,
Che schotesse una torri così forte,
Come Fialte a scuotersi fu presto.[p]

Dante views the horn which had sounded so vehemently hanging by a leathern thong from the neck of one of the giants. Antæus, whose body stands ten ells high from the pit, is commanded by Virgil to advance. They both mount on his shoulders, and are thus carried about Cocytus. The giant, says the poet, moved off with us like the mast of a ship[q]. One cannot help observing, what has been indeed already hinted, how judiciously Milton, in a similar argument, has retained the just beauties, and avoided the childish or ludicrous excesses of these bold inventions. At the same time we may remark, how Dante has sometimes heightened, and sometimes diminished by improper additions or misrepresentations, the legitimate descriptions of Virgil.

One of the torments of the Damned in Dante's INFERNO, is the punishment of being eternally confined in lakes of ice.

Eran l'ombre dolenti nell ghiaccia
Mettendo i denti in nota di cicogna[r].

The ice is described to be like that of the Danube or Tanais. This species of infernal torment, which is neither directly warranted by scripture, nor suggested in the systems of the Platonic fabulists, and which has been adopted both by Shakspeare and Milton, has its origin in the legendary hell of the monks. The hint seems to have been taken from an obscure text in the Book of JOB, dilated by Saint Jerom and the early commentators[s]. The torments of hell, in which the punishment by cold is painted at large, had formed a visionary romance, under the name of Saint Patrick's Purgatory or Cave, long before Dante wrote[t]. The venerable Bede, who lived in the seventh century, has framed a future mansion of existence for departed souls with this mode of torture. In the hands of Dante it has assumed many fantastic and grotesque circumstances, which make us laugh and shudder at the same time.

In another department, Dante represents some of his criminals rolling themselves in human ordure. If his subject led him to such a description, he might at least have used decent expressions; but his diction is not here less sordid than his imagery. I am almost afraid to transcribe this gross passage, even in the disguise of the old Tuscan phraseology.

[p] Cant. xxxi.

[q] Dante says, if I understand the passage right, that the face of one of the giants resembled the cupola, shaped like a pine-apple, of saint Peter's church at Rome. Ibid. Cant. xxxi.

Come la pina di san Pietro a Roma.

[r] Cant. xxxii.

[s] Job, xxiv. 19.

[t] See supr. vol. ii. p. 388, note [g].

..... Quindi giù nel fosso
Vidi gente attuffata in uno sterco,
Che dagli uman privati para mosso;
Et mentre che laggiu con l'occhio cerco:
Vidi un, co'l capo si da merda lordo,
Che non *parea s'era laico, o cherco*[v].

The humour of the last line does not make amends for the nastiness of the image.

It is not to be supposed, that a man of strong sense and genius, whose understanding had been cultivated by a most exact education, and who had passed his life in the courts of sovereign princes, would have indulged himself in these disgusting fooleries, had he been at all apprehensive that his readers would have been disgusted. But rude and early poets describe every thing. They follow the public manners: and if they are either obscene or indelicate, it should be remembered that they wrote before obscenity or indelicacy became offensive.

Some of the Guilty are made objects of contempt by a transformation into beastly or ridiculous shapes. This was from the fable of Circe. In others, the human figure is rendered ridiculous by distortion. There is one set of criminals whose faces are turned round towards their backs.

..... E'l piante de gli occhi
Le natiche bagnava per lo fesso[u].

But Dante has displayed more true poetry in describing a real event than in the best of his fictions. This is in the story of Ugolino count of Pisa, the subject of a very capital picture by Reynolds. The poet, wandering through the depths of hell, sees two of the Damned gnawing the sculls of each other, which was their daily food. He inquires the meaning of this dreadful repast.

La bocca sollevò dal fiero pasto
Quel peccator, forbendola a capelli
Del capo ch'egli havea di retro guasto[w].

Ugolino, quitting his companion's half-devoured scull, begins his tale to this effect:—"We are Ugolin count of Pisa, and archbishop Ruggieri. Trusting in the perfidious counsels of Ruggieri, I was brought to a miserable death. I was committed with four of my children to the dungeon of hunger. The time came when we expected food to be brought; instead of which, I heard the gates of the horrible tower more closely barred. I looked at my children, and could not speak.

[v] Cant. xviii. [u] Cant. xx. [w] Cant. xxxiii. They are both in the lake of ice.

..... L'hora s'appressava
Che'l cibo ne soleva essere adotto;
E per suo sogno ciascun dubitava:
Ed io senti chiavar l'uscio di sotto
A l'ORRIBILE TORRE, ond'io guardai
Nel viso à miei figliuoli, senza far metta.

I could not complain. I was petrified. My children cried: and my little Anselm, *Anselmuccio mio*, said, *Father, you look on us; what is the matter?*

..... Tu guardi si, padre, che hai?

I could neither weep, nor answer, all that day and the following night. When the scanty rays of the sun began to glimmer through the dolorous prison,

Com'un poco di raggio si fù messo
Nel doloroso carcere, ...

and I could again see those four countenances on which my own image was stamped, I gnawed both my hands for grief. My children supposing I did this through a desire to eat, lifting themselves suddenly up, exclaimed, *O father, our grief would be less, if you would eat us!*

Ambo le mani per dolor mi morsi:
E quei pensado ch'io'l fessi per voglia
Di manicar, di subito levorsi
Et disser, *Padre, assai ci fia men doglia*
Se tu mangi di noi!

I restrained myself that I might not make them more miserable. We were all silent, that day and the following. Ah! cruel earth, why didst thou not swallow us up at once?

Quel di, et l'altro, stemmo tutta muti.
Ahi! dura terra, perche non l'apristi?

The fourth day being come, Gaddo falling all along at my feet, cried out, *My father, why do not you help me?* and died. The other three expired, one after the other, between the fifth and sixth days, famished as you see me now. And I being seized with blindness began to crawl over them, *sovra ciascuno*, on hands and feet; and for three days after they were dead, continued calling them by their names. At length, famine finished my torments." Having said this, the poet adds, "with distorted eyes he again fixed his teeth on the mangled scull"[x]. It is not improbable, that the shades of unfortunate men, who, described under peculiar situations and with their proper attributes, are introduced relating at large their histories in hell to Dante, might have given the hint to Boccace's book DE CASIBUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRIUM, On the Mis-

[x] Cant. xxiii. See supr. vol. ii. p. 166, note [o]. And Essay on Pope, p. 254.

fortunes of Illustrious Personages, the original model of the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES.

Dante's PURGATORY is not on the whole less fantastic than his HELL. As his Hell was a vast perpendicular cavity in the earth, he supposes Purgatory to be a cylindric mass elevated to a prodigious height. At intervals are recesses projecting from the outside of the cylinder. In these recesses, some higher and some lower, the wicked expiate their crimes, according to the proportion of their guilt. From one department they pass to another by steps of stone exceedingly steep. On the top of the whole, or the summit of Purgatory, is a platform adorned with trees and vegetables of every kind. This is the Terrestrial Paradise, which has been transported hither, we know not how, and which forms an avenue to the Paradise Celestial. It is extraordinary that some of the Gothic painters should not have given us this subject.

Dante describes not disagreeably the first region which he traverses on leaving hell[y]. The heavens are tinged with sapphire, and the star of love, or the sun, makes all the orient laugh. He sees a venerable sage approach. This is Cato of Utica, who, astonished to see a living man in the mansion of ghosts, questions Dante and Virgil about the business which brought them hither. Virgil answers; and Cato advises Virgil to wash Dante's face, which was soiled with the smoke of hell, and to cover his head with one of the reeds which grew on the borders of the neighbouring river. Virgil takes his advice; and having gathered one reed, sees another spring up in its place. This is the golden bough of the Eneid, *uno avulso non deficit alter*. The shades also, as in Virgil, crowd to be ferried over Styx; but an angel performs the office of Charon, admitting some into the boat, and rejecting others. This confusion of fable and religion destroys the graces of the one and the majesty of the other.

Through adventures and scenes more strange and wild than any in the Pilgrim's Progress, we at length arrive at the twenty-first Canto. A concussion of the earth announces the deliverance of a soul from Purgatory. This is the soul of Statius, the favourite poet of the dark ages. Although a very improper companion for Virgil, he immediately joins our adventurers, and accompanies them in their progress. It is difficult to discover what pagan or christian idea regulates Dante's dispensation of rewards and punishments. Statius passes from Purgatory to Paradise, Cato remains in the place of expiation, and Virgil is condemned to eternal torments.

Dante meets his old acquaintance Forese, a debauchee of Florence. On finishing the conversation, Forese asks Dante when he shall have the pleasure of seeing him again. This question in Purgatory is diverting enough. Dante answers with much serious gravity, "I know not the time of death; but it cannot be too near. Look back on the troubles

[y] Purgat. Cant. i.

in which my country is involved[z]!" The dispute between the pontificate and the empire appears to have been the predominant topic of Dante's mind. This circumstance has filled Dante's poem with strokes of satire. Every reader of Voltaire must remember that lively writer's paraphrase from the INFERNO, of the story of count Guido, in which are these inimitable lines. A Franciscan friar abandoned to Beelzebub thus exclaims:—

"Monsieur de Lucifer!
Je suis un Saint; voyes ma robe grise:
Je fus absous par le Chef de l'Eglise.
J'aurai, toujours, répondit le Démon,
Un grand respect pour l'Absolution;
On est lavé de ses vielles sotises,
Pourvu qu'après autres ne soient commises.
J'ai fait souvent cette distinction
A tes pareils: et, grâce à l'Italie,
Le Diable sait la Théologie.
Il dit et rit. Je ne repliquai rien
A Belzebut, il raisonnoit trop bien.
Lors il m'empoigne, et d'un bras roide et ferme
Il appliqua sur ma triste épiderme
Vingt coups de fouet, dont bien fort il me cuit:
Que Dieu le rend à Boniface huit."

Dante thus translated would have had many more readers than at present. I take this opportunity of remarking, that our author's perpetual reference to recent facts and characters is in imitation of Virgil, yet with this very material difference: the persons recognised in Virgil's sixth book, for instance the chiefs of the Trojan war, are the contemporaries of the hero, not of the poet. The truth is, Dante's poem is a satirical history of his own times.

Dante sees some of the ghosts of Purgatory advancing forward, more meagre and emaciated than the rest. He asks how this could happen in a place where all live alike without nourishment. Virgil quotes the example of Meleager, who wasted with a firebrand, on the gradual extinction of which his life depended. He also produces the comparison of a mirror reflecting a figure. These obscure explications do not satisfy the doubts of Dante. Statius, for his better instruction, explains how a child grows in the womb of the mother, how it is enlarged, and by degrees receives life and intellect. The drift of our author is apparent in these profound illustrations. He means to show his skill in a sort of metaphysical anatomy. We see something of this in the TESORETTO of Brunetto. Unintelligible solutions of a similar sort, drawn from a frivolous and mysterious philosophy, mark the writers of Dante's age.

The PARADISE of Dante, the third part of this poem, resembles his PURGATORY. Its fictions, and its allegories, which suffer by being ex-

[z] Cant. xxiv.

plained, are all conceived in the same chimerical spirit. The poet successively views the glory of the saints, of angels, of the holy Virgin, and at last of God himself.

Heaven as well as hell, among the monks, had its legendary description, which it was heresy to disbelieve, and which was formed on perversions or misinterpretations of scripture. Our author's vision ends with the Deity, and we know not by what miraculous assistance he returns to earth.

It must be allowed, that the scenes of Virgil's sixth book have many fine strokes of the terrible; but Dante's colouring is of a more gloomy temperature. There is a sombrous cast in his imagination; and he has given new shades of horror to the classical hell. We may say of Dante, that

. . . . . Hell
Grows DARKER at his FROWN[a].

The sensations of fear impressed by the Roman poet are less harassing to the repose of the mind: they have a more equable and placid effect. The terror of Virgil's tremendous objects is diminished by correctness of composition and elegance of style. We are reconciled to his Gorgons and Hydras, by the grace of expression, and the charms of versification.

In the mean time, it may seem a matter of surprise, that the Italian poets of the thirteenth century, who restored, admired, and studied the classics, did not imitate their beauties. But while they possessed the genuine models of antiquity, their unnatural and eccentric habits of mind and manners, their attachments to system, their scholastic theology, superstition, ideal love, and above all their chivalry, had corrupted every true principle of life and literature, and consequently prevented the progress of taste and propriety. They could not conform to the practices and notions of their own age, and to the ideas of the ancients, at the same time. They were dazzled with the imageries of Virgil and Homer, which they could not always understand or apply, or which they saw through the mist of prejudice and misconception. Their genius having once taken a false direction, when recalled to copy a just pattern, produced only constraint and affectation, a distorted and unpleasing resemblance. The early Italian poets disfigured, instead of adorning their works, by attempting to imitate the classics. The charms which we so much admire in Dante, do not belong to the Greeks and Romans. They are derived from another origin, and must be traced back to a different stock. Nor is it at the same time less surprising, that the later Italian poets, in more enlightened times, should have paid so respectful a compliment to Dante as to acknowledge no other model, and with his excellencies, to transcribe and perpetuate all his extravagancies.

[a] Par. L. ii. 720.

SECTION L.

Sackville's Legend of Buckingham in the Mirrour for Magistrates. Additions by Higgins. Account of him. View of the early editions of this Collection. Specimen of Higgins's Legend of Cordelia, which is copied by Spenser.

I NOW return to the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES, and to Sackville's Legend of Buckingham, which follows his INDUCTION.

The Complaynt of HENRYE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, is written with a force and even elegance of expression, a copiousness of phraseology, and an exactness of versification, not to be found in any other parts of the collection. On the whole, it may be thought tedious and languid. But that objection unavoidably results from the general plan of these pieces. It is impossible that soliloquies of such prolixity, and designed to include much historical and even biographical matter, should every where sustain a proper degree of spirit, pathos, and interest. In the exordium are these nervous and correct couplets.

Whom flattering Fortune falsely so beguilde,
That loe, she slew, where earst ful smooth she smilde.

Again,

And paynt it forth, that all estates maye knowe:
Have they the warning, and be mine the woe.

Buckingham is made to enter thus rapidly, yet with much address, into his fatal share of the civil broils between York and Lancaster.

But what may boot to stay the Sisters three,
When Atropos perforce will cut the thred?
The dolefull day was come*, when you might see
Northampton field with armed men orespred.

In these lines there is great energy.

O would to God the cruell dismall day
That gave me light fyrst to behold thy face,
With foule eclipse had reft my sight away,
The unhappie hower, the time, and eke the day, &c.

And the following are an example of the simple and sublime united.

And thou, Alecto, feede me with thy foode!
Let fall thy serpents from thy snaky heare!
For such reliefe well fits me in my moode,

* [Shakspeare seems to have burlesqued these lines in one of Pistol's rants.

.... Abridge my *doleful days!*
Let grisly, gaping, ghastly wounds, unbind the *sisters three,*
Come, *Atropos,* I say.—PARK.]

To feed my plaint with horroure and with feare!
With rage afresh thy venom'd worme areare.

Many comparisons are introduced by the distressed speaker. But it is common for the best poets to forget that they are describing what is only related or spoken. The captive Proteus has his simile of the nightingale; and Eneas decorates his narrative of the disastrous conflagration of Troy with a variety of the most laboured comparisons.

Buckingham in his reproaches against the traitorous behaviour of his ancient friend Banastre, utters this forcible exclamation, which breathes the genuine spirit of revenge, and is unloaded with poetical superfluities.

Hated be thou, disdainde of everie wight,
And pointed at whereever thou shalt goe:
A traiterous wretch, unworthy of the light
Be thou esteemde: and, to increase thy woe,
The sound be hatefull of thy name alsoe.
And in this sort, with shame and sharpe reproch,
Leade thou thy life, till greater grief approch.

The ingenious writers of these times are perpetually deserting propriety for the sake of learned allusions. Buckingham exhorts the peers and princes to remember the fate of some of the most renowned heroes of antiquity, whose lives and misfortunes he relates at large, and often in the most glowing colours of poetry. Alexander's murther of Clitus is thus described in stanzas, pronounced by the poet and not by Buckingham.

And deeply grave within your stonie harts
The dreerie dole, that mightie Macedo
With teares unfolded, wrapt in deadlie smarts,
When he the death of Clitus sorrowed so,
Whom erst he murdred with the deadlie blow;
Raught in his rage upon his friend so deare,
For which, behold loe how his panges appeare!

The launced speare he writhes out of the wound,
From which the purple blood spins in his face:
His heinous guilt when he returned found,
He throwes himself uppon the corps, alas!
And in his armes how oft doth he imbrace
His murdred friend! And kissing him in vaine,
Forth flowe the floudes of salt repentant raine.

His friendes amazde at such a murther done,
In fearfull flockes begin to shrinke away;
And he thereat, with heapes of grief fordone,
Hateth himselfe, wishing his latter day.....

He calls for death, and loathing longer life,
Bent to his bane refuseth kindlie foode,
And plungde in depth of death and dolours strife
Had queld[a] himselfe, had not his friendes withstoode.
Loe he that thus has shed the guiltlesse bloode,
Though he were king and keper over all,
Yet chose he death, to guerdon death withall.

This prince, whose peere was never under sunne,
Whose glistening fame the earth did overglide,
Which with his power the worlde welnigh had wonne,
His bloudy handes himselfe could not abide,
But folly bent with famine to have dide;
The worthie prince deemed in his regard
That death for death could be but just reward.

Our MIRROUR, having had three new editions in 1563[b], 1571, and 1574[c], was reprinted in quarto in the year 1587[d], with the addition of many new lives, under the conduct of John Higgins.

Higgins lived at Winsham in Somersetshire[e]. He was educated at Oxford, was a clergyman, and engaged in the instruction of youth. As a preceptor of boys, on the plan of a former collection by Nicholas Udal, a celebrated master of Eton school, he compiled the FLOSCULI OF TERENCE, a manual famous in its time, and applauded in a Latin epigram by the elegant Latin encomiast Thomas Newton of Cheshire[f]. In the pedagogic character he also published "HOLCOT'S DICTIONARIE, newlie corrected, amended, set in order, and enlarged, with many names of men, townes, beastes, fowles, etc. By which you may finde

[a] killed: manqueller is murderer.

[b] This edition, printed by Thomas Marshale, has 160 leaves, with a table of contents at the end.

[c] This edition, printed also for T. Marshe, is improperly enough entitled "The Last Parte of the Mirrour for Magistrates," &c. But it contains all that is in the foregoing editions, and ends with Jane Shore, or Shore's Wife. It has 163 leaves. In the title page the work is said to be "Newly corrected and amended." They are all in quarto, and in black letter. [The propriety of this title is now substantiated, by the discovery of an edition of Higgins's work, unknown to Warton. It was printed by Marsh in 1574, and entitled "The First Parte of the Mirrour for Magistrates," &c. This will explain the language of Higgins quoted in the ensuing note.—PRICE.]

[d] But in the Preface Higgins says he began to prepare it twelve years before. In imitation of the title, a story-book was published called The Mirrour of Mirth, by R. D. 1583. bl. lett. 4to. Also The Mirrour of the Mathematikes, A Mirrour of Monsters, &c. [The *Mirror* of Mutabilitie, or principall part of the Mirror for Magistrates by Ant. Munday, was printed in 1579; and a *Mirror* of Magnanimitie, by Crompton, appeared in 1599.

Ritson added the following throng of kindred titles:

The Mirroure of Golde, printed by Pinson and by W. de Worde, 1522.
A Myroure or Glasse for all spiritual Ministers, &c. 1551.
The Myrror of the Latin Tonge, &c. 1567.
The Theatre, or Mirror of the World, 1569.
The Mirrour of Madnes, &c. 1576.
The Mirrour of Mans Miseries, 1584.
The Mirror of Martyrs, &c. 1601.
The Myrror of Pollice, &c. Herb. p. 96. PARK.]

[e] Dedication, ut infr.

[f] *In* TERRENTII FLOSCULOS *N. Udalli et J. Higgini opera decerptos.* Encom. fol. 128. It was also prefixed to the book, with others.

the Latine or Frenche of anie Englishe worde you will. By John Higgins, late student in Oxeforde[g]." In an engraved title-page are a few English verses. It is in folio, and printed for Thomas Marshe at London, 1572. The dedication to sir George Peckham, knight, is written by Higgins, and is a good specimen of his classical accomplishments. He calls Peckham his principal friend, and the most eminent patron of letters. A recommendatory copy of verses by Churchyard the poet is prefixed, with four Latin epigrams by others. Another of his works in the same profession is the NOMENCLATOR of Adrian Junius, translated into English, in conjunction with Abraham Flemming, and printed at London, for Newberie and Durham, in 1585[h]. It is dedicated in Latin to his most bountiful patron Doctor Valentine, master of Requests, and dean of Wells, from Winsham[i], 1584. From this dedication, Higgins seems to have been connected with the school of Ilminster, a neighbouring town in Somersetshire[k]. He appears to have been living so late as the year 1602; for in that year he published an Answer to William Perkins, a forgotten controversialist, concerning Christ's descent into hell, dedicated from Winsham.

To the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES Higgins wrote a new INDUCTION in the octave stanza; and without assistance of friends, began a new series from Albanact the youngest son of Brutus, and the first king of Albanie or Scotland, continued to the emperor Caracalla[l]. In this edition by Higgins, among the pieces after the Conquest, first appeared the Life of CARDINAL WOLSEY, by Churchyard[m]; of SIR NICHOLAS BURDET, by Baldwine [Higgins][n]; and of ELEANOR COBHAM[o], and of HUMFREY DUKE OF GLOUCESTER[p], by Ferrers. Also the Legend of KING JAMES THE FOURTH OF SCOTLAND[q], said to have been penned

[g] Perhaps at Trinity college, where one of both his names occurs in 1566.

[h] Octavo.

[i] The Dedication of his Mirrour for Magistrates is from the same place.

[k] He says, that he translated it in London. "Quo facto, novus interpres Waldenus, Ilmestriæ gymnasiarcha, moriens, priusquam manum operi summam admovisset, me amicum veterem suum omnibus libris suis et hoc imprimis Nomenclatore [his translation] donavit." But Higgins found his own version better, which he therefore published, yet with a part of his friend's.

[l] At fol. 108. a. The two last lives in the latter, or what may be called Baldwin's part of this edition, are Jane Shore and Cardinal Wolsey by Churchyard. Colophon, "Imprinted at London by Henry Marshe, being the assigne of Thomas Marshe neare to saint Dunstanes churche in Fleetestreete, 1587." It has 272 leaves. The last signature is M m 4. [This, it seems, had been fraudulently claimed by some other writer, since Churchyard complains of being "denied the fathering of a work that had won so much credit." He at the same time protests before God and the world, that Shore's wife was *his* penning, and he would be glad to vindicate his open wrong with the best blood in his body, did not his old years utterly forbid such combat.—This anecdote occurs before a reprint of Shore's Wife, augmented by 21 stanzas, in Churchyard's Challenge, 1593. Nash, probably in reference to the above, thus complimented the old court-poet in the same year:—"Shore's Wife is young, though you be stept in years; in her shall you live, when you are dead." Foure Letters Confuted, &c. Antony Chute published, in 1593, "Beautie Dishonoured, written under the title of Shore's Wife," in six-line stanzas. Vid. infra, p. 233, note].—PARK.]

[m] Fol. 265 b.

[n] Fol. 244 a.

[o] Fol. 140 b.

[p] Fol. 146 a.

[q] Fol. 253 b.

fiftie yeares ago[r], and of FLODDEN FIELD, said to be of equal antiquity, and subscribed FRANCIS DINGLEY[s], the name of a poet who has not otherwise occurred. Prefixed is a recommendatory poem in stanzas by the above-mentioned Thomas Newton of Cheshire[t], who understood much more of Latin than of English poetry*.

The most poetical passage of Higgins's performance in this collection is in his Legend of QUEENE CORDILA, or Cordelia, king Lear's youngest daughter[u]. Being imprisoned in a dungeon, and *coucht on strawe*, she sees amid the darkness of the night a *griesly ghost* approach,

> Eke nearer still with stealing steps shee drewe:
> Shee was of colour pale and deadly hewe.

Her garment was figured with various sorts of imprisonment, and pictures of violent and premature death.

> Her clothes resembled thousand kindes of thrall,
> And pictures plaine of *hastened deathes* withall.

Cordelia, in extreme terror, asks,

> ..... What wight art thou, a foe or *fawning* frend?
> If Death thou art, I pray thee make an end———
> But th' art not Death!—Art thou some Fury sent
> My woefull corps with paynes more to torment?

With that she spake, "I am thy frend DESPAYRE.—

> * * * * * * * * * * *
> Now if thou art to dye no whit afrayde
> Here shalt thou choose of instruments, beholde,
> Shall rid thy restlesse life."

DESPAIR then, throwing her robe aside, shows Cordelia a thousand instruments of death, knives, sharp swordes, and ponyards, *all bedyde with bloode and poysons*. She presents the sword with which queen Dido slew herself.

> "Lo! here the blade that Dido of Carthage hight," &c.

Cordelia takes this sword, *but doubtfull yet to dye*. DESPAIR then represents to her the state and power which she enjoyed in France, her troops of attendants, and the pleasures of the court she had left. She then points out her present melancholy condition and dreary situation.

> She shewde me all the dongeon where I sate,
> The dankish walles, the darkes, and bade me smell
> And byde the savour if I like it well.

[r] Fol. 255 b. [s] Fol. 258 b.

[t] Subscribed THOMAS NEWTONUS, *Ceystreshyrius*, 1587.

* [This appears from his tribute to Heywood the epigrammatist, cited at p. 94 of this volume. He has a copy of Latin verses prefixed to R. Rabbard's translation of Ripley's Compound of Alchymy, 1591.—PARK.]

[u] Fol. 36 b.

Cordelia gropes for the sword, or *fatall knife*, in the dark, which DESPAIR places in her hand.

> DESPAYRE to ayde my senceless limmes was glad,
> And gave the blade: to end my woes she bad.

At length, Cordelia's sight fails her so that she can see only DESPAIR, who exhorts her to strike.

> And by her elbowe DEATH for me did watch.

DESPAIR at last gives the blow. The temptation of the Redcrosse knight by DESPAIR in Spenser's FAERIE QUEENE, seems to have been copied, yet with high improvements, from this scene. These stanzas of Spenser bear a strong resemblance to what I have cited from CORDELIA'S Legend.

> Then gan the villaine[w] him to oueraw,
> And brought unto him swords, ropes, poysons, fire,
> And all that might him to perdition draw;
> And bade him chuse what death he would desire:
> For death was due to him that had prouokt God's ire.
>
> But when as none of them he sawe him take,
> He to him raught a dagger sharpe and keene,
> And gaue it him in hand: his hand did quake
> And tremble like a leafe of aspin greene,
> And troubled bloud through his pale face was seene
> To come and goe, with tydinges from the hart,
> As it a running messenger had beene.
> At last, resolv'd to worke his finall smart
> He lifted up his hand that backe againe did start.[x]

The three first books of the FAERIE QUEENE were published in 1590; Higgins's Legend of Cordelia in 1587 [1574].

At length the whole was digested anew with additions, in 1610, by Richard Niccols, an ingenious poet, of whom more will be said hereafter, under the following title: "A MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES[y], *being a true Chronicle-history of the vntimely falles of svch vnfortvnate princes and men of note as haue happened since the first entrance of Brute into this Iland vntill this our age.* NEWLY ENLARGED with a *last part* called a WINTER NIGHT'S VISION being *an addition of such Tragedies especially famous as are exempted in the former Historie, with a poem annexed called* ENGLANDS ELIZA. At London, imprinted by Felix Kyngston, 1610[z]." Niccols arranged his edition thus.

[w] That is, Despair.

[x] Faer. Qu. i. x. 50.

[y] Of the early use in the middle ages of the word Speculum, as the title of a book, see Joh. Finnaeus's *Dissertatio-historica-Litteraria*, prefixed to the KONGS-SKUGG-SIO, or Royal Mirrour, an ancient prose work in Norwegian, written about 1170, printed in 1768, 4to. fol. xviii.

[z] A thick quarto.

Higgins's INDUCTION is at the head of the Lives from Brutus to the Conquest. Those from the Conquest to LORD CROMWELL'S legend written by Drayton and now first added[a], are introduced by Sackville's INDUCTION. After this are placed such lives as had been before omitted, ten in number, written by Niccols himself, with an INDUCTION[b]. As it illustrates the history of this work, especially of Sackville's share in it, I will here insert a part of Niccols's preface prefixed to those TRAGEDIES which happened after the Conquest, beginning with that of Robert Tresilian. "Hauing hitherto continued the storie from the first entrance of BRVTE into this iland, with the FALLES of svch PRINCES as were neuer before this time in one volume comprised, I now proceed with the rest, which take their beginning from the Conquest: whose penmen being many and diuerse, all diuerslie affected in the method of this their MIRROUR, I purpose onlie to follow the intended scope of that most honorable personage, who by how mvch he did surpasse the rest in the eminence of his noble condition, by so mvch he hath exceeded them all in the excellencie of his heroicall stile, which with golden pen he hath limned out to posteritie in that worthie object of his minde the TRAGEDIE OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, and in his Preface then intituled MASTER SACKVILS INDUCTION. This worthy president of learning intended to perfect all this storie of himselfe from the Conquest. Being called to a more serious expence of his time in the great state affaires of his most royall ladie and soueraigne, he left the dispose thereof to M. Baldwine, M. Ferrers, and others, the composers of these Tragedies: who continuing their methode, which was by way of dialogue or interlocvtion betwixt euerie Tragedie, gaue it onlie place before the dvke of Bvckingham's COMPLAINT. Which order I since hauing altered, haue placed the INDUCTION in the beginninge, with euerie Tragedie following according to svccession and ivst compvtation of time, which before was not obserued[c]."

In the Legend of King Richard the Third, Niccols appears to have copied some passages from Shakspeare's tragedy on that history. In the opening of the play Richard says,

> Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths,
> Our bruised arms hung up for monuments;
> Our stern alarums changed to merry meetings;
> Our dreadfull marches to delightfull measures*.
> Grim-visaged War hath smoothed his wrinkled front;
> And now, instead of mounting barbed steeds,

[a] Drayton wrote three other legends on this plan, Robert duke of Normandy, Matilda, and Pierce Gaveston, of which I shall speak more particularly under that writer.

[b] Fol. 555.

[c] Fol. 253. Compare Baldwyne's Prologue at fol. cxiv. b. edit. 1559. ut supr.

* [A *measure* was, strictly speaking, a court-dance of a stately turn; but the word was also employed to express dances in general. Steevens apud Shakspeare.—PARK.]

To fright the souls of fearfull adversaries,
He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.[c]

These lines evidently gave rise to part of Richard's soliloquy in Niccols's Legend.

..... The battels fought in field before
Were turn'd to meetings of sweet amitie:
The war-god's thundring cannons dreadfull rore,
And rattling drum-sounds warlike harmonie,
To sweet-tun'd noise of pleasing minstralsie.

God Mars laid by his Launce and tooke his Lute,
And turn'd his rugged frownes to smiling lookes;
In stead of crimson fields, warres fatall fruit,
He bathed his limbes in Cypre's warbling brookes,
And set his thoughts upon her wanton lookes.[d]

Part of the tent-scene in Shakspeare is also imitated by Niccols. Richard, starting from his horrid dream, says,

Methought the souls of all that I had murder'd
Came to my tent; and every one did threat
Tomorrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.[e]

So Niccols,

I thought that all those murthered ghosts, whom I
By death had sent to their vntimely graue,
With balefull noise about my tent did crie,
And of the heauens with sad complaint did craue,
That they on guiltie wretch might vengeance haue:
To whom I thought the iudge of heauen gaue eare,
And 'gainst me gaue a iudgement full of feare[f].

But some of the stanzas immediately following, which are formed on Shakspeare's ideas, yet with some original imagination, will give the reader the most favourable idea of Niccols as a contributor to this work.

For loe, eftsoones, a thousand hellish hags,
Leauing th' abode of their infernall cell,
Seasing on me, my hatefull body drags

[c] Act i. sc. 1. [d] Pag. 753.
[e] Act v. sc. ult. Drayton has also described these visionary terrors of Richard. Polyolb. S. xxii.

When to the guilty king, the black fore-running night,
Appear the dreadful ghosts of Henry and his Son,
Of his owne brother George, and his two nephewes, done
Most cruelly to death, and of his Wife, and friend
Lord Hastinges, with pale hands prepared as they would rend
Him peacemeal: at which oft he roareth in his sleep.

The Polyolbion was published in 1612. fol.

[f] Pag. 764.

From forth my bed into a place like hell,
Where fiends did naught but bellow, howle and yell,
Who in sterne strife stood 'gainst each other bent,
Who should my hatefull bodie most torment.

Tormented in such trance long did I lie,
Till extreme feare did rouze me where I lay,
And caus'd me from my naked bed to flie:
Alone within my tente I durst not stay,
This dreadfull dreame my soule did so affray:
When wakt I was from sleepe, I for a space
Thought I had beene in some infernall place.

About mine eares a buzzing feare still flew,
My fainting knees languish for want of might;
Vpon my bodie stands an icie dew;
My heart is dead within, and with affright
The haire vpon my head doth stand vpright:
Each limbe abovt me quaking, doth resemble
A riuers rush, that with the wind doth tremble.

Thus with my guiltie soules sad torture torne
The darke nights dismall houres I past away:
But at cockes crowe, the message of the morne,
My feare I did conceale, &c.[g]

If internal evidence was not a proof, we are sure from other evidences that Shakspeare's tragedy preceded Niccols's legend. The tragedy was written about 1597. Niccols, at eighteen years of age, was admitted into Magdalene college in Oxford, in the year 1602[h]. It is easy to point out other marks of imitation. Shakspeare has taken nothing from Seagars's Richard the Third, printed in Baldwine's collection, or first edition, in the year 1559. Shakspeare, however, probably catched the idea of the royal shades, in the same scene of the tragedy before us, appearing in succession and speaking to Richard and Richmond, from the general plan of the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES: more especially, as many of Shakspeare's ghosts there introduced, for instance, King Henry the Sixth, Clarence, Rivers, Hastings, and Buckingham, are the personages of five of the legends belonging to this poem.

[g] Pag. 764.

[h] Registr. Univ. Oxon. He retired to Magdalene Hall, where he was graduated in Arts, 1606. Ibid.

SECTION LI.

View of Niccols's edition of the Mirrour for Magistrates. High estimation of this Collection. Historical Plays, whence.

By way of recapitulating what has been said, and in order to give a connected and uniform view of the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES in its most complete and extended state, its original contents and additions, I will here detail the subjects of this poem as they stand in this last or Niccols's edition of 1610, with reference to two preceding editions, and some other incidental particularities.

Niccols's edition (after the Epistle Dedicatorie prefixed to Higgins's edition of 1587, an Advertisement to the Reader by Niccols, a Table of Contents, and Thomas Newton's recommendatory verses above-mentioned,) begins with an Induction called the AUTHOR'S INDUCTION, written by Higgins*, and properly belonging to his edition. Then follow these Lives.

Albanact youngest son of Brutus[a]. Humber king of the Huns. King Locrine eldest son of Brutus. Queen Elstride concubine of Locrine. Sabrina daughter of Locrine. King Madan. King Malin. King Mempric. King Bladud. Queen Cordelia. Morgan king of Albany. King Jago. Ferrex. Porrex. King Pinnar slain by Molucius Donwallo. King Stater. King Rudacke of Wales. King Kimarus. King Morindus. King Emerianus. King Cherinnus. King Varianus. Irelanglas cousin to Cassibelane. Julius Cesar. Claudius Tiberius Nero. Caligula. King Guiderius. Lelius Hamo. Tiberius Drusus. Domitius Nero. Galba. Vitellius. Londric the Pict. Severus. Fulgentius a Pict. Geta. Caracalla[b]. All these from Albanact, and in the same order, form the first part of Higgins's edition of the year 1587[c]. But none of them are in Baldwyne's, or the first, collection, of the year 1559; and, as I presume, these lives are all written by Higgins. Then follow in Niccols's edition, Carausius, Queen Helena, Vortigern, Uther Pendragon, Cadwallader, Sigebert, Ebba, Egelred, Edric, and Harold, all written by Thomas Blener Hasset, and never before printed†. We have next a new title[d], "The variable Fortvne and vnhappie Falles of svch princes as hath happened since the Conquest. Wherein may be seene, &c. At London, by Felix Kyngston. 1609." Then, after an Epistle to the Reader, subscribed

* [In 17 seven-line stanzas, altered from that in the edition of 1575, which had 21 stanzas.—HERBERT.]

[a] Pag. 1.

[b] Ending with pag. 185.

[c] Where they end at fol. 108 a.

† [Blenerhasset's contributions to this edition had been previously and separately printed in 1578.—PRICE.]

[d] After p. 250.

R.N. (that is Richard Niccols), follow, Sackville's INDUCTION. Cavyll's Roger Mortimer. Ferrers's Tresilian. Ferrers's Thomas of Woodstock. Churchyard's [Chaloner's] Mowbray. Ferrers's King Richard the Second. Phaer's Owen Glendour. Henry Percy. Baldwyne's Richard earl of Cambridge. Baldwyne's Montague earl of Salisbury. Ferrers's Eleanor Cobham. Ferrers's Humfrey duke of Gloucester. Baldwyne's William De La Poole earl of Suffolk. Baldwyne's Jack Cade. Ferrers's Edmund duke of Somerset. Richard Plantagenet duke of York. Lord Clifford. Tiptoft earl of Worcester. Richard lord Warwick. King Henry the Sixth. George Plantagenet duke of Clarence. Skelton's King Edward the Fourth. Woodvile lord Rivers. Dolman's Lord Hastings. Sackville's Duke of Buckingham. Collingburne. Cavyll's Blacksmith. Higgins's Sir Nicholas Burdet. Churchyard's Jane Shore. Churchyard's Wolsey. Drayton's Lord Cromwell. All these[e], (Humfrey, Cobham, Burdet, Cromwell, and Wolsey, excepted,) form the whole, but in a less chronological disposition, of Baldwyne's collection, or edition, of the year 1559, as we have seen above: from whence they were reprinted, with the addition of Humfrey, Cobham, Burdet, and Wolsey, by Higgins, in his edition aforesaid of 1587, and where Wolsey closes the work. Another title then appears in Niccols's edition[f], "A WINTER NIGHTS VISION. Being an addition of svch Princes especially famovs, who were exempted in the former HISTORIE. By Richard Niccols, Oxon. Magd. Hall. At London, by Felix Kyngston, 1610." An Epistle to the Reader, and an elegant Sonnet to Lord Charles Howard lord High Admiral, both by Niccols, are prefixed[g]. Then follows Niccols's INDUCTION to these new lives[h]. They are, King Arthur. Edmund Ironside. Prince Alfred. Godwin earl of Kent. Robert Curthose. King Richard the First. King John. King Edward the Second. The two Young Princes murthered in the Tower, and King Richard the Third[i]. Our author, but with little propriety, has annexed "ENGLAND'S ELIZA, or the victoriovs and trivmphant reigne of that virgin empresse of sacred memorie Elizabeth Queene of England, &c. At London, by Felix Kyngston, 1610." This is a title page. Then follows a Sonnet to *the virtuous Ladie* the Lady Elizabeth Clere, wife to sir Francis Clere, and an Epistle to the Reader. A very poetical INDUCTION is prefixed to the ELIZA, which contains the history of queen Elizabeth, then just dead, in the octave stanza. Niccols, however, has not entirely preserved the whole of the old collection, although he made large additions. He has omitted King James the First of Scotland, which appears in Baldwyne's edition of 1559[k], and in Higgins's of 1587[l]. He has also omitted, and pro-

[e] That is, from p. 250.

[f] After p. 547.

[g] From the Sonnet it appears, that our author Niccols was on board Howard's ship the Arke, when Cadiz was taken. This was in 1596. See also page 861. stanza iv.

[h] From p. 555.

[i] Ending with p. 769.

[k] At fol. xlii. b.

[l] Fol. 137 b.

bably for the same obvious reason, King James the Fourth of Scotland, which we find in Higgins[m]. Nor has Niccols retained the Battle of Flodden-field, which is in Higgins's edition[n]. Niccols has also omitted Seagars's King Richard the Third, which first occurs in Baldwyne's edition of 1559[o], and afterwards in Higgins's of 1587[p]. But Niccols has written a new Legend on this subject, cited above, and one of the best of his additional lives[q]. This edition by Niccols, printed by Felix Kyngston in 1610, I believe was never reprinted*. It contains eight hundred and seventy-five pages.

The MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES is obliquely ridiculed in bishop Hall's SATIRES, published in 1597.

> Another, whose more heavie-hearted saint
> Delights in nought but notes of ruefull plaint,
> Urgeth his melting muse with solemn teares,
> Rhyme of some drearie fates of LUCKLESS PEERS.
> Then brings he up some BRANDED WHINING GHOST
> To tell how old Misfortunes have him tost[r].

That it should have been the object even of an ingenious satirist, is so far from proving that it wanted either merit or popularity, that the contrary conclusion may be justly inferred. It was, however, at length superseded by the growing reputation of a new poetical chronicle, entitled ALBION'S ENGLAND, published before the beginning of the reign of James the First†. That it was in high esteem throughout the reign

[m] Fol. 253 a. In Ulpian Fullwell's Flower of Fame, an old quarto book both in prose and verse, in praise of the reign of Henry the Eighth, and printed by W. Hoskyns in 1575, is a tragic monologue, in the octave stanza, of James the Fourth of Scotland, and of his son. fol. 22 b. The whole title is, "The Flower of Fame, containing the bright renowne and most fortunate reigne of Henry viii. Wherein is mention of matters by the rest of our chronographers overpassed. Compyled by Vlpian Fullwell." Annexed is a panegyric of three of the same Henry's *noble and vertuous queenes*. And "The service done at Haddington in Scotland the seconde year of the reigne of King Edward the Sixt." Bl. lett. Fullwell will occur hereafter in his proper place.

[n] Fol. 256 a.

[o] Fol. cxlvii. b. [p] Fol. 230 b.

[q] Pag. 750.

* [A new title-page only was added to the unsold copies, with the date of 1621. Herbert says the first part was reprinted in 1619. MS. Note.—PARK.]

[r] B. i. Sat. v. duodecim. But in Certaine Satyres by John Marston, subjoined to his Pygmalion's Image, an academical critic is abused for affecting to censure this poem. Lond. 1598. Sat. iv. This is undoubtedly our author Hall just quoted. (See Marston's Scourge of Villanie, printed 1599. Lib. iii. Sat. x.)

> Fond censurer! why should those *Mirrors* seeme
> So vile to thee? which better iudgements deeme
> Exquisite then, and in our polish'd times
> May run for sencefull tollerable lines?
> What not *mediocra firma* from thy spight?
> But must thy enuious hungry fangs needs light
> On MAGISTRATES MIRROUR? Must thou needs detract
> And striue to worke his antient honors wrack?
> What shall not Rosamond, or Gaueston,
> Ope their sweet lips without detraction?
> But must our moderne Critticks enuious eye, &c.

The two last pieces indeed do not properly belong to this collection, and are only on the same plan. *Rosamond* is Daniel's COMPLAINT OF ROSAMOND, and *Gaueston* is Drayton's monologue on that subject.

† [Wood gives it as his report, that the

of queen Elizabeth, appears not only from its numerous editions, but from the testimony of sir Philip Sidney, and other cotemporary writers[s]. It is ranked among the most fashionable pieces of the times in the metrical preface prefixed to Jasper Heywood's THYESTES of Seneca, translated into English verse, and published in 1560[t]. It must be remembered that only Baldwyne's part had yet appeared, and that the translator is supposed to be speaking to Seneca.

In Lyncolnes Inne, and Temples twayne,
Grayes Inne, and many mo,
Thou shalt them fynde whose paynefull pen
Thy verse shall florishe so;
That Melpomen, thou wouldst well weene,
Had taught them for to wright,
And all their woorks with stately style
And goodly grace to endight.
There shalt thou se the selfe same Northe,
Whose woork his witte displayes;
And DYALL doth of PRINCES paynte,
And preache abroade his prayse[u].
There Sackvyldes SONNETS[v] sweetly sauste,
And featlye fyned bee:
There Norton's[w] Ditties do delight,
There Yelverton's[x] do flee

Mirror for Magistrates was esteemed the best piece of poetry of those times, if *Albion's England* (which was by some preferred) did not stand in its way. Ath. Oxon. i. 402.—PARK.]

[s] Sydney says, "I esteem the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES to be furnished of beautifull partes." He then mentions Surrey's Lyric pieces. Defence of Poesie, fol. 561. ad calc. Arcad. Lond. 1629. fol. Sidney died in 1586. so that this was written before Higgins's, and consequently Niccols's, additions.

[t] Coloph. "Imprinted at London in Fletestrete in the house late Thomas Berthelettes. *Cum priv.* &c. Anno M.D.LX." duodecim. bl. lett. It is dedicated in verse to sir John Mason.

[u] Sir Thomas North, second son of Edward lord North of Kirtling, translated from French into English Antonio Guevara's *Horologium Principum.* This translation was printed in 1557, and dedicated to Queen Mary, fol. Again, 1548, 1582, 4to. This is the book mentioned in the text. North studied in Lincoln's Inn in the reign of queen Mary. I am not sure that the translator of Plutarch's Lives in 1579 is the same. [The translation of Plutarch was by the same sir Thomas North.—PRICE.] There is Doni's Morall Philosophie from the Italian by sir Thomas North, in 1601.

[v] Sackville lord Buckhurst, the contributor to the Mirrour for Magistrates. I have never seen his Sonnets, which would be a valuable accession to our old poetry. But probably the term *Sonnets* here means only verses in general, and may signify nothing more than his part in the Mirrour for Magistrates, and his Gorboduc. [Mr. Haslewood observes, that the lines in the text were "in print before either the communication was made to the Mirror for Magistrates, or the play performed," and that a sonnet by Sackville is prefixed to sir Thomas Hoby's "Courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio." (1561.)—PRICE.]

[w] Norton is Sackville's coadjutor in Gorboduc.

[x] The Epilogue to Gascoigne's Jocasta, acted at Gray's-inn in 1566, was written by Christopher Yelverton, a student of that inn, afterwards a knight and a judge. I have never seen his Ditties here mentioned.

Well pewrde with pen: such yong men three
As weene thou mightst agayne,
To be begotte as Pallas was
Of myghtie Jove his brayne.
There heare thou shalt a great reporte
Of BALDWYNE's worthie name,
Whose MIRROUR doth of MAGISTRATES
Proclayme eternall fame.
And there the gentle Blunduille[y] is
By name and eke by kynde,
Of whom we learne by Plutarches lore
What frute by foes to fynde.
There Bauande bydes[z], that turnde his toyle
A common wealth to frame,
And greater grace in English gyves
To woorthy author's name.
There Gouge a gratefull gaynes hath gotte,
Reporte that runneth ryfe;
Who crooked compasse doth describe
And Zodiake of lyfe[a].

A pryncely place in Parnasse hill
For these there is preparde,
Whence crowne of glitteryng glorie hangs
For them a right rewarde.
Whereas the lappes of Ladies' nyne,
Shall dewly them defende,
That have preparde the lawrell leafe
About theyr heddes to bende.
And where their pennes shall hang full high, &c.

These, he adds, are alone qualified to translate Seneca's tragedies.

In a small black-lettered tract entitled the TOUCH-STONE OF WITTES, chiefly compiled, with some slender additions, from William Webbe's DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETRIE, written by Edward Hake, and printed at London by Edmund Botifaunt in 1588, this poem is men-

[y] Thomas Blundeville of Newton-Flotman in Norfolk, from whence his dedication to lord Leicester of an English version of Furio's Spanish tract on Counsels and Counselors is dated, Apr. 1, 1570. He printed many other prose pieces, chiefly translations. His Plutarch mentioned in the text, is perhaps a manuscript in the British Museum, PLUTARCHS COMMENTARY *that learning is requisite to a prince, translated into English meeter by Thomas Blundevile*, MSS. Reg. 18. A. 43.

[z] William Bavande, a student in the Middle Temple, translated into English Ferrarius Montanus *De recta Reipublicæ Administratione*. Dated from the Middle Temple, in a Dedication to queen Elizabeth, December 20, 1559. 4to. black lett. Printed by John Kingston. "A woorke of Joannes Ferrarius Montanus touchinge the good orderinge of a common weale, &c. Englished by William Bauande." He was of Oxford.

[a] Barnaby Googe's Palingenius will be spoken of hereafter.

tioned with applause: "Then have we the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES lately augmented by my friend mayster John Higgins, and penned by the choysest learned wittes, which for the stately-proportioned uaine of the heroick style, and good meetly proportion of uerse, may challenge the best of Lydgate, and all our late rhymers[b]." That sensible old English critic Edmund Bolton, in a general criticism on the style of our most noted poets before the year 1600*, places the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES in a high rank. It is under that head of his HYPERCRITICA, entitled "Prime Gardens for gathering English according to the true gage or standard of the tongue about fifteen or sixteen years ago." The extract is a curious piece of criticism, as written by a judicious cotemporary. Having mentioned our prose writers, the chief of which are More, Sidney, queen Elizabeth, Hooker, Saville, cardinal Alan, Bacon, and Raleigh, he proceeds thus: "In verse there are Edmund Spenser's HYMNES[c]. I cannot advise the allowance of other his poems as for practick English, no more than I can Jeffrey Chaucer, Lydgate, Pierce Plowman, or LAUREATE Skelton. It was laid as a fault to the charge of Salust, that he used some old outworn words stoln out of Cato in his books de Originibus. And for an historian in our tongue to affect the like out of those our poets, would be accounted a

[b] Fol. vii. a. duodecim. I know but little more of this forgotten writer, than that he wrote also, "A TOUCHESTONE for this time present, expressly declaring such ruines, enormities, and abuses, as trouble the church of God and our christian commonwealth at this daye, &c. Newly sett foorth by E. H. Imprinted at London by Thomas Hacket, and are to be solde at his shop at the Greene Dragon in the Royall Exchange, 1574." duodec. At the end of the "Epistle dedicatorie to his knowne friende Mayster Edward Godfrey, merchant," his name Edward Hake is subscribed at length. Annexed is, "A Compendious fourme of education, to be diligently obserued of all parentes and scholemasters in the trayning vp of their children and schollers in learning. Gathered into Englishe meeter by Edward Hake." It is an epitome of a Latin tract *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*. In the dedication, to *maister John Harlowe his approoued friende*, he calls himself an attourney in the Common Pleas, observing at the same time, that the "name of an Attourney in the common place [pleas] is now a dayes growen into contempt." He adds another circumstance of his life, that he was educated under John Hopkins, whom I suppose to be the translator of the Psalms. [See p. 147. of this volume. "You being trained vp together with me your poore schoolfellow, with the instructions of that learned and exquisite teacher, Maister John Hopkins, that worthy schoolemaister, nay rather that most worthy parent vnto all children committed to his charge of education. Of whose memory, if I should in such an opportunity as this is, be forgetful," &c. I will give a specimen of this little piece, which shows at least that he learned versification under his master Hopkins. He is speaking of the Latin tongue. (Signat. G. 4.)

Whereto, as hath been sayde before,
The Fables do inuite,
With morall sawes in couert tales:
Whereto agreeth rite
Fine Comedies with pleasure sawst,
Which, as it were by play,
Do teache unto philosophie
A perfit ready way.——
So as nathles we carefull be
To auoyde all bawdie rimes,
And wanton iestes of poets vayne
That teache them filthie crimes.
Good stories from the Bible chargde,
And from some civill style,
As Quintus Curtius and such like,
To reade them other while, &c.

Compare Ames, p. 322. 389.

* [But not written till 1616, as he mentions Bishop Montague's edition of the works of James I. which was published in that year. See infra, note [d].—PARK.]

[c] The pieces mentioned in this extract will be considered in their proper places.

foul oversight.—My judgement is nothing at all in poems or poesie, and therefore I dare not go far; but will simply deliver my mind concerning those authors among us, whose English hath in my conceit most propriety, and is nearest to the phrase of court, and to the speech used among the noble, and among the better sort in London: the two sovereign seats, and as it were parliament tribunals, to try the question in. Brave language are Chapman's Iliads.—The works of Samuel Daniel containe somewhat aflat, but yet withal a very pure and copious English, and words as warrantable as any mans, and fitter perhaps for prose than measure. Michael Drayton's Heroical Epistles are well worth the reading also, for the purpose of our subject, which is to furnish an English historian with choice and copy of tongue. Queen Elizabeth's verses, those which I have seen and read, some exstant in the elegant, witty, and artificial book of the ART OF ENGLISH POETRIE, the work, as the fame is, of one of her gentlemen-pensioners, Puttenham, are princely as her prose. Never must be forgotten ST. PETER'S COMPLAINT, and those other serious poems said to be father Southwell's: the English whereof, as it is most proper, so the sharpness and light of wit is very rare in them. Noble Henry Constable was a great master in English tongue, nor had any gentleman of our nation a more pure, quick, or higher delivery of conceit, witness among all other that Sonnet* of his before his Majesty's LEPANTO. I have not seen much of sir Edward Dyer's poetry†. Among the lesser late poets, George Gascoigne's Works may

* [A very poor specimen of Constable's poetic talent, the praise of which confers an equal honour on Bolton's critical judgement.—PARK.]

† [Puttenham says, "For dittie and amourous ode I finde Sir Walter Rawleygh's vayne most loftie, insolent, and passionate, Maister Edward Dyar, for elegie most sweete, solempne, and of high conceit."

[To this passage Drummond thus adverted, in his conversation with Ben Jonson: "He who writeth the arte of English poesy, praiseth much Rawleigh and Dyer; but their works are so few that are come to my hands, I cannot well say any thing of them." Drummond's Works, p. 226, 1711. fol.

[It is the further remark of Mr. Ellis, that the lot of Dyer, as a poet, has been rather singular: "His name is generally coupled with that of Sir P. Sidney and of the most fashionable writers of the age; and yet Bolton, who was almost a contemporary critic, professes not to have seen much of his poetry." Specim. of English Poets, ii. 186.

[In the Paradise of Daintie Devises, one poem signed M. D. is presumed by Ritson in his Bibliographia to denote *Master Dyer*. Six pieces preserved in England's Helicon are warrantably assigned to him; other short poems occur among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian library, and one of them bears the popular burden of "My mind to me a kingdom is."

[The time of Sir Edward Dyer's birth and death are alike veiled in uncertainty. The former Mr. Ellis computes to have been about 1540, and he lived till the reign of King James. According to Aubrey, he was of the same family as the judge, and proved a great spendthrift. Aubrey styles him of Sharpham park, Somersetshire. He was educated at Oxford, and as Wood intimates at Baliol College. Obtaining the character of a well-bred man, and having Sidney and other distinguished persons for his associates, he was taken into the service of the court. By queen Elizabeth he was sent on several embassies, particularly to Denmark in 1589, and had the chancellorship of the garter conferred on him at his return, with the honour of knighthood. It is not improbable that his property was squandered, as Aubrey affirms it to have been, by his credulous attachment to rosicrusian chemistry under those infatuated devotees Dr. Dee and Edward Kelly. Wood erroneously speaks of him as a contributor to the collection of poetical flowers, called "England's Parnassus,"

be endured. But the best of these times, if Albion's England be not preferred, for our business, is the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES, and in that MIRROUR, Sackvil's INDUCTION, the work of Thomas afterward earl of Dorset and lord treasurer of England: whose also the famous tragedy of GORBODUC, was the best of that time, even in sir Philip Sidney's judgement; and all skillful Englishmen cannot but ascribe as much thereto, for his phrase and eloquence therein. But before in age, if not also in noble, courtly, and lustrous English, is that of the Songes and Sonnettes of Henry Howard earl of Surrey, (son of that victorious prince the duke of Norfolk, and father of that learned Howard his most lively image Henry earl of Northampton,) written chiefly by him, and by sir Thomas Wiat, not the dangerous commotioner, but his worthy father. Nevertheless, they who commend those poems and exercises of honourable wit, if they have seen that incomparable earl of Surrey his English translation of Virgil's Eneids, which, for a book or two, he admirably rendreth, almost line for line, will bear me witness that those other were foils and sportives. The English poems of sir Walter Raleigh, of John Donne, of Hugh Holland, but especially of sir Foulk Grevile in his matchless MUSTAPHA, are not easily to be mended. I dare not presume to speak of his Majesty's exercises in this heroick kind. Because I see them all left out in that which Montague lord bishop of Winchester hath given us of his royal writings. But if I should declare mine own rudeness rudely, I should then confess, that I never tasted English more to my liking, nor more smart, and put to the height of use in poetry, than in that vital, judicious, and most practicable language of Benjamin Jonson's poems[d]."

1600: perhaps he misnamed the title for that of "Belvidere, or the Garden of the Muses." The "Sheapheardes Logike," a folio MS. cited in the British Bibliographia, ii. 276, has dedicatory verses by Abr. Fraunce, to the "ryght worshypful Mr. Edwarde Dyer."—PARK.]

[d] Bolton's *Hypercritica*, "or a Rule of Judgement for writing or reading our Historys." Addresse iv. Sect. iii. p. 235. seq. First printed by Anthony Hall, (at the end of Trivet. Annal. Cont. and Ad. Murimuth. Chron.) Oxford, 1722. octavo. The manuscript is among Cod. MSS. A. Wood, Mus. Ashmol. 8471. 9. quarto, with a few notes by Wood. This judicious little tract was occasioned by a passage in sir Henry Saville's Epistle prefixed to his edition of our old Latin historians, 1596. Hypercrit. p. 217. Hearne has printed that part of it which contains a Vindication of Jeffrey of Monmouth, without knowing the author's name. Gul. Neubrig. Præfat. Append. Num. iii. p. lxxvii. vol. i. See Hypercrit. p. 204. Bolton's principal work now extant is "Nero Cæsar, or Monarchie depraved, an Historical Worke." Lond. 1624. fol. This scarce book, which is the life of that emperor, and is adorned with plates of many curious and valuable medals, is dedicated to George duke of Buckingham, to whom Bolton seems to have been a retainer. (See Hearne's Lel. Collectan. vol. vi. p. 60. edit. 1770.) In it he supports a specious theory, that Stonehenge was a monument erected by the Britons to Boadicea, ch. xxv. At the end is his Historical Parallel, showing the difference between epitomes and just histories, "heretofore privately written to my good and noble friend Endymion Porter, one of the gentlemen of the Prince's chamber." He instances in the accounts given by Florus and Polybius of the battle between Hannibal and Scipio; observing, that generalities are not so interesting as facts and circumstances, and that Florus gives us "in proper words the flowers and tops of noble matter, but Polybius sets the things themselves, in all their necessary parts, before our eyes." He therefore concludes, "that all *spacious mindes*, attended with the felicities of means and leisure, will fly

Among several proofs of the popularity of this poem afforded by our old comedies, I will mention one in George Chapman's MAY-DAY, printed in 1611. A gentleman of the most elegant taste for reading, and highly accomplished in the current books of the times, is called "One that has read Marcus Aurelius[e], Gesta Romanorum, and the MIRROUR OF MAGISTRATES[f]."

The books of poetry which abounded in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and were more numerous than any other kinds of writing in our language, gave birth to two collections of FLOWERS selected from the works of the most fashionable poets. The first of these is, "ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS. Or, the choysest Flowers of our moderne Poets, with their poeticall Comparisons, Descriptions of Bewties, Personages, Castles, Pallaces, Mountaines, Groues, Seas, Springs, Riuers, &c. *Whereunto are annexed other various Discourses*[g] *both pleasaunt and profit-*

abridgements as bane." He published, however, an English version of Florus. He wrote the Life of the Emperor Tiberius, never printed. Ner. Cæs. ut. supr. p. 82. He designed a General History of England. Hypercrit. p. 240. In the British Museum, there is the manuscript draught of a book entitled "*Agon Heroicus*, or concerning arms and armories, by Edmund Boulton." MSS. Cott. Faustin. E. i. 7. fol. 63. and in the same library, his *Prosopopeia Basilica*, a Latin Poem upon the translation of the body of Mary queen of Scots in 1612, from Peterborough to Westminster Abbey. MSS. Cott. Tit. A. 13. 23. He compiled the Life of king Henry the Second for Speed's Chronicle: but Bolton being a catholic, and speaking too favourably of Becket, another Life was written by Dr. John Barcham, dean of Bocking. See The Surfeit to A. B. C. Lond. 12mo. 1656. p. 22. Written by Dr. Henry King, author of poems in 1657, son of King bishop of London. Compare Hypercrit. p. 220. Another work in the walk of philological antiquity, was his "*Vindiciæ Britannicæ*, or London righted," &c. Never printed, but prepared for the press by the author. Among other ingenious paradoxes, the principal aim of this treatise is to prove, that London was a great and flourishing city in the time of Nero; and that consequently Julius Cæsar's general description of all the British towns, in his Commentaries, is false and unjust. Hugh Howard, esquire, (see Gen. Dict. iii. 446.) had a fair manuscript of this book, very accurately written in a thin folio of forty-five pages. It is not known when or where he died. One Edmund Bolton, most probably the same, occurs as a CONVICTOR, that is, an independent member, of Trinity-college Oxford, under the year 1586. In Archiv. ibid. Wood MS. Notes, ut supr.) supposed the *Hypercritica* to have been written about 1610. but our author himself (Hypercrit. p. 237.) mentions king James's Works published by bishop Montague. That edition is dated 1616.

A few particularities relating to this writer's Nero Cæsar, and some other of his pieces, may be seen in Hearne's MSS. Coll. Vol. 50. p. 125. Vol. 132. p. 94. Vol. 52. pp. 171. 186. 192. See also Original Letters from Anstis to Hearne. MSS. Bibl. Bodl. Rawlins. I add, that Edmund Bolton has a Latin copy of recommendatory verses, in company with George Chapman, Hugh Holland, Donne, Selden, Beaumont, Fletcher, and others, prefixed to the old folio edition of Benjamin Jonson's Works in 1616.

[An original letter from E. Bolton to the earl of Northampton, dated 11th of March 1611, occurs among the Cotton MSS. Titus B. v. and two pastoral poems in England's Helicon.—PARK.]

[e] "Lord Berners's Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius emperour and eloquent oratour." See page 52 of this volume. The first edition I have seen was by Berthelette, 1536. quarto. It was often reprinted. But see Mr. Steevens's Shakspeare, vol. i. p. 91. edit. 1778. Marcus Aurelius is among the Coppies of James Roberts, a considerable printer from 1573, down to below 1600. MSS. Coxeter. See Ames, Hist. Print. p. 341.

[f] Act iii. fol. 39. 4to. See Dissertat. iii. prefixed to Vol. i. I take this opportunity of remarking, that Ames recites, printed for Richard Jones, "The Mirour of Majestrates by G. Whetstone, 1584," quarto, Hist. Print. p. 317. I have never seen it, but believe it has nothing to do with this work.

[g] Poetical extracts.

able. Imprinted at London for N. L. C. B. and Th. Hayes. 1600[h]." The collector is probably Robert Allot[i], whose initials R. A. appear subscribed to two Sonnets prefixed, one to sir Thomas Mounson, and the other to the Reader. The other compilation of this sort is entitled, "BELVIDERE, or the Garden of the Muses. London, imprinted for Hugh Astly, 1600[j]." The compiler is one John Bodenham. In both of these, especially the former, the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES is cited at large, and has a conspicuous share[k]. At the latter end of the reign

[h] In duodecimo, cont. 510 pages.

[i] A copy which I have seen has R. Allot, instead of R. A. There is a cotemporary bookseller of that name. But in a little book of EPIGRAMS by John Weever, printed in 1599 (12mo.), I find the following compliment.

"Ad Robertum Allot et Christopherum Middleton.

Quicke are your wits, sharpe your conceits,
Short, and *more sweet*, your lays;
Quick but no wit, sharp no conceit,
Short and *lesse sweet* my Praise."

[The following hexameters by Rob. Allott were prefixed to Chr. Middleton's Legend of Duke Humphrey, Lond. 1600. 4to.

"Ad Christopherum Middletonum. Hexastichon.

Illustri Humphredi genio tua Musa parentans,
Vera refert, generosa canit, memoranda revolvit
Virtuti, et laudi statuam dans, dat simul ipsi.
Non opus est vestræ Musæ, tum carmine nostro,
Nec opis est nostræ, radiis involvere Phœbum.
Quid satis ornatam Musam phalerare juvabit?"

Two copies of English verses follow, by Mich. Drayton and John Weever. These may be seen in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. x. pp. 165, 166.—PARK.]

[j] "Or, sentences gathered out of all kinds of poets, referred to certaine methodical heads, profitable for the use of these times to rhyme upon any occasion at a little warning." Octavo. But the compiler does not cite the names of the poets with the extracts. This work is ridiculed in an anonymous old play, "The Return from Parnassus, or the Scourge of Simony, publickly acted by the students in Saint John's College, Cambridge, 1606." quarto. Judicio says, "Considering the furies of the times, I could better see these young can-quaffing hucksters shoot off their pelletts, so they could keep them from these English *Flores Poetarum*; but now the world is come to that pass, that there starts up every day an old goose that sits hatching up these eggs which have been filched from the nest of crowes and kestrells," &c. Act i. sc. 2. Then follows a criticism on Spenser, Constable, Lodge, Daniel, Watson, Drayton, Davis, Marston, Marlowe, Churchyard, Nashe, Locke, and Hudson. Churchyard is commended for his Legend of Shore's Wife in the Mirrour for Magistrates.

Hath not Shores Wife, although a light-skirts she,
Given him a long and lasting memory?

By the way, in the Register of the Stationers, June 19, 1594, *The lamentable end of* Shore's Wife is mentioned as a part of Shakspeare's Richard the Third. And in a pamphlet called Pymlico, or Run away Reedap, printed in 1596, the well-frequented play of Shore is mentioned with Pericles Prince of Tyre. From Beaumont and Fletcher's Knight of the Burning Pestle, written 1613, Jane Shore appears to have been a celebrated tragedy; and in the Stationers' Register (Oxenbridge and Busby, Aug. 28, 1599.) occurs "The History of the Life and Death of Master Shore and Jane Shore his wife, as it was lately acted by the earl Derbie his servants."

[k] Allot's is much the most complete performance of the two. The method is by far more judicious, the extracts more copious, and made with a degree of taste. With the extracts he respectively cites the names of the poets, which are as follows. Thomas Achelly. Thomas Bastard. George Chapman. Thomas Churchyard. Henry Constable. Samuel Daniel. John Davies. Michael Drayton. Thomas Dekkar. Edward Fairfax. Charles Fitz-jeffrey. Abraham Fraunce. George Gascoigne. Edward Gilpin. Robert Greene. Fulke Greville. Sir John Harrington. John Higgins. Thomas Hudson. James King of Scots. [i. e. James the First.] Benjamin Jonson. Thomas Kyd. Thomas Lodge. M. M. [i. e. Mirrour for Magistrates.]

of queen Elizabeth, as I am informed from some curious manuscript authorities, a thin quarto in the black letter was published, with this title, "The MIRROUR OF MIRROVRS, or all the tragedys of the Mirrovr for Magistrates abbreuiated in breefe histories in prose. Very necessary for those that haue not the Cronicle. London, imprinted for James Roberts in Barbican, 1598[1]." This was an attempt to familiarise and illustrate this favourite series of historic soliloquies; or a plan to present its subjects, which were now become universally popular in rhyme, in the dress of prose.

It is reasonable to suppose, that the publication of the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES enriched the stores, and extended the limits, of our drama. These lives are so many tragical speeches in character. We have seen, that they suggested scenes to Shakspeare. Some critics imagine, that HISTORICAL Plays owed their origin to this collection. At least it is certain that the writers of this MIRROUR were the first who made a poetical use of the English chronicles recently compiled by Fabyan, Hall, and Hollinshed, which opened a new field of subjects and events;

Christopher Marlowe. Jarvis Markham. John Marston. Christopher Middleton. Thomas Nashe. [Vere.] Earl of Oxford. George Peele. Matthew Raydon. *Master* Sackvile. William Shakspeare. Sir Philip Sidney. Edmund Spenser. Thomas Storer. [H. Howard] Earl of Surrey. Joshua Sylvester. George Turberville. William Warner. Thomas Watson. John and William Weever. Sir Thomas Wyat. I suspect that Wood, by mistake, has attributed this collection by Allot, to Charles Fitz-jeffrey above mentioned, a poet before and after 1600, and author of the *Affaniæ*. But I will quote Wood's words: "Fitzjeffrey hath also made, as tis said, A *Collection of choice Flowers and Descriptions*, as well out of his, as the works of several others the most renowned poets of our nation, collected about the beginning of the reign of King James I. But this tho I have been years seeking after, yet I cannot get a sight of it." Ath. Oxon. i. 606. But the most comprehensive and exact Common-place of the works of our most eminent poets throughout the reign of queen Elizabeth, and afterwards, was published about forty years ago, by Mr. Thomas Hayward of Hungerford in Berkshire, viz. "The British Muse, A Collection of Thoughts, Moral, Natural, and Sublime, of our English Poets, who flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries. With several curious Topicks, and beautiful Passages, never before extracted, from Shakspeare, Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, and above a Hundred more. The whole digested alphabetically, &c. In three volumes. London, Printed for F. Cogan, &c. 1738." 12mo. The Preface, of twenty pages, was written by Mr. William Oldys, with the supervisal and corrections of his friend doctor Campbell. This anecdote I learn from a manuscript insertion by Oldys in my copy of Allot's England's Parnassus, above mentioned, which once belonged to Oldys.

[Hayward's British Muse was in 1740 entitled "The Quintessence of English Poetry," and the name of Mr. Oldys was added as author of the *Preface*. Other collections of a similar kind had been previously published by Poole, Bysshe and Gildon. Edward Phillips had previously attributed England's Parnassus to Fitzgeoffry, and seems to have been followed implicitly by Wood. See Theatr. Poetr. 1675. p. 219.—PARK.]

[1] From manuscripts of Mr. Coxeter, of Trinity-college Oxford, lately in the hands of Mr. Wise, Radclivian Librarian at Oxford, containing extracts from the copyrights of our old printers, and registers of the Stationers, with several other curious notices of that kind. Ames had many of Coxeter's papers. He died in London April 19, 1747 [of a fever, which grew from a cold he caught at an auction of books over Exeter-Change, or by sitting up late at the tavern afterwards. See Oldys's MS. notes on Langbaine in the British Museum, p. 353. Coxeter was the original editor of Dodsley's old Plays, and an early writer in the Biographia Britannica. Ames makes an acknowledgement to him for many hints in his Typographical Antiquities. A daughter of his, advanced in years, received pecuniary assistance from the Literary Fund in 1791, 1793 and 1797.—PARK.]

and, I may add, produced a great revolution in the state of popular knowledge. For before those elaborate and voluminous compilations appeared, the History of England, which had been shut up in the Latin narratives of the monkish annalists, was unfamiliar and almost unknown to the general reader*.

* [Among the historical poems which seem to have been written in imitation of those entitled "The Mirrour for Magistrates," perhaps with an intention of being engrafted on the popular stock of Baldwin and Higgins, must be noticed the "Legend of Mary Queen of Scots," first published from an original MS. by Mr. Fry of Kingsdown near Bristol in 1810, and attributed by its editor to the pen of Thomas Wenman in 1601; a writer, of whom nothing material has since been added to the short account of Wood, which describes him as an excellent scholar[1], who took his degree of M.A. in 1590, was afterwards Fellow of Baliol College, and public orator of the University of Oxford in 1594. The editor claims for this historic legend a higher rank than what Mr. Warton has assigned to the generality of the rhyming chronicles contained in the Mirror for Magistrates: but I rather doubt whether our poetical historian would have ratified the claim; since it appears to run singularly parallel in its construction, in its rhythmical cadence and versification, to the greater portion of the pieces in that once popular collection.

Pr.—*Baldwyn* awake, thie penn hath slept
to longe;
Ferris is dead; state cares staie *Sackvill's* ease;
Theise latter witts delighte in pleasaunt
songe
Or lovinge sayes, which maie theire
masters please;
My ruthfull state breeds no remorse
in theise:
For as my liffe was still opreste by fate,
So after deathe my name semes out of
date.

The poem extends to 186 stanzas. The following list is given by Mr. Fry, as imitations of the *Mirror for Magistrates*.

1. The Testament and Tragedie of King Henrie Stewart, 1567. Edinb. (See Dalzel's Scottish Poems of the 16th cent.)

2. Rd. Robinson's Rewarde of Wickednesse, &c. 1574. (See Cens. Literar.)

3. Ant^y Munday's Mirror of Mutability, &c. 1579. (See Cens. Lit.)

4. Ulpian Fulvell's Flower of Fame, &c. 1575. (See Cens. Lit.)

5. Wm. Wyrley's Life and Death of sir Jno. Chandos. 1592.

6. Wm. Wyrley's Life and Death of sir Jno. de Grathy. 1572. (See Cens. Lit. i. 148.)

7. Rd. Johnson's Nine Worthies of London, &c. 1592. (See Harl. Misc.)

8. Tho. Churchyard's Tragedie of the Earl of Morton and sir Simon Burley, (in his Challenge,) 1593. Storer's Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey. 1599.

9. Ch. Middleton's Legend of Duke Humphrey, 1600. (See Cens. Lit. iii. 256.)

10. Tho. Sampson's Fortune's Fashion, pourtrayed in the troubles of the Ladie Elizabeth Gray. 1613.

11. Mich. Drayton's Legend of Rob. D. of Normandy. 1596.

12. Mich. Drayton's Legend of Matilda.

13. Mich. Drayton's Legend of Percie Gaveston.

14. Mich. Drayton's Legend of Great Cromwell.

In the Poetical Works[2] of William Browne, 1772, there is a reprint of Verses by him prefixed to "Richard the Third, his character, legend and tragedy," a poem in quarto with the date of 1614. This poem I do not recollect to have seen, but its title makes it presumable to have been of Baldwin's class. Daniel's Complaint of Rosamond first printed in 1592, may be numbered in the same class; and so may Niccols's Vision of Sir Thomas Overbury, &c. published in 1616.

Another of these imitative histories in verse, which from its extreme rarity was not likely to fall under the observation of Mr. Fry, is entitled "Beawtie dishonoured, written under the title of Shore's Wife," printed at London by John Wolfe in 1593, 4to. It contains 197 six-line stanzas, and is inscribed to sir Edward Winckfield knight, by his "worship's most bounden, A. C." that is, A. Chute or Chewt, who speaks of it as an infant labour, and the "first invention of his beginning Muse." As the poem is upon the whole inferior to that of Churchyard on the same subject, which had been published a few years before, it seems rather strange that Chute should have tried his juvenile strength against that of the veteran bard, who published his "Tragedie" in the same year, with 21 additional stanzas, "in as fine a forme as the first impres-

[1] Fasti Oxon. i. 139.

[2] vol. iii. p. 162.

sion thereof," and with a soldier-like protestation, that the production was entirely his own, though some malignant it seems had denied him the credit of producing it. Chute did not in his rival effort adopt the seven-line stanza of Churchyard, but many passages bear such partial resemblance, as a choice of the same personal history was likely to induce. A late reprint of the Mirror for Magistrates will give to many an opportunity of perusing Churchyard's work; but as that of Chute remains in an unique copy, I proceed to extract a few of the best stanzas. The ghost of Shore's Wife is made to narrate her own story, on the plan of Baldwin's heroes and heroines. The following lines express her compunction for having yielded to the criminal passion of Edward IV.

Who sees the chast liv'd turtle on a tree
In unfrequented groves sit and complaine her;
Whether alone all desolate, poore shee,
And for her lost love seemeth to restraine her;
And there, sad thoughted, howleth to the ayre
The excellencie of her lost-mate's fayre[1]:

So I, when sinne had drown'd my soule in badnesse,
To solitarie muse my selfe retired,
Where wrought by greefe to discontented sadnesse,
Repentant thoughts my new won shame admired;
And I, the monster of myne owne misfortune,
My hart with grones and sorrow did importune.

She proceeds to lament that posterity will consign her memory to defamation.

Thus in thy life, thus in thy death, and boath
Dishonor'd by thy fact, what mayst thou doe?
Though now thy soule the touch of sinne doth loath,
And thou abhorst thy life, and thy selfe too:
Yet cannot this redeeme thy spotted name,
Nor interdict thy body of her shame.

But he that could command thee, made thee sin:
Yet that is no priviledge, no sheeld to thee.
Now thou thyselfe hast drownd thyselfe therein,
Thou art defam'd thyselfe, and so is hee:
And though that kings commands have wonders wrought,
Yet kings commands could never hinder thought.

Say that a monarke may dispence with sin;
The vulgar toung proveth impartiall still,
And when mislike all froward shall begin,
The worst of bad, and best of worst to ill,
A secret shame in every thought will smother,
For sinne is sinne in kinges, as well as other.

* * * * *

O could my wordes expresse in mourning sound
The ready passion that my mynde doth trye,
Then greefe all cares, all sences would confound,
And some would weepe with me, as well as I;
Where now, because my wordes cannot reveale it,
I weepe alone, inforced to conceale it.

Had I bin fayre, and not allur'd so soone,
To that at which all thoughtes levell their sadnesse,
My sunbright day had not bin set ere noone,
Nor I bin noted for detected badnesse:
But this is still peculiar to our state,
To sinne too soone and then repent too late.

The moral reflections of Chute will be found more meritorious than his poetic garniture, and this is a distinction of personal honour to the author; since, as Cowper cogently asks, "What is the *poet*, if the *man* be naught?"—PARK.]

[1] comeliness.

SECTION LII.

Richard Edwards. Principal poet, player, musician, and buffoon, to the courts of Mary and Elizabeth. Anecdotes of his life. Cotemporary testimonies of his merit. A contributor to the Paradise of Daintie Devises. His book of comic histories, supposed to have suggested Shakspeare's Induction of the Tinker. Occasional anecdotes of Antony Munday and Henry Chettle. Edwards's songs.

In tracing the gradual accessions of the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES, an incidental departure from the general line of our chronologic series has been incurred. But such an anticipation was unavoidable, in order to exhibit a full and uninterrupted view of that poem, which originated in the reign of Mary, and was not finally completed till the beginning of the seventeenth century. I now therefore return to the reign of queen Mary.

To this reign I assign Richard Edwards, a native of Somersetshire, about the year 1523. He is said by Wood to have been a scholar of Corpus Christi college in Oxford; but in his early years he was employed in some department about the court. This circumstance appears from one of his poems in the PARADISE OF DAINTIE DEVISES, a miscellany which contains many of his pieces.

In youthfull yeares when first my young desires began
To pricke me forth to serve in court, a slender tall young man,
My fathers blessing then I ask'd upon my knee,
Who blessing me with trembling hand, these wordes gan say to me,
My sonne, God guide thy way, and shield thee from mischaunce,
And make thy just desartes in court, thy poore estate to advance, &c.[a]

In the year 1547, he was appointed a senior student of Christ-church in Oxford, then newly founded. In the British Museum there is a small set of manuscript sonnets signed with his initials, addressed to some of the beauties of the courts of queen Mary, and of queen Elizabeth[b]. Hence we may conjecture that he did not long remain at the university. About this time he was probably a member of Lincoln's-inn. In the year 1561, he was constituted a gentleman of the royal chapel by queen Elizabeth, and master of the singing boys there. He had received his musical education, while at Oxford, under George Etheridge[c].

[a] Edit. 1585. 4to. Carm. 7.

[b] MSS. Cotton. Tit. A. xxiv. "To some court Ladies."—Pr. "Howarde is not hawghte," &c.

[This MS. appears to be the fragment of a collection of original poetry, by different writers. In Ayscough's Catalogue, it is described as "Sonnets by R. E." but no sonnet occurs among the several pieces, and only *four* out of *fourteen* are signed R. E. The rest bear the signatures of Norton (the dramatic associate probably of Lord Buckhurst), Surre (i.e. Surrey), Va. Pig. and six are unsignatured. That quoted by Mr. Warton may be seen at length in Nug. Antiq. ii. 392. Another by Edwards is printed in Mr. Ellis's Specimens, vol. ii. and Norton's is also there inserted.—PARK.]

[c] George Etheridge, born at Thame in Oxfordshire, was admitted scholar of Corpus Christi college Oxford, under the tuition of the learned John Shepreve, in 1534. Fellow, in 1539. In 1553, he was made royal professor of Greek at Oxford. In 1556, he was recommended by lord Williams of Thame, to sir Thomas Pope founder

When queen Elizabeth visited Oxford in 1566, she was attended by Edwards, who was on this occasion employed to compose a play called PALAMON AND ARCITE, which was acted before her majesty in Christ-church hall[d]. I believe it was never printed. Another of his plays is DAMON AND PYTHIAS, which was acted at court. It is a mistake, that the first edition of this play is the same that is among Mr. Garrick's collection printed by Richard Johnes, and dated 1571[e]. The first edition* was printed by William Howe in Fleet-street, in 1570, with this title, "The tragical comedie of DAMON AND PITHIAS, newly imprinted as the same was playde before the queenes maiestie by the children of her graces chapple. Made by Mayster Edward then being master of the children[f]." There is some degree of low humour in the dialogues between Grimme the collier and the two lacquies, which I presume was highly pleasing to the queen. He probably wrote many other dramatic pieces now lost. Puttenham having mentioned lord Buckhurst and Master Edward Ferrys, or Ferrers, as most eminent in tragedy, gives the prize to Edwards for Comedy and Interlude[g]. The word Interlude is here of wide extent. For Edwards, besides that he was a writer of regular dramas, appears to have been a contriver of masques, and a composer of poetry for pageants. In a word, he united all those arts and accomplishments which minister to popular pleasantry: he was the first fiddle, the most fashionable sonnetteer, the readiest rhymer, and the most facetious mimic, of the court. In consequence of his love and his knowledge of the histrionic art, he taught the choristers over which he presided to act plays; and they were formed into a company of players, like those of St. Paul's cathedral, by the queen's licence, under the superintendency of Edwards[h].

of Trinity college in Oxford, to be admitted a fellow of his college at its first foundation; but Etheridge choosing to pursue the medical line, that scheme did not take effect. He was persecuted for popery by queen Elizabeth at her accession; but afterwards practised physic at Oxford with much reputation, and established a private seminary there for the instruction of catholic youths in the classics, music, and logic. Notwithstanding his active perseverance in the papistic persuasion, he presented to the queen, when she visited Oxford in 1566, an Encomium in Greek verse on her father Henry, now in the British Museum, MSS. Bibl. Reg. 16 C. x. He prefixed a not inelegant preface in Latin verse to his tutor Shepreve's Hyppolytus, an Answer to Ovid's Phædra, which he published in 1584. Pits his cotemporary says, "He was an able mathematician, and one of the most excellent vocal and instrumental musicians in England, but he chiefly delighted in the lute and lyre. A most elegant poet, and a most exact composer of English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew verses, which he used to set to his harp with the greatest skill." Angl. Script. p. 784. Paris. 1619. Pits adds, that he translated several of David's Psalms into a short Hebrew metre for music. [The harpers used a short verse, and Etheridge, it seems, was a harper; but why was this called a *translation*?—ASHBY.] Wood mentions his musical compositions in manuscript. His familiar friend Leland addresses him in an encomiastic epigram, and asserts that his many excellent writings were highly pleasing to king Henry the Eighth. Encom. Lond. 1589. p. 111. His chief patrons seem to have been, lord Williams, sir Thomas Pope, sir Walter Mildmay, and Robertson dean of Durham. He died in 1588, at Oxford. I have given Etheridge so long a note, because he appears from Pits to have been an English poet. Compare Fox, Martyrolog. iii. 500.

[d] See supr. vol. ii. p. 526.

[e] Quarto, bl. lett.

* [Vid. infra, p. 241. note [x].]

[f] Quarto, bl. lett. The third edition is among Mr. Garrick's Plays, 4to. bl. lett. dated 1582.

[g] Arte of English Poetry, fol. 51.

[h] See supr. vol. ii. p. 534.

The most poetical of Edwards's ditties in the PARADISE OF DAINTIE DEVISES is a description of May[1]: the rest are moral sentences in stanzas. His SOUL-KNELL, supposed to have been written on his death-bed, was once celebrated[k]. His popularity seems to have altogether arisen from those pleasing talents of which no specimens could be transmitted to posterity, and which prejudiced his partial cotemporaries in favour of his poetry. He died in the year 1566[l].

In the *Epitaphs, Songs, and Sonets* of George Turbervile, printed in [1567 and] 1570, there are two elegies on his death; which record the places of his education, ascertain his poetical and musical character, and bear ample testimony to the high distinction in which his performances, more particularly of the dramatic kind, were held. The second is by Turbervile himself, entitled, "An Epitaph on Maister Edwards, sometime Maister of the Children of the Chappell and gentleman of Lyncolnes inne of court."

Ye learned Muses nine,
And sacred sisters all;
Now lay your cheerful cithrons downe,
And to lamenting fall.....
For he that led the daunce,
The chiefest of your traine,
I mean the man that Edwards height,
By cruell death is slaine.
Ye courtiers, chaunge your cheere,
Lament in wastefull wise;
For now your Orpheus has resignde,
In clay his carcas lies.
O ruth! he is bereft,
That, whilst he lived here,
For poets penne and passinge wit
Could have no English peere.
His vaine in verse was such,
So stately eke his stile,
His feate in forging sugred songes
With cleane and curious file[m];

[1] Carm. 6. edit. 1585. It seems to have been a favourite, and is complimented in another piece, *A reply to M. Edwardes May*, subscribed *M. S.* ibid. Carm. 29. This miscellany, of which more will be said hereafter, is said in the title to "be devised and written for the most parte by M. Edwardes sometime of her maiesties Chappell." Edwards however had been dead twelve years when the first edition appeared, viz. in 1578.

[It will be seen from Mr. Haselwood's careful reprint of Edwards's Metrical Miscellany, that the first edition appeared in 1576, and a second in 1577.—PARK.]

[k] It is mentioned by G. Gascoigne in his *Epistle to the young Gentlemen*, before his works, 1587. qu.

[But it is only mentioned in derision, as a vulgar and groundless notion, to which those who gave credence are ridiculed for their absurdity.—PARK.]

[l] Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 151. See also, ibid. Fast. 71.

[m] Shakspeare has inserted a part of Edwards's song *In Commendation of Musicke*, extant at length in the Paradise of Daintie Deuises, (fol. 34 b.) in Romeo and Juliet: "When griping grief," &c. act iv. sc. 5. In some Miscellany of the reign of Elizabeth, I have seen a song called The Willow-Garland, attributed to Edwards:

As all the learned Greekes,
And Romaines would repine,
If they did live againe, to vewe
His verse with scornefull eine[n].
From Plautus he the palm
And learned Terence wan, &c.[o]

The other is written by Thomas Twyne, an assistant in Phaer's Translation of Virgil's Eneid into English verse, educated a few years after Edwards at Corpus Christi college, and an actor in Edwards's play of PALAMON AND ARCITE before queen Elizabeth at Oxford in 1566[p]. It is entitled, "An Epitaph vpon the death of the worshipfull Mayster Richarde Edwardes late Mayster of the Children in the queenes maiesties chapell."

O happie house, O place
Of Corpus Christi[q], thou
That plantedst first, and gau-t the root
To that so braue a bow[r]:
And Christ-church[s], which enioydste
The fruit more ripe at fill,
Plunge up a thousand sighes, for griefe
Your trickling teares distill.
Whilst Childe and Chapell dure[t],
Whilst court a court shall be;

and the same, I think, that is licensed to T. Colwell in 1564, beginning, "*I am not the fyrst that hath taken in hande, The wearynge of the willowe garlande.*" This song, often reprinted, seems to have been written in consequence of that sung by Desdemona in Othello, with the burden, *Sing, O the green willowe shall be my garland.* Othell. act iv. sc. 3. See Register of the Stationers, A. fol. 119 b. Hence the antiquity of Desdemona's song may in some degree be ascertained. I take this opportunity of observing, that the ballad of Susannah, part of which is sung by Sir Toby in Twelfth Night, was licensed to T. Colwell, in 1562, with the title, "The godlye and constant wyfe Susanna." Ibid. fol. 89 b. There is a play on this subject, ibid. fol. 176 a. See Tw. N. act ii. sc. 3. and Collect. Pepysian. tom. i. p. 33. 496.

[n] eyes.

[o] Fol. 142 b. [The following is one of Turberville's epigrammatic witticisms:

Of one that had a great Nose.

Stande with thy nose against
The sunne, with open chaps,
And by thy teeth we shall discerne
What tis a clock, perhaps.

Turb. Poems, 1570, p. 83 b.
PARK.]

[p] Miles Winsore of the same college was another actor in that play, and I suppose his performance was much liked by the queen: for when her majesty left Oxford, after this visit, he was appointed by the university to speak an oration before her at lord Windsor's at Bradenham in Bucks; and when he had done speaking, the queen turning to Gama de Sylva, the Spanish ambassador, and looking *wistly* on Windsore, said to the ambassador, *Is not this a pretty young man?* Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 151. 489. Winsore proved afterwards a diligent antiquary.

[q] Corpus Christi college at Oxford.

[r] bough, branch. [s] At Oxford.

[t] While the royal chapel and its singing-boys remain.

In a puritanical pamphlet without name, printed in 1569, and entitled, "The Children of the Chapel stript and whipt," among bishop Tanner's books at Oxford, it is said, "Plaies will neuer be supprest, while her maiesties unfledged minions flaunt it in silkes and sattens. They had as well be at their popish service, in the deuils garments," &c. fol. xii. a. 12mo. This is perhaps the earliest notice now to be found in print, of this young company of comedians, at least the earliest proof of their celebrity. From the same pamphlet we

Good Edwards, eche astat[u] shall much
Both want and wish for thee!
Thy tender tunes and rhymes
Wherein thou wontst to play,
Eche princely dame of court and towne
Shall beare in minde away.
Thy DAMON[w] and his Friend[x],

learn, that it gave still greater offence to the puritans, that they were suffered to act plays on profane subjects in the royal chapel itself. "Even in her maiesties chappel do these pretty vpstart youthes profane the Lordes Day by the lascivious writhing of their tender limbs, and gorgeous decking of their apparell, in feigning bawdie fables gathered from the idolatrous heathen poets," &c. ibid. fol. xiii. b. But this practice soon ceased in the royal chapels. Yet in one of Stephen Gosson's books against the stage, written in 1579, is this passage:—"In playes, either those thinges are fained that neuer were, as CUPID AND PSYCHE plaid at PAULES, and a great many comedies more at the Blackfriars, and in euerie playhouse in London," &c. Signat. D. 4. Undoubtedly the actors of this play of Cupid and Psyche were the choristers of saint Paul's cathedral: but it may be doubted, whether by *Paules* we are here to understand the Cathedral or its Singing school, the last of which was the usual theatre of those choristers. See Gosson's "PLAYES CONFUTED IN FIVE ACTIONS, &c. *prouing that they are not to be suffred in a christian common weale, by the waye both the cauils of* Thomas Lodge, *and* the Play of Playes, *written in their defence, and other objections of Players frendes, are truely set downe* and directly aunsweard." Lond. Impr. for T. Gosson, no date. bl. lett. 12mo. We are sure that religious plays were presented in our churches long after the reformation. Not to repeat or multiply instances, see Second and Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies, printed 1580, pag. 77. 12mo.; and Gosson's Schoole of Abuse, p. 24 b. edit. 1579. As to the exhibition of plays on Sundays after the reformation, we are told by John Field, in his Declaration of God's Judgement at Paris Garden, that in the year 1580, "The Magistrates of the citty of London obteined from queene Elizabeth, that all heathenish playes and enterludes should be banished upon sabbath dayes." fol. ix. Lond. 1583. 8vo. It appears from this pamphlet, that a prodigious concourse of people were assembled at Paris Garden, to see plays and a bear-baiting, on Sunday Jan. 13, 1583, when the whole theatre fell to the ground, by which accident many of the spectators were killed. [As this accident happened three years after the above order was issued, Dr. Ashby supposes that the order extended only to the city, and that Paris Garden was out of that jurisdiction.—PARK.] (See also Henry Cave's [Carre's] *Narration of the Fall of Paris Garden*, Lond. 1588; and D. Beard's *Theater of Gods Judgements*, edit. 3. Lond. 1631. lib. i. c. 35. p. 212; also *Refutation of* Heywood's *Apologie* for Actors, p. 43, by J. G. Lond. 1615. 4to.; and Stubbs's *Anatomie of Abuses*, p. 134, 135. edit. Lond. 1595.) And we learn from Richard Reulidges's *Monster lately found out and discovered*, or *the Scourging of Tiplers*, a circumstance not generally known in our dramatic history, and perhaps occasioned by these profanations of the sabbath, that "Many godly citizens and wel-disposed gentlemen of London, considering that play-houses and dicing-houses were traps for yong gentlemen and others,—made humble suite to queene Elizabeth and her Privy-councell, and obtained leave from her Majesty, to thrust the Players out of the citty; and to pull downe all Play-houses and Dicing-houses within their liberties: which accordingly was effected, and the Play-houses in Gracious [Gracechurch] street, Bishops gate street, that nigh Paules, that on Ludgate-hill, and the White-friers, were quite put downe and suppressed, by the care of these religious senators." Lond. 1628. pp. 2, 3, 4. Compare G. Whetstone's Mirrour for Magistrates of Citties. Lond. 1586. fol. 24. But notwithstanding these precise measures of the city magistrates and the privy-council, the queen appears to have been a constant attendant at plays, especially those presented by the children of her chapel. [So, also, she retained some relics of popery, as tapers on the altar, &c. which greatly offended the puritans.—ASHBY.]

[u] estate, rank of life.

[w] Hamlet calls Horatio, *O Damon dear*, in allusion to the friendship of Damon and Pythias, celebrated in Edwards's play. Hamlet, act iii. sc. 2.

[x] Pythias. I have said above that the first edition of Edwards's Damon and Pythias was printed by William Howe in

ARCITE and PALAMON,
With moe[y] full fit for princes eares, &c.[z]

Francis Meres, in his "PALLADIS TAMIA, Wits Treasurie, being the second part of WITS COMMONWEALTH," published in 1598, recites *Maister* EDWARDES *of her maiesties chapel as one of the best for comedy*, together with "Edward earle of Oxforde, doctor Gager of Oxford[a], maister Rowly once a rare scholler of Pembrooke Hall in Cambridge, eloquent and wittie John Lillie, Lodge, Gascoygne, Greene, Shakspeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Mundye[b], our

Fleet-street, in the year 1570, "The tragicall comedie," &c. See supr. p. 238. But perhaps it may be necessary to retract this assertion; for in the Register of the Stationers, under the year 1565, a receipt is entered for the licence of Alexander Lacy to print "A ballat entituled tow [two] lamentable Songes Pithias and Damon." Registr. A. fol. 136 b. And again, there is the receipt for licence of Richard James in 1566, to print "A boke entituled the tragicall comedye of Damonde and Pithyas." Ibid. fol. 161 b. In the same Register I find, under the year 1569–70, "An Enterlude, a lamentable Tragedy full of pleasant myrth," licenced to John Alde. Ibid. fol. 184 b. This I take to be the first edition of Preston's Cambyses, so frequently ridiculed by his cotemporaries.

[y] more.

[z] Ibid. fol. 78 b. And not to multiply in the text citations in proof of Edwards's popularity from forgotten or obscure poets, I observe at the bottom of the page, that T. B. in a recommendatory poem prefixed to John Studley's English version of Seneca's Agamemnon, printed in 1566, ranks our author Edwards with Phaer the translator of Virgil, Jasper Haywood the translator of Seneca's Troas and Hercules Furens, Nevile the translator of Seneca's Œdipus, Googe, and Golding the translator of Ovid, more particularly with the latter.

With him also, as seemeth me,
Our Edwards may compare;
Who nothyng gyuing place to him
Doth syt in egall chayre.

[Churchyard's panegyric on the English poets contains a similar species of commendation.

..... Phaer did hit the pricke
In thinges he did translate;
And Edwards had a special gift;
And divers men of late
Have helpt our Englishe toung.
PARK.]

[a] A famous writer of Latin plays at Oxford. See supr. vol. ii. p. 527. note [c].

[b] I have never seen any of Antony Munday's plays. It appears from Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder, printed in 1600, that he was famous for writing ballads. In *The request to the impudent generation of Ballad-makers*, Kemp calls Munday "one whose employment of the pageant was utterly spent, he being knowne to be Elderton's immediate heire," &c. Signat. D. 2. See the next note. He seems to have been much employed by the booksellers as a publisher and compiler both in verse and prose. He was bred at Rome in the English college, and was thence usually called the *Pope's scholar*. See his pamphlet *The Englishman's Roman Life*, or *how Englishmen live at Rome*. Lond. 1582. 4to. But he afterwards turned protestant. He published "The Discoverie of Edmund Campion the Jesuit," in 1582. 12mo. Lond. for E. White. He published also, and dedicated to the earl of Leicester, *Two godly and learned Sermons made by that famous and worthy instrument in God's church M. John Calvin*, translated into English by Horne bishop of Winchester, during his exile. "Published by A. M." For Henry Car, Lond. 1584. 12mo. Munday frequently used his initials only. Also, a *Brief* CHRONICLE *from the creation to this time*, Lond. 1611. 8vo. This seems to be cited by Hutten, Antiquit. Oxf. p. 281. edit. Hearne. See Registr. Station. B. fol. 143 b.

He was a city-poet, and a composer and contriver of the city pageants. These are, Chryso-triumphos, &c. devised and written by A. Munday, 1611.—Triumphs of old Drapery, &c. by A. M. 1616.—Metropolis Coronata, &c. by A. M. 1615. with the story of Robin-hood. Printed by G. Purstowe.—Chrysanaleia, [The golden-fishery] or the honor of fishmongers, concerning Mr. John Lemans being twice Lord-mayor, by A. M. 1616 4to.—The Triumphs of reunited Britannia, &c. by A. Munday, citizen and draper of London, 4to. Probably Meres, as in the text, calls him the *best plotter*, from his invention in these or the like shows. William

best plotter, Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway, and Henry Chettle[c]." Puttenham, the author of the *Arte of English Poesie*, mentions the Webbe, in the Discourse of English Poetrie, printed in 1586, says, that he has seen by Anthony Munday, "*an earnest traveller* in this art, very excellent works, especially upon nymphs and shepherds, well worthy to be viewed, and to be esteemed as rare poetry." In an old play attributed to Jonson, called *The Case is altered*, he is ridiculed under the name of Antonio Balladino, and as a pageant-poet. In the same scene, there is an oblique stroke on Meres, for calling him the *best plotter*. "You are in *print already* for the best plotter." With his city-pageants, I suppose he was Dumb-show maker to the stage.

Munday's Discovery of Campion gave great offence to the catholics, and produced an anonymous reply called "A True Reporte of the deth and martyrdom of M. Campion, &c. Whereunto is annexed certayne verses made by sundrie persons." Without date of year or place. bl. lett. Never seen by Wood. [Ath. Oxon. col. 166.] Published, I suppose, in 1583, 8vo. At the end is a CAUEAT, containing some curious anecdotes of Munday. "Munday was first a stage player; after an aprentise, which time he well serued by with dececuing of his master. Then wandring towards Italy, by his owne reporte, became a cosener in his journey. Coming to Rome, in his shorte abode there, was charitably relieued, but neuer admitted in the Seminary, as he pleseth to lye in the title of his boke; and being wery of well doing, returned home to his first vomite, and was hist from his stage for folly. Being thereby discouraged, he set forth a balet against playes,—tho he afterwards began again to ruffle upon the stage. I omit among other places his behaviour in Barbican with his good mistres, and mother. Two thinges however must not be passed over of this boyes infelicitie two seuerall wayes of late notorious. First, he writing upon the death of Everaud Haunse was immediately controled and disproued by one of his owne hatche. And shortly after setting forth the Aprehension of Mr. Campion," &c. The last piece is, "a breef Discourse of the Taking of Edmund Campion, and divers other papists in Barkshire, &c. Gathered by A. M." For W. Wrighte, 1581.

He published in 1618, a new edition of Stowe's Survey of London, with the addition of materials which he pretends to have received from the author's own hands. See Dedication. He was a citizen of London, and is buried in Coleman-street church; where his epitaph gives him the character of a learned antiquary. Seymour's Surv. Lond. i. 322. He collected the Arms of the county of Middlesex, lately transferred from sir Simeon Stuart's library to the British Museum.

[c] Fol. 282. I do not recollect to have seen any of Chettle's comedies. He wrote a little romance, with some verses intermixed, entitled, "Piers Plainnes seauen yeres Prentiship, by H. C. *Nuda Veritas*. Printed at London by J. Danter for Thomas Gosson, and are to be sold at his shop by London-bridge gate, 1595." 4to. bl. lett. He wrote another pamphlet, containing anecdotes of the petty literary squabbles, in which he was concerned with Greene, Nashe, Tarleton, and the players, called "Kinde-Harts Dreame. Containing five Apparitions with their inuectives against abuses raigning. *Deliuered by seuerall Ghosts vnto him to be publisht after* Piers Penilesse Post *had refused the carriage*. Inuita Inuidia. By H. C. Imprinted at London for William Wright." 4to. without date. bl. lett. In the Epistle prefixed, To the *Gentlemen Readers*, and signed Henrie Chettle, he says, "About three moneths since died M. Robert Greene [in 1592], leaving many papers in sundry Booke sellers handes, among others his Groats worth of Wit, in which a letter written to diuers Play-makers is offensively by one or two of them taken," &c. In the same, he mentions an Epistle prefixed to the second part of Gerileon, falsely attributed to Nashe. The work consists of four or five Addresses. The first is an ironical Admonition to the Ballad-singers of London, from Antonie Now Now, or Antony Munday, just mentioned in the text, a great Ballad-writer. From this piece it appears, that the ancient and respectable profession of ballad-making, as well as of ballad-singing, was in high repute about the metropolis and in the country fairs. Signat. C. "When I was liked, says Anthonie, there was no thought of that idle vpstart generation of ballad-singers, neither was there a printer so lewd that would set his finger to a lasciuious line." But now, he adds, "ballads are *abusively* chanted in every street; and from London this evil has overspread Essex and the adjoining counties. There is many a tradesman, of a worshipfull trade, yet no stationer, who after a little bringing vppe apprentices to singing brokerie, takes into his shoppe some fresh men, and trustes his olde servauntes of a two months standing

"earle of Oxford, and maister Edwardes of her majesties chappel, for comedy and enterlude[d]."

Among the books of my friend the late Mr. William Collins of Chichester, now dispersed, was a Collection of short comic stories in prose, printed in the black letter under the year 1570, "sett forth by maister Richard Edwardes mayster of her maiesties reuels." Undoubtedly this is the same Edwards, who from this title expressly appears to have been the general conductor of the court festivities, and who most probably succeeded in this office George Ferrers, one of the original authors of the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES[e]. Among these tales was

with a dossen groates worth of ballads. In which if they prove thriftie, he makes them prety chapmen, able to spred more pamphlets by the state forbidden, than all the booksellers in London," &c. The names of many ballads are here also recorded, Watkins Ale, The Carmans Whistle, Chopping-knives, and Frier Fox-taile. Outroaringe Dick, and Wat Wimbars, two celebrated trebles, are said to have got twenty shillings a day by singing at Braintree fair in Essex. Another of these Addresses is from Robert Greene to Peirce Pennilesse. Signat. E. Another from Tarleton the Player *to all maligners of honest mirth.* E. 2. "Is it not lamentable," says he, "that a man should spende his two pence on plays in an afternoone?—If players were suppressed, it would be to the no smal profit of the Bowlinge Alleys in Bedlam and other places, that were [are] wont in the afternoones to be left empty by the recourse of good fellowes into that vnprofitable recreation of stage-playing. And it were not much amisse woulde they ioine with the Dicing-houses to make sute againe for their longer restrainte, though the *Sicknesse* cease.—While Playes are usde, halfe the daye is by most youthes that haue libertie spent vppon them, or at least the greatest company drawne to the places where they frequent," &c. This is all in pure irony. The last address is from William Cuckowe, a famous master of legerdemain, on the tricks of jugglers. I could not suffer this opportunity, accidentally offered, to pass, of giving a note to a forgotten old writer of comedy, whose name may not perhaps occur again. But I must add, that the initials H. C. to pieces of this period do not always mean Henry Chettle. In England's Helicon are many pieces signed H. C. probably for Henry Constable, a noted sonnet-writer of these times. I have "Diana, or the excellent conceitfull Sonnets of H. C. Augmented with diuers quatorzains of honorable and learned personages, Diuided into viij. Decads. *Vincitur a facibus qui jacit ipse faces.*" At Lond. 1596. 16mo. These are perhaps by Henry Constable. The last Sonnet is on a Lady born 1588. In my copy, those by H. C. are marked H. C. with a pen. Henry Constable will be examined in his proper place. Chettle is mentioned, as a player I think, in the last page of Dekker's Knights Conjuring, printed in 1607. [In the tract here cited, Bentley and not Chettle is introduced as a *player*. The sonnets of Constable, from a MS. in the possession of Mr. Todd, have been printed in a late Supplement to the Harleian Miscellany. —PARK.]

[d] Lib. i. ch. xxxi. fol. 51 a.

[e] Who had certainly quitted that office before the year 1575. for in George Gascoigne's Narrative of queen Elizabeth's splendid visit at Kenilworth-castle in Warwickshire, entitled the Princelie Pleasures of Kenilworth-castle, the octave stanzas spoken by the Lady of the Lake, are said to have been "devised and penned by M. [Master] Ferrers, sometime Lord of Misrule in the Court." Signat. A. iij. See also Signat. B. ij. This was George Ferrers mentioned in the text, a contributor to the Mirrour for Magistrates. I take this opportunity of insinuating my suspicions, that I have too closely followed the testimony of Philips, Wood, and Tanner, in supposing that this George Ferrers, and Edward Ferrers a writer of plays, were two distinct persons. See supr. p. 184. I am now convinced that they have been confounded, and that they are one and the same man. We have already seen, and from good authority, that GEORGE Ferrers was Lord of Misrule to the court, that is, among other things of a like kind, a writer of court interludes or plays; and that king Edward the Sixth *had great delight in his pastimes.* See supr. vol. ii. p. 525. note [u]. The confusion appears to have originated from Puttenham, the author of the Arte of English Poesie, who has inadvertently given to George the christian name of Edward. But his account, or character, of this Edward Fer-

that of the INDUCTION OF THE TINKER in Shakspeare's TAMING OF THE SHREW; and perhaps Edwards's story-book was the immediate source from which Shakspeare, or rather the author of the old TAMING OF A SHREW, drew that diverting apologue[f]. If I recollect right, the circumstances almost exactly tallied with an incident which Heuterus relates, from an Epistle of Ludovicus Vives, to have actually happened at the marriage of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, about the year 1440. I will give it in the words, either of Vives, or of that perspicuous annalist, who flourished about the year 1580. "Nocte quadam a cæna cum aliquot præcipuis amicorum per urbem deambulans, jacentem conspicatus est medio foro hominem de plebe ebrium, altum stertentem. In eo visum est experiri quale esset vitæ nostræ ludicrum, de quo illi interdum essent collocuti. Jussit hominem deferri ad Palatium, et lecto Ducali collocari, nocturnum Ducis pileum capiti ejus imponi, exutaque sordida veste linea, aliam e tenuissimo ei lino indui. De mane ubi evigilavit, præsto fuere pueri nobiles ei cubicularii Ducis, qui non aliter quam ex Duce ipso quærerent an luberet surgere, et quemadmodum vellet eo die vestiri. Prolata sunt Ducis vestimenta. Mirari homo ubi se eo loci vidit. Indutus est, prodiit e cubiculo, adfuere proceres qui illum ad sacellum deducerent. Interfuit sacro, datus est illi osculandus liber, et reliqua penitus ut Duci. A sacro ad prandium instructissimum. A prandio cubicularius attulit chartas luso-

rers has served to lead us to the truth. "But the principall man in this profession [poetry] at the same time [of Edward the Sixth] was maister Edward Ferrys, a man of no lesse mirth and felicitie that way, but of much more skil and magnificence in his meeter, and therefore wrate for the most part to the stage in Tragedie and sometimes in Comedie, or Enterlude, wherein he gave the king so much good recreation, as he had thereby many good rewardes." Lib. i. ch. xxxi. p. 49. edit. 1589. And again, "For Tragedie the lord of Buckhurst, and maister Edward Ferrys, for such doinges as I have sene of theirs, do deserve the highest price." Ibid. p. 51. His Tragedies, with the *magnificent meeter*, are perhaps nothing more than the stately monologues in the Mirrour for Magistrates; and he might have written others either for the stage in general, or the more private entertainment of the court, now lost, and probably never printed. His Comedie and Enterlude are perhaps to be understood to have been, not so much regular and professed dramas for a theatre, as little dramatic mummeries for the court-holidays, or other occasional festivities. The court-shows, like this at Kenilworth, were accompanied with personated dialogues in verse, and the whole pageantry was often styled an interlude. This reasoning also accounts for Puttenham's seeming omission, in not having enumerated the Mirrour for Magistrates, by name, among the shining poems of his age. I have before observed, what is much to our purpose, that no plays of an Edward Ferrers, (or Ferrys, which is the same,) in print or manuscript, are now known to exist, nor are mentioned by any writer of the times with which we are now concerned. George Ferrers at least, from what actually remains of him, has some title to the dramatic character. Our George Ferrers, from the part he bore in the exhibitions at Kenilworth, appears to have been employed as a writer of metrical speeches or dialogues to be spoken in character, long after he had left the office of lord of misrule;—a proof of his reputed excellence in compositions of this nature, and of the celebrity with which he filled that department.

[Leland in his Encomia, 1589, has a Latin laud *Ad Georgium Ferrarium.*—PARK.]

I also take this opportunity, the earliest which has occurred, of retracting another slight mistake. See supr. p. 226. There was a second edition of Niccols's Mirrour for Magistrates, printed for W. Aspley, London. 1621. 4to.

[f] See Six Old Plays, Lond. 1779. 12mo.

rias, pecuniæ acervum. Lusit cum magnatibus, sub serum deambulavit in hortulis, venatus est in leporario, et cepit aves aliquot aucupio. Cæna peracta est pari celebritate qua prandium. Accensis luminibus inducta sunt musica instrumenta, puellæ atque nobiles adolescentes saltarunt, exhibitæ sunt fabulæ, dehinc comessatio quæ hilaritate atque invitationibus ad potandum producta est in multam noctem. Ille vero largiter se vino obruit præstantissimo; et postquam collapsus in somnum altissimum, jussit eum Dux vestimentis prioribus indui, atque in eum locum reportari, quo prius fuerat repertus: ibi transegit noctem totam dormiens. Postridie experrectus cæpit secum de vita illa Ducali cogitare, incertum habens fuissetne res vera, an visum quod animo esset per quietem observatum. Tandem collatis conjecturis omnibus atque argumentis, statuit somnium fuisse, et ut tale uxori liberis ac viris narravit. Quid interest inter diem illius et nostros aliquot annos? Nihil penitus, nisi quod hoc est paulo diuturnius somnium, ac si quis unam duntaxat horam, alter vero decem somniasset."[g]

To an irresistible digression, into which the magic of Shakspeare's name has insensibly seduced us, I hope to be pardoned for adding another narrative of this frolic, from the ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY by Democritus junior, or Robert Burton, a very learned and ingenious writer of the reign of king James the First. "When as by reason of unseasonable weather, he could neither hawke nor hunt, and was now tired with cards and dice, and such other domesticall sports, or to see ladies dance with some of his courtiers, he would in the evening walke disguised all about the towne. It so fortuned, as he was walking late one night, he found a country fellow dead drunke, snorting on a bulke: hee caused his followers to bring him to his palace, and then stripping him of his old clothes, and attyring him in the court-fashion, when he wakened, he and they were all ready to attend upon his Excellency, and persuaded him he was some great Duke. The poore fellow admiring how he came there, was served in state all day long: after supper he saw them dance, heard musicke, and all the rest of those court-like pleasures. But late at night, when he was well tipled, and againe faste asleepe, they put on his old robes, and so conveyed him to the place where they first found him. Now the fellowe had not made there so good sport the day before, as he did now when he returned to himselfe; all the jest was, to see how he looked upon it. In conclusion, after some little admiration, the poore man told his friends he had seene a vision, constantly believed it, would not otherwise be persuaded, and so the joke ended[h]." If this is a true story, it is a curious specimen of the winter-diversions of a very polite court of France in the middle of

[g] Heutcrus, Rer. Burgund. lib. iv. p. 150. edit. Plantin. 1584. fol. Heuterus says, this story was told to Vives by an old officer of the duke's court.

[h] Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Part ii. § 2. pag. 232. fol. Oxon. 1624. There is an older edition in quarto. [Printed in 1621, but dated from the Author's study at Christ Church, Oxon. Dec. 5, 1620.—PARK.]

the fifteenth century. The merit of the contrivance, however, and comic effect of this practical joke, will atone in some measure for many indelicate circumstances with which it must have necessarily been attended. I presume it first appeared in Vives's Epistle. I have seen the story of a tinker disguised like a lord in recent collections of humorous tales, probably transmitted from Edwards's story-book, which I wish I had examined more carefully.

I have assigned Edwards to queen Mary's reign, as his reputation in the character of general poetry seems to have been then at its height. I have mentioned his sonnets addressed to the court-beauties of that reign, and of the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth[1].

If I should be thought to have been disproportionately prolix in speaking of Edwards, I would be understood to have partly intended a tribute of respect to the memory of a poet, who is one of the earliest of our dramatic writers after the reformation of the British stage.

[1] Viz. Tit. A. xxiv. MSS. Cott. (See supr. p. 237.) I will here cite a few lines.

Hawarde is not haugte, but of such smylynge cheare,
That wolde alure eche gentill harte, hir love to holde fulle deare:
Dacars is not dangerus, hir talke is nothinge coye,
Hir noble stature may compare with Hector's wyfe of Troye, &c.

At the end "Finis R. E." I have a faint recollection, that some of Edwards's songs are in a poetical miscellany, printed by T. Colwell in 1567 or 1568. "Newe Sonettes and pretty pamphlettes," &c. Entered to Colwell in 1567–8. Registr. Station. A fol. 163 b. I cannot quit Edwards's songs, without citing the first stanza of his beautiful one in the *Paradise of Daintie Deuises*, on Terence's apophthegm of *Amantium iræ amoris integratio est.* Num. 50. Signat. G. ii. 1585.

In going to my naked bed, as one that would have slept,
I heard a wife sing to her child, that long before had wept:
She sighed sore, and sang full sweete, to bring the babe to rest,
That would not cease, but cried still, in sucking at her brest.
She was full wearie of her watch, and greeved with her childe;
She rocked it, and rated it, till that on her it smilde.
Then did she say, now haue I found this Prouerbe true to proue,
The falling out of faithfull frendes renuyng is of loue.

The close of the second stanza is prettily conducted.

Then kissed she her little babe, and sware by God aboue,
The falling out of faithfull frendes, renuyng is of loue.

[Sir Egerton Brydges, in his republication of Edwards's Miscellany, considers this poem, even without reference to the age which produced it, among the most beautiful morceaux of our language. The happiness of the illustration of Terence's apophthegm, the facility, elegance and tenderness of the diction, and the exquisite turn of the whole, he deems above commendation; while they show to what occasional polish and refinement our literature even then had arrived. Pref. p. vi. —PARK.]

SECTION LIII.

Tusser. Remarkable circumstances of his life. His Husbandrie, one of our earliest didactic poems, examined.

About the same time flourished Thomas Tusser, one of our earliest didactic poets, in a science of the highest utility, and which produced one of the most beautiful poems of antiquity. The vicissitudes of this man's life have uncommon variety and novelty for the life of an author, and his history conveys some curious traces of the times as well as of himself. He seems to have been alike the sport of fortune, and a dupe to his own discontented disposition and his perpetual propensity to change of situation.

He was born of an ancient family, about the year 1523, at Rivenhall in Essex; and was placed as a chorister, or singing-boy, in the collegiate chapel of the castle of Wallingford in Berkshire[a]. Having a fine voice, he was impressed from Wallingford college into the king's chapel. Soon afterwards he was admitted into the choir of saint Paul's cathedral in London; where he made great improvements under the instruction of John Redford the organist, a famous musician. He was next sent to Eton-school, where, at one chastisement, he received fifty-three stripes of the rod from the severe but celebrated master Nicholas Udall[b]. His academical education was at Trinity-hall in Cambridge: but Hatcher affirms, that he was from Eton admitted a scholar of King's College in that university, under the year 1543[c]. From the university he was called up to court by his singular and generous patron William lord Paget, in whose family he appears to have been a retainer[d]. In this department he lived ten years; but being disgusted with the vices, and wearied with the quarrels of the courtiers, he retired into the country, and embraced the profession of a farmer, which he successively practised at Ratwood in Sussex, Ipswich in Suffolk, Fairstead in Essex, Norwich, and other places[e]. Here his patrons were sir Richard South-

[a] This chapel had a dean, six prebendaries, six clerks, and four choristers. It was dissolved in 1549.

[b] Udall's English interludes, mentioned above, were perhaps written for his scholars. Thirty-five lines of one of them are quoted in Wilson's Arte of Logike, edit. 1567. fol. 67 a. "Suete maistresse whereas," &c.

[c] MSS. Catal. Præpos. Soc. Schol. Coll. Regal. Cant.

[d] Our author's Husbandrie is dedicated to his son Lord Thomas Paget of Beaudesert, fol. 7. ch. ii. edit. ut infr. [It was first inscribed to his father Lord William Paget, 1586.—Park.]

[e] In Peacham's Minerva, a book of emblems printed in 1612, there is the device of a whetstone and a scythe with these lines, fol. 61. edit. 4to.

They tell me, Tusser, when thou wert alive,
And hadst for profit turned euery stone,
Where ere thou camest thou couldst neuer thriue,
Though heereto best couldst counsel every one,

well[f], and Salisbury dean of Norwich. Under the latter he procured the place of a singing-man in Norwich cathedral. At length, having perhaps too much philosophy and too little experience to succeed in the business of agriculture, he returned to London; but the plague drove him away from town, and he took shelter at Trinity college in Cambridge. Without a tincture of careless imprudence, or vicious extravagance, this desultory character seems to have thrived in no vocation. Fuller says, that his stone, *which gathered no moss*, was the stone of Sisyphus. His plough and his poetry were alike unprofitable. He was by turns a fiddler and a farmer, a grazier and a poet, with equal success. He died very aged at London in 1580*, and was buried in saint Mildred's church in the Poultry[g].

Some of these circumstances, with many others of less consequence, are related by himself in one of his pieces, entitled the AUTHOR'S LIFE, as follows.

What robes[h] how bare, what colledge fare!
What bread how stale, what pennie ale!
Then WALLINGFORD, how wert thou abhord
Of sillie boies!

Thence for my voice, I must, no choice,
Away of forse, like posting horse;
For sundrie men had placardes then
Such child to take.
The better brest[i], the lesser rest,
To serue the queer, now there now heer:
For time so spent, I may repent,
And sorowe make.

As it may in thy Husbandrie appeare
Wherein afresh thou liust among vs here.

So like thy selfe a number more are wont,
To sharpen others with advice of wit,
When they themselues are like the whetstone blunt, &c.

[In a volume of epigrams, entitled "The More the Merrier," 1608, by H. P. (qu. Peacham or Parrot) these lines were anticipated in part.

Ad Tusserum.

Tusser, they tell me, when thou wert alive,
Thou, teaching thrift, thyselfe couldst never thrive:
So, like the whetstone, many men are wont
To sharpen others, when themselves are blunt.—PARK.]

[f] See Life of Sir Thomas Pope, 2d edit. p. 218.

* [If Tusser was born in 1523, he could not die very *aged* in 1580; as he was only 57. If he went to college in 1543, aged 20, stayed there three years, and then followed the court for ten years, he must have been 33 at least when he married: this brings us to 1556, and the very next year produced the first edition of his Husbandry; which seems too short a space to furnish the practical knowledge discovered in that work.—ASHBY.]

[g] See his Epitaph in Stowe's Surv. Lond. p. 474. edit. 1618. 4to. And Fuller's Worthies, p. 334.

[Fuller only collects the date of his death to be about 1580.—PARK.]

[h] The livery, or *vestis liberata*, often called *robe*, allowed annually by the college.

[i] To the passages lately collected by the commentators on Shakspeare to prove that *breast* signifies *voice*, the following may be added from Ascham's Toxophilus. He is speaking of the expediency of educating youth in singing. "Trulye twe degrees of men, which haue the highes

But marke the chance, myself to vance,
By friendships lot, to PAULES I got;
So found I grace a certaine space,
Still to remaine.
With REDFORD there, the like no where,
For cunning such, and vertue much,
By whom some part of musicke art,
So did I gaine.

From PAULES I went, to EATON sent,
To learne straighte waies the Latin phraies,
Where fiftie three stripes giuen to me
At once I had:
The fault but small, or none at all,
It came to pas, thus beat I was:
See, Udall, see, the mercie of thee
To me, poore lad!

To LONDON hence, to CAMBRIDGE thence,
With thankes to thee, O TRINITE,
That to thy HALL, so passinge all,
I got at last.
There ioy I felt, there trim I dwelt, &c.

At length he married a wife by the name of Moone, from whom, for an obvious reason, he expected great inconstancy, but was happily disappointed.

Through Uenus' toies, in hope of ioies,
I chanced soone to finde a *Moone*,
Of cheerfull hew:
Which well and fine, methought, did shine,
And neuer change, a thing most strange,
Yet kept in sight her course aright,
And compas trew, &c.[k]

Before I proceed, I must say a few words concerning the very remarkable practice implied in these stanzas, of seizing boys by a warrant for the service of the king's chapel. Strype has printed an abstract of an instrument, by which it appears, that emissaries were dispatched into various parts of England with full powers to take boys from any choir for the use of the chapel of king Edward the Sixth. Under the year 1550, says Strype, there was a grant of a commission "to Philip Van Wilder gentleman of the Privy Chamber, in anie churches or

offices under the king in all this realme, shall greatly lacke the vse of singinge, preachers and lawyers, because they shall not, withoute this, be able to *rule theyr* BRESTES for euerye purpose," &c. fol. 8 b. Lond. 1571. 4to. bl. lett.

[k] Fol. 155. edit. 1586. See also *The Authors Epistle to the late lord William Paget, wherein he doth discourse of his owne bringing up*, &c. fol. 5. And the *Epistle to Lady Paget*, fol. 7. And his rules for training a boy in music, fol. 141.

chappells within England to take to the king's use, such and as many singing children and choristers, as he or his deputy shall think good[l]." And again, in the following year, the master of the king's chapel, that is, the master of the king's singing-boys, has licence "to take up from time to time as many children [boys] to serve in the king's chapel as he shall think fit[m]." Under the year 1454, there is a commission of the same sort from king Henry the Sixth, *De ministrallis propter solatium regis providendis*, for procuring minstrels, even by force, for the solace or entertainment of the king: and it is required, that the minstrels so procured, should be not only skilled *in arte minstrallatus*, in the art of minstrelsy, but *membris naturalibus elegantes*, handsome and elegantly shaped[n]. As the word Minstrel is of an extensive signification, and is applied as a general term to every character of that species of men whose business it was to entertain, either with oral recitation, music, gesticulation, and singing, or with a mixture of all these arts united, it is certainly difficult to determine, whether singers only, more particularly singers for the royal chapel, were here intended. The last clause may perhaps more immediately seem to point out tumblers or posture-masters[o]. But in the register of the capitulary acts of York cathedral, it is ordered as an indispensable qualification, that the chorister who is annually to be elected the boy-bishop, should be *competenter corpore formosus*. I will transcribe an article of the register, relating to that ridiculous ceremony. "Dec. 2. 1367. Joannes de Quixly confirmatur Episcopus Puerorum, et Capitulum ordinavit, quod electio episcopi Puerorum in ecclesia Eboracensi de cetero fieret de eo, qui diutius et magis in dicta ecclesia laboraverit, et magis idoneus repertus fuerit, dum tamen competenter sit corpore formosus, et quod aliter facta electio non valebit[p]." It is certainly a matter of no consequence, whether

[l] Dat. April. Strype's Mem. Eccl. ii. p. 538.

[m] Ibid. p. 539. Under the same year, a yearly allowance of 80*l.* is specified, "to find six singing children for the king's privy chamber." Ibid. I presume this appointment was transmitted from preceding reigns.

[n] Rym. Fœd. xi. 375.

[o] Even so late as the present reign of queen Mary, we find tumblers introduced for the diversion of the court. In 1556, at a grand military review of the queen's pensioners in Greenwich park, "came a Tumbler and played many pretty feats, the queen and Cardinal [Pole] looking on; whereat she was observed to laugh heartily," &c. Strype's Eccl. Mem. iii. p. 312. ch. xxxix. Mr. Astle has a roll of some private expences of king Edward the Second; among which it appears, that fifty shillings were paid to a person who danced before the king on a table, "et lui fist tres-grandement rire;" and that twenty shillings were allowed to another, who rode before his majesty, and often fell from his horse, at which his majesty laughed heartily, *de quoux roy rya grantement*. The laughter of kings was thought worthy to be recorded.

[p] Registr. Archiv. Eccles. Ebor. MSS. In the Salisbury-missal, in the office of Episcopus Puerorum, among the suffrages we read, "Corpore enim formosus es, O fili, et diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis," &c. In further proof of the solemnity with which this farce was conducted, I will cite another extract from the chapter-registers at York. "xj febr. 1370. In Scriptoria capituli Ebor. dominus Johannes Gisson, magister choristarum ecclesiæ Eboracensis, liberavit Roberto de Holme choristæ, qui tunc ultimo fuerat episcopus puerorum, iij libras, xvs. jd. ob. de perquisitis ipsius episcopi per ipsum Johannem receptis, et dictus Robertus ad sancta Dei evangelia per ipsum corporaliter tacta juravit, quod nunquam molestaret dictum dominum Johannem de summa pecuniæ prædicta." Registr. Ebor.

we understand these Minstrels of Henry the Sixth to have been singers, pipers, players, or posture-masters. From the known character of that king, I should rather suppose them performers for his chapel. In any sense, this is an instance of the same oppressive and arbitrary privilege that was practised on our poet.

Our author Tusser wrote, during his residence at Ratwood in Sussex, a work in rhyme entitled A HUNDRETH GOOD POINTES OF HUSBANDRIE, which was printed at London in 1557[q]. But it was soon afterwards reprinted, with additions and improvements, under the following title, "Five hundreth pointes of good Husbandrie as well for the Champion or open countrie, as also for the Woodland or Severall, mixed in euerie moneth with Huswiferie, ouer and besides the booke of HUSWIFERIE. Corrected, better ordered, and newlie augmented a fourth part more, with diuers other lessons, as a diet for the farmer, of the properties of windes, planets, hops, herbs, bees, and approved remedies for sheepe and cattell, with manie other matters both profitabell and not vnpleasant for the Reader. Also a table of HUSBANDRIE at the beginning of this booke, and another of HUSWIFERIE* at the end, &c. Newlie set foorth by THOMAS TUSSER gentleman[r]."

It must be acknowledged, that this old English georgic has much more of the simplicity of Hesiod than of the elegance of Virgil; and a modern reader would suspect, that many of its salutary maxims originally decorated the margins, and illustrated the calendars, of an ancient almanac. It is without invocations, digressions, and descriptions: no pleasing pictures of rural imagery are drawn from meadows covered with flocks and fields waving with corn, nor are Pan and Ceres once named. Yet it is valuable, as a genuine picture of the agriculture, the

[q] Quarto. bl. lett. [This edition differs very materially from those which succeeded it. A reprint of it was given in the Bibliographer.—PARK.] In 1557, John Daye has licence to print "the hundreth poyntes of good *Husserie*." Registr. Station. A. fol. 23 a. In 1559–60, jun. 20, T. Marshe has licence to print "the boke of Husbandry." Ibid. fol. 48 b. This last title occurs in these registers much lower. [The writer was Fitzherbert.—HERBERT.]

* [In a tract entitled "Tom of all Trades," and printed in 1631, it is particularly recommended to women, to read the groundes of good *Huswifery* instead of reading Sir P. Sidney's Arcadia.—PARK.]

[r] The oldest edition with this title which I have seen is in quarto, dated 1586, and printed at London, "in the now dwelling house of Henrie Denham in Aldersgate streete at the signe of the starre." In black letter, containing 164 pages. The next edition is for H. Yardley, London 1593. bl. lett. 4to. Again at London, printed by Peter Short, 1597. bl. lett. 4to. The last I have seen is dated 1610. 4to.

In the Register of the Stationers, a receipt of T. Hackett is entered for licence for printing "A dialoge of wyvynge and thryvynge of Tusshers with ij lessons for olde and yonge," in 1562 or 1563. Registr. Stat. Comp. Lond. notat. A. fol. 74 b. I find licenced to Alde in 1565, "An hundreth poyntes of evell huswyfraye," I suppose a satire on Tusser. Ibid. fol. 131 b. In 1561, Richard Tottell was to print "A booke intituled one hundreth good poyntes of husboundry lately maryed unto a hundreth good poyntes of Huswiffry newly corrected and amplyfyed." Ibid. fol. 74 a.

[This was put forth by Tottell in 1562 and 1570. Augmented editions appeared in 1573, 1577, 1580, 1585, 1586, 1590, 1593, 1597, 1599, 1604, 1610, 1630, 1672, 1692, 1710, 1741. All but the last in 4to. bl. lett.—PARK.]

rural arts, and the domestic economy and customs, of our industrious ancestors.

I must begin my examination of this work with the apology of Virgil on a similar subject,

> Possum multa tibi veterum præcepta referre,
> Ni refugis, tenuesque piget cognoscere curas[s].

I first produce a specimen of his directions for cultivating a hop-garden, which may, perhaps not unprofitably, be compared with the modern practice.

> Whom fansie perswadeth, among other crops,
> To haue for his spending, sufficient of hops,
> Must willingly follow, of choises to choose,
> Such lessons approued, as skilful do vse.
>
> Ground grauellie, sandie, and mixed with claie,
> Is naughtie for hops, anie maner of waie;
> Or if it be mingled with rubbish and stone,
> For drinesse and barrennesse let it alone.
>
> Choose soile for the hop of the rottenest mould,
> Well doonged and wrought, as a garden-plot should;
> Not far from the water, but not ouerflowne,
> This lesson well noted is meete to be knowne.
>
> The sun in the southe, or else southlie and west,
> Is ioie to the hop, as a welcomed guest;
> But wind in the north, or else northerlie east,
> To the hop is as ill as a fraie in a feast.
>
> Meet plot for a hop-yard, once found as is told,
> Make thereof account, as of iewell of gold:
> Now dig it and leaue it, the sunne for to burne,
> And afterward fence it, to serue for that turne.
>
> The hop for his profit I thus doo exalt:
> It strengtheneth drinke, and it fauoreth malt;
> And being well brewed, long kept it will last,
> And drawing abide—if ye drawe not too fast.[t]

To this work belongs the well known old song, which begins,

> The Ape, the Lion, the Fox, and the Asse,
> Thus setts foorth man in a glasse, &c.[u]

[s] Georgic. i. 176.

[t] Chap. 42. fol. 93. In this stanza, is a copy of verses by one William Kethe, a divine of Geneva, prefixed to Dr. Christopher Goodman's absurd and factious pamphlet against queen Mary, *How superior Powers*, &c. Printed at Geneva by John Crispin, 1558. 16mo.

> Whom fury long fosterd by sufferance and awe,
> Have right rule subverted, and made will their lawe,
> Whose pride how to temper, this truth will thee tell,
> So as thou resist mayst, and yet not rebel, &c.

[u] Chap. 50. fol. 107.

For the farmer's general diet he assigns, in Lent, red herrings, and salt fish, which may remain in store *when Lent is past:* at Easter, veal and bacon: at Martinmas, salted beef, when *dainties* are not to be had in the country: at Midsummer, when mackerel are no longer in season, *grasse*, or sallads, fresh beef, and pease: at Michaelmas, fresh herrings, with fatted *crones*, or sheep: at All Saints, pork and pease, sprats and *spurlings:* at Christmas, good cheere and *plaie*. The farmer's weekly fish-days, are Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday; and he is charged to be careful in keeping *embrings* and fast-days[w].

Among the *Husbandlie Furniture* are recited most of the instruments now in use, yet with several obsolete and unintelligible names of farming utensils[x]. Horses, I know not from what superstition, are to be annually blooded on Saint Stephen's day[y]. Among the *Christmas husbandlie fare**, our author recommends good *drinke*, a good fire in the Hall, brawne, pudding and souse, and mustard *withall*, beef, mutton, and pork, *shred*, or minced, pies *of the best*, pig, veal, goose, capon, and turkey, cheese, apples, and nuts, with *jolie carols*. A Christmas carol is then introduced to the tune of *King Salomon*[z].

In a comparison between *Champion and Severall*, that is, open and inclosed land, the disputes about inclosures appear to have been as violent as at present[a]. Among his *Huswifelie Admonitions*, which are not particularly addressed to the farmer, he advises three dishes at dinner, which being well dressed, will be sufficient to please your friend, and will *become* your Hall[b]. The prudent housewife is directed to make her own tallow-candles[c]. Servants of both sexes are ordered to go to bed at ten in the summer, and nine in the winter; to rise at five in the winter, and four in the summer[d]. The ploughman's feasting

[w] Chap. 12. fol. 25, 26.

[x] Chap. 15. fol. 31, 32, 33. [y] Fol. 52.

* [Tusser, says Mr. Stillingfleet, seems to have been a good-natured cheerful man, and though a lover of œconomy, far from meanness, as appears in many of his precepts, wherein he shows his disapprobation of that pitiful spirit which makes farmers starve their cattle, their land, and every thing belonging to them; choosing rather to lose a pound than spend a shilling. He throws his precepts into a calendar, and gives many good rules in general, both in relation to agriculture and œconomy; and had he not written in miserable hobbling and obscure verse, might have rendered more service to his countrymen.—Mem. for Hist. of Husbandry in Coxe's Life of Stillingfleet, ii. 567.—PARK]

[z] Chap. 30. fol. 37. These are four of the lines:—

Euen Christ, I meane, that virgins child,
In Bethlem born:
That lambe of God, that prophet mild,
Crowned with thorne!

Mar. 4, 1559, there is a receipt from Ralph Newbery for his licence for printing a ballad called "Kynge Saloman." Registr. Station. Comp. Lond. notat. A. fol. 48 a. Again, in 1561, a licence to print "iij balletts, the one entituled *Newes oute of Kent;* the other, a *newe ballat after the tune of kynge Solomon*; and the other, *Newes out of Heaven and Hell.*" Ibid. fol. 75 a. See Lycence of John Tysdale for printing "Certayne goodly Carowles to be songe to the glory of God," in 1562. Ibid. fol. 86 a. Again, Ibid. "Crestenmas Carowles auctorisshed by my lord of London." A ballad of Solomon and the queen of Sheba is entered in 1567. Ibid fol. 166 a. In 1569, is entered an "Enterlude for boyes to handle and to passe tyme at Christimas." Ibid. fol. 183 b. Again, in the same year, fol. 185 b. More instances follow.

[a] Chap. 52. fol. 111.

[b] Fol. 133.

[c] Fol. 135.

[d] Fol. 137.

days, or holidays, are PLOUGH-MONDAY, or the first Monday after Twelfth-day, when ploughing begins, in Leicestershire. SHROF-TIDE, or SHROVE-TUESDAY, in Essex and Suffolk, when after shroving, or confession, he is permitted to *go thresh the fat hen*, and "if blindfold [you] can kill her, then giue it thy men," and to dine on fritters and pancakes[e]. SHEEP-SHEARING, which is celebrated in Northamptonshire with wafers and cakes. The WAKE-DAY, or the vigil of the church saint, when *everie wanton maie danse at her will*, as in Leicestershire, and the oven is to be filled with *flawnes*. HARVEST-HOME, when the harvest-home goose is to be killed. SEED-CAKE, a festival so called at the end of wheat-sowing, in Essex and Suffolk, when the village is to be treated with seed-cakes, pasties, and the *frumentie-pot*. But twice a week, according to ancient right and custom, the farmer is to give roast-meat, that is, on Sundays and on Thursday nights[f]. We have then a set of posies or proverbial rhymes, to be written in various rooms of the house, such as "Husbandlie posies for the Hall, Posies for the Parlour, Posies for the Ghests chamber, and Posies for thine own bedchamber[g]." Botany appears to have been eminently cultivated, and illustrated with numerous treatises in English, throughout

[e] I have before mentioned Shrove-Tuesday as a day dedicated to festivities. See supr. vol. ii. p. 530. note [q]. In some parts of Germany it was usual to celebrate Shrove-tide with bonfires. Lavaterus of Ghostes, &c. translated into English by R. H. Lond. 1572. 4to. fol. 51. bl. lett. Polydore Virgil says, that so early as the year 1170, it was the custom of the English nation to celebrate their Christmas with plays, masques, and the most magnificent spectacles; together with games at dice, and dancing. This practice, he adds, was not conformable to the usage of most other nations, who permitted these diversions, not at Christmas, but a few days before Lent, about the time of Shrovetide. Hist. Angl. lib. xiii. f. 211. Basil. 1534. By the way, Polydore Virgil observes, that the Christmas-prince or Lord of Misrule, is almost peculiar to the English. De Rer. Inventor. lib. v. cap. ii. Shrove-Tuesday seems to have been sometimes considered as the last day of Christmas, and on that account might be celebrated as a festival. In the year 1440, on Shrove-Tuesday, which that year was in March, at Norwich there was a "Disport in the streets, when one rode through the streets havyng his hors trappyd with tyn-soyle, and other nyse disgysyngs, coronned as Kyng of Crestemasse, in tokyn that seson should end with the twelve moneths of the yere: aforn hym went yche [each] Moneth dysgusysyd after the seson requiryd," &c. Blomf. Norf. ii. p. 111. This very poetical pageantry reminds me of a similar and a beautiful procession at Rome, described by Lucretius, where the Seasons, with their accompaniments, walk personified. Lib. v. 736.

It VER et VENUS, et Veneris prænuntius ante
Pinnatus ZEPHYRUS graditur vestigia propter;
FLORA quibus mater præspergens ante viai
Cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet.—
Inde AUTUMNUS adit, &c.

[For an account of the several festivals mentioned in the text, see Mr. Brand's "Popular Antiquities."—PRICE.]

[f] Fol. 138.

[g] Fol. 144, 145. See Inscriptions of this sort in "The Welspring of wittie Conceites," translated from the Italian by W. Phist. Lond. for R. Jones, 1584. bl. lett. 4to. Signat. N. 2.

[This is one of the books which Ritson regarded as supposititious; but a copy of it is in the library of Mr. Bindley, whence several extracts were taken, and exhibited to public attention in the Monthly Mirror for July 1803. Another copy occurs in the Bodleian library.—PARK.]

the latter part of the sixteenth century[h]. In this work are large enumerations of plants, as well for the medical as the culinary garden.

Our author's general precepts have often an expressive brevity, and are sometimes pointed with an epigrammatic turn and a smartness of allusion. As thus,

> Saue wing for a thresher, when gander doth die;
> Saue fethers of all things, the softer to lie:
> Much spice is a theefe, so is candle and fire;
> Sweet sause is as craftie as euer was frier.[i]

Again, under the lessons of the housewife,

> Though cat, a good mouser, doth dwell in a house,
> Yet euer in dairie haue trap for a mouse:
> Take heed how thou laiest the bane[k] for the rats,
> For poisoning thy servant, thyself, and thy brats.[l]

And in the following rule of the smaller economics,

> Saue droppings and skimmings, however ye doo,
> For medeine, for cattell, for cart, and for shoo.[m]

In these stanzas on haymaking, he rises above his common manner.

> Go muster thy seruants, be captain thyselfe,
> Prouiding them weapons, and other like pelfe:
> Get bottells and wallets, keepe fielde in the heat,
> The feare is as much as the danger is great.
>
> With tossing, and raking, and setting on cox,
> Grasse latelie in swathes, is haie for an oxe.
> That done, go to cart it, and haue it awaie:
> The battell is fought, ye haue gotten the daie.[n]

A great variety of verse is used in this poem, which is thrown into numerous detached chapters[o]. The HUSBANDRIE is divided into the

[h] See the Preface to Johnson's edition of Gerharde's Herbal, printed in 1633. fol.

[i] Fol. 134.

[k] poison.

[l] Fol. 131.

[m] Fol. 134.

[n] Fol. 95. ch. 44.

[o] In this book I first find the metre of Rowe's song,

"Despairing beside a clear stream."

For instance:—

> What looke ye, I praie you shew what?
> Termes painted with rhetorike fine?
> Good husbandrie seeketh not that,
> Nor ist anie meaning of mine.
>
> What lookest thou, speeke at the last,
> Good lessons for thee and thy wife?
> Then keepe them in memorie fast
> To helpe as a comfort to life.

See Preface to the Buier of this Booke, ch. 5. fol. 14. In the same measure is the Comparison betweene Champion Countrie and Severall, ch. 52. fol. 108.

[The *Preface* above cited, contained two stanzas thus worded, in the edition of 1570, I believe, only—

> What lookest thou here for to have?
> Trim verses, thy fansie to please?
> Of *Surry*, so famous, that crave;
> Looke nothing but rudenesse in these.
>
> What other thing lookest thou then?
> Grave sentences herein to finde?
> Such *Chaucer* hath twentie and ten,
> Yea, thousands to pleasure thy minde.
>
> —PARK.]

several months. Tusser, in respect of his antiquated diction, and his argument, may not improperly be styled the English Varro*.

Such were the rude beginnings in the English language of didactic poetry, which, on a kindred subject, the present age has seen brought to perfection, by the happy combination of judicious precepts with the most elegant ornaments of language and imagery, in Mr. Mason's ENGLISH GARDEN.

SECTION LIV.

William Forrest's poems. His Queen Catharine, an elegant manuscript, contains anecdotes of Henry's divorce. He collects and preserves ancient music. Puritans oppose the study of the classics. Lucas Shepherd. John Pullayne. Numerous metrical versions of Solomon's Song. Censured by Hall the satirist. Religious rhymers. Edward More. Boy-bishop, and miracle-plays, revived by queen Mary. Minute particulars of an ancient miracle-play.

AMONG Antony Wood's manuscripts in the Bodleian library at Oxford, I find a poem of considerable length written by William Forrest, chaplain to queen Mary[a]. It is entitled, "A true and most notable History of a right noble and famous Lady produced in Spayne entitled the second GRESIELD, practised not long out of this time in much part tragedous as delectable both to hearers and readers." This is a panegyrical history in octave rhyme, of the life of queen Catharine, the first queen of king Henry the Eighth. The poet compares Catharine to patient Grisild, celebrated by Petrarch and Chaucer, and Henry to

* [Barnaby Googe, in his preface to the translation of Herebach's four books of Husbandrie, 1578, sets Fitzherbert and Tusser on a level with Varro and Columella and Palladius: but the sedate Stillingfleet would rather compare Tusser to old Hesiod, from the following considerations. They both wrote in the infancy of husbandry in their different countries: both gave good general precepts without entering into the detail, though Tusser has more of it than Hesiod: they both seem desirous to improve the morals of their readers as well as their farms, by recommending industry and œconomy: and, that which perhaps may be looked upon as the greatest resemblance, they both wrote in verse; probably for the same reason, namely, to propagate their doctrines more effectually. But here the resemblance ends: the Greek was a very fine poet, the Englishman an unskilful versifier. However, there is something very pleasing in our countryman's lines now and then, though of the rustic kind; and sometimes his thoughts are aptly and concisely expressed:—e. g.

Reape well, scatter not, gather cleane that is shorne,
Binde fast, shock apace, have an eye to thy corne,
Lode safe, carry home, follow time being faire,
Gove just in the barne, it is out of despaire.

Mem. for Hist. of Husbandry in the Works of Benj. Stillingfleet, ii. 572.—PARK.]

[a] In folio. MSS. Cod. A. Wood. Num. 2. They were purchased by the University after Wood's death.

earl Walter her husband[b]. Catharine had certainly the patience and conjugal compliance of Grisild; but Henry's cruelty was not, like Walter's, only artificial and assumed. It is dedicated to queen Mary*: and Wood's manuscript, which was once very superbly bound and embossed, and is elegantly written on vellum, evidently appears to have been the book presented by the author to her majesty. Much of its ancient finery is tarnished; but on the brass bosses at each corner is still discernible AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA. At the end is this colophon: "Here endeth the Historye of Grysilde the second, dulie meanyng Queene Catharine mother to our most dread soveraigne Lady queene Mary, fynysched the xxv day of June, the yeare of owre Lorde 1558. By the symple and unlearned Syr Wylliam Forrest preeiste, propria manu." The poem, which consists of twenty chapters, contains a zealous condemnation of Henry's divorce; and, I believe, preserves some anecdotes, yet apparently misrepresented by the writer's religious and political bigotry, not extant in any of our printed histories. Forrest was a student at Oxford, at the time when this notable and knotty point of casuistry prostituted the learning of all the universities of Europe, to the gratification of the capricious amours of a libidinous and implacable tyrant. He has recorded many particulars and local incidents of what passed in Oxford during that transaction[c]. At the end of the poem is a metrical ORATION CONSOLATORY, in six leaves, to queen Mary.

In the British Museum is another of Forrest's poems, written in two splendid folio volumes on vellum, called "The tragedious troubles of the most chast and innocent Joseph, son to the holy patriarch Jacob," and dedicated to Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk[d]. In the same repository is another of his pieces, never printed, dedicated to king Edward the Sixth, "A notable warke called The PLEASANT POESIE OF PRINCELIE PRACTISE, composed of late by the simple and unlearned sir Wil-

[b] The affecting story of Patient Grisild seems to have long kept up its celebrity. In the books of the Stationers, in 1565, Owen Rogers has a licence to print "a ballat intituled the songe of pacyent Gressell vnto hyr make." Registr. A. fol. 132 b. Two ballads are entered in 1565, "to the tune of pacyente Gressell." Ibid. fol. 135 a. In the same year T. Colwell has licence to print "The History of meke and pacyent Gresell." Ibid. fol. 139 a. Colwell has a second edition of this history in 1568. Ibid. fol. 177 a. Instances occur much lower.

* [In poetic compliment to his royal patroness, Forrest wrote and printed "A new ballade of the Mari-golde." This is preserved in the archives of the Society of Antiquaries, and has been reprinted in the Harl. Miscell. Suppl. vol. ii.—PARK.]

[c] In the first chapter, he thus speaks of the towardliness of the princess Catharine's younger years:—

With stoole and needyl she was not to seeke,
And other practiseingis for ladyes meete;
To pastyme at tables, ticktacke, or gleeke,
Cardys, dyce, &c.

He adds, that she was a pure virgin when married to the king; and that her first husband prince Arthur, on account of his tender years, never slept with her.

[d] MSS. Reg. 18 C. xiii. It appears to have once belonged to the library of John Theyer of Cooper's-hill near Gloucester. There is another copy in University-college Library, MSS. G. 7. with gilded leaves. This, I believe, once belonged to Robert earl of Aylesbury. Pr. "In Canaan that country opulent."

liam Forrest priest, much part collected out of a booke entitled the GOVERNANCE OF NOBLEMEN, which booke the wyse philosopher Aristotle wrote to his disciple Alexander the Great[e]." The book here mentioned is Ægidius Romanus de REGIMINE PRINCIPUM, which yet retained its reputation and popularity from the middle age[f]. I ought to have observed before, that Forrest translated into English metre fifty of David's Psalms, in 1551, which are dedicated to the duke of Somerset, the Protector[g]. Hence we are led to suspect, that our author could accommodate his faith to the reigning powers. Many more of his manuscript pieces both in prose and verse, all professional and of the religious kind, were in the hands of Robert earl of Ailesbury[h]. Forrest, who must have been living at Oxford, as appears from his poem on queen Catharine, so early as the year 1530, was in reception of an annual pension of six pounds from Christ-church in that university, in the year 1555[i]. He was eminently skilled in music; and with much diligence and expense, he collected the works of the most excellent English composers, that were his cotemporaries. These, being the choicest compositions of John Taverner of Boston, organist of Cardinal-college now Christ-church at Oxford, John Merbeck who first digested our present church-service from the notes of the Roman missal, Fairfax, Tye, Sheppard, Norman, and others, falling after Forrest's death into the possession of doctor William Hether, founder of the musical praxis and professorship at Oxford in 1623, are now fortunately preserved at Oxford, in the archives of the music-school assigned to that institution.

In the year 1554, a poem of two sheets, in the spirit and stanza of Sternhold, was printed under the title, "The VNGODLINESSE OF THE HETHNICKE GODDES or *The Downfall of Diana of the Ephesians*, by J. D. an exile for the word, late a minister in London, MDLIV[k]." I presume it was printed at Geneva, and imported into England with other books of the same tendency, and which were afterwards suppressed by a proclamation. The writer, whose arguments are as weak as his poetry,

[e] MSS. Reg. 17 D. iii. In the Preface twenty-seven chapters are enumerated; but the book contains only twenty-four.

[f] See supr. vol. ii. p. 259. Not long before, Robert Copland, the printer, author of the Testament of Julien [or Jyllian] of Brentford, translated from the French and printed, "The Secrete of Secretes of Aristotle, with the governayle of princes and euerie manner of estate, with rules of health for bodie and soule." Lond. 1528. 4to. To what I have before said of Robert Copland as a poet, may be added, that he prefixed an English copy of verses to the *Mirrour of the Church of saynt Austine of Abyngdon*, &c. Printed by himself, 1521. 4to. Another to Andrew Chertsey's *Passio Domini*, ibid. 1521. 4to. (See p. 80 of this volume.) He and his brother William printed several romances before 1530.

[g] MSS. Reg. 17 A. xxi. [See also the Conventual Library of Westminster in Gen. Catal. "Some Psalms in English verse, by W. Forest." Cod. MSS. Eccl. Cath. Westmonas.—PARK.]

[h] Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 124. Fox says, that he paraphrased the Pater Noster in English verse, Pr. "Our Father which in heaven doth sit." Also the Te Deum, as a thanksgiving hymn for queen Mary, Pr. "O God, thy name we magnifie." Fox, Mart. p. 1139. edit. vet.

[i] MSS. Le Neve. From a long chapter in his Katharine, about the building of Christ-church and the regimen of it, he appears to have been of that college.

[k] Bl. lett. 12mo.

attempts to prove, that the customary mode of training youths in the Roman poets encouraged idolatry and pagan superstition. This was a topic much laboured by the puritans. Prynne, in that chapter of his HISTRIOMASTIX, where he exposes "the obscenity, ribaldry, amourousnesse, HEATHENISHNESSE, and prophanesse of most play-bookes, Arcadias, and fained histories that are now so much in admiration," acquaints us, that the infallible leaders of the puritan persuasion in the reign of queen Elizabeth, among which are two bishops, have solemnly prohibited all christians, "to pen, to print, to sell, to read, or school-masters and others to teach, any amorous wanton Play-bookes, Histories, or Heathen authors, especially Ovid's wanton Epistles and Bookes of love, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Martiall, the Comedies of Plautus, Terence, and other such amorous bookes, savoring either of Pagan Gods, Ethnicke rites and ceremonies, of scurrility, amorousnesse, and prophanesse[l]." But the classics were at length condemned by a much higher authority. In the year 1582, one Christopher Ocland, a schoolmaster of Cheltenham, published two poems in Latin hexameters, one entitled ANGLORUM PRÆLIA, the other ELIZABETHA[m]. To these poems, which are written in a low style of Latin versification, is prefixed an edict from the lords of privy council, signed, among others, by Cowper bishop of Lincoln, Lord Warwick, Lord Leicester, sir Francis Knollys, sir Christopher Hatton, and sir Francis Walsingham, and directed to the queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, containing the following passage: "Forasmuche as the subject or matter of this booke is such, as is worthie to be read of all men, and especially in common schooles, where diuers HEATHEN POETS are ordinarily read and taught, from which the youth of the realme doth rather receiue infection in manners, than aduancement in uertue: in place of some of which poets, we thinke this Booke fit to be read and taught in the grammar schooles: we haue therefore thought good, for the encouraging the said Ocklande

[l] Pag. 913. 916.

[m] Londini. Apud Rad. Neubery ex assignatione Henrici Bynneman typographi. Anno 1582. Cum priv. 12mo. The whole title is this, "ANGLORUM PRÆLIA ab A.D. 1327, anno nimirum primo inclytissimi principis Edwardi eius nominis tertii, usque ad A.D. 1558, carmine summatim perstricta. Item *De pacatissimo Angliæ statu, imperante Elizabetha, compendiosa Narratio.* Authore Christophoro Oclando, primo Scholæ Southwarkiensis prope Londinum, dein Cheltennamensis, quæ sunt a serenissima sua majestate fundatæ, moderatore. *Hæc duo poemata, tam ob argumenti grauitatem, quam carminis facilitatem, nobilissimi regiæ majestatis consiliarii in omnibus regni scholis prælegenda pueris præscripserunt.* Hijs Alexandri Neuilli Kettum, tum propter argumenti similitudinem, tum propter orationis elegantiam, adiunximus. Londini," &c. Prefixed to the *Anglorum Prælia* is a Latin elegiac copy by Thomas Newton of Cheshire: to the *Elizabetha*, which is dedicated by the author to the learned lady Mildred Burleigh, two more; one by Richard Mulcaster the celebrated master of Merchant-taylors' school, the other by Thomas Watson an elegant writer of sonnets. Our author was a very old man, as appears by the last of these copies. Whence, says bishop Hall, Sat. iii. B 4.

Or cite olde Oclande's verse, how they did wield
The wars, in Turwin or in Turney field.

[Newton has a Latin copy of Commendatory verses before Robbard's Translation of Ripley's Compound of Alchymy, 1591. —PARK.]

and others that are learned, to bestowe their trauell and studies to so good purposes, as also for the benefit of the youth and the removing of such lasciuious poets as are commonly read and taught in the saide grammar-schooles (the matter of this booke being heroicall and of good instruction) to praye and require you vpon the sight hereof, as by our special order, to write your letters vnto al the Bishops throughout this realme, requiring them to giue commaundement, that in al the gramer and free schooles within their seuerall diocesses, the said Booke de ANGLORUM PRÆLIIS, and peaceable Gouernment of hir majestie, [the ELIZABETHA,] may be in place of some of the heathen poets receyued, and publiquely read and taught by the scholemasters[n]." With such abundant circumspection and solemnity, did these profound and pious politicians, not suspecting that they were acting in opposition to their own principles and intentions, exert their endeavours to bring back barbarism, and to obstruct the progress of truth and good sense[o].

Hollingshead mentions Lucas Shepherd of Colchester, as an eminent poet of queen Mary's reign[p]. I do not pretend to any great talents for decyphering; but I presume, that this is the same person who is called by Bale, from a most injudicious affectation of Latinity, Lucas OPILIO. Bale affirms, that his cotemporary, Opilio, was a very facetious poet; and means to pay him a still higher compliment in pronouncing him not inferior even to Skelton for his rhymes[q]. It is unlucky, that Bale, by disguising his name, should have contributed to conceal this writer so long from the notice of posterity, and even to counteract his own partiality. Lucas Shepherd, however, appears to have been nothing more than a petty pamphleteer in the cause of Calvinism, and to have acquired the character of a poet from a metrical translation of some of David's Psalms about the year 1551. Bale's narrow prejudices are well known. The puritans never suspected that they were greater bigots than the papists. I believe one or two of Shepherd's pieces in prose are among bishop Tanner's books at Oxford.

Bale also mentions metrical English versions of ECCLESIASTES, of the histories of ESTHER, SUSANNAH, JUDITH, and of the TESTAMENT OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS, printed and written about this period, by John Pullaine, one of the original students of Christ-church at Oxford, and at length archdeacon of Colchester. He was chaplain to the duchess of Suffolk; and, either by choice or compulsion, imbibed ideas of reformation at Geneva*. I have seen the name of John Pullayne, affixed in manuscript to a copy of an anonymous version of Solomon's Song, or "Salomon's balads in metre," above mentioned[r], in which is this stanza.—

[n] Signat. A. ij. Then follows an order from the ecclesiastical commissioners to all the bishops for this purpose. [Signed John London, Da. Lewes, Bar. Clerke, W. Lewyn, Owen Hopton, W. Fletewoode, Pet. Osborne, Tho. Fanshaw; and dated from London, the seventh of May, 1582.—PARK.]

[o] See p. 19 of this volume.

[p] Chron. vol. iii. p. 1168.

[q] Par. post. p. 109.

* Bale ix. 83. Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 148.

[r] "Imprinted at London by William Baldwine servaunt with Edwarde Whitchurch." Nor date, nor place. Cum pri-

She is so young in Christes truth,
That yet she hath no teates;
She wanteth brestes, to feed her youth
With sound and perfect meates[s].

There were numerous versions of Solomon's SONG before the year 1600; and perhaps no portion of scripture was selected with more propriety to be clothed in verse. Beside those I have mentioned, there is "The SONG OF SONGS, that is the most excellent Song which was Solomon's, translated out of the Hebrue into Englishe meater with as little libertie in departing from the wordes as anie plaine translation in prose can vse, and interpreted by a short commentarie." For Richard Schilders, printer to the states of Zealand, I suppose at Middleburg, 1587, in duodecimo. Nor have I yet mentioned Solomon's Song, translated from English prose into English verse by Robert Fletcher*, a native of Warwickshire, and a member of Merton college, printed at London with notes, in 1586[t]. The CANTICLES in English verse are among the lost poems of Spenser[u]. Bishop Hall, in his nervous and elegant satires printed in 1597, meaning to ridicule and expose the spiritual poetry with which his age was overwhelmed, has an allusion to a metrical English version of Solomon's Song[w]. Having mentioned SAINT PETER'S

vileg. 4to. This William Baldwine is perhaps Baldwin the poet, the contributor to the Mirrour for Magistrates. At least that the poet Baldwin was connected with Whitchurch the printer, appears from a book printed by Whitchurch, quoted above, "A treatise of moral philosophie contaygning the Sayings of the Wise, gathered and Englyshed by Wylliam Baldwyn, 20 of January, MDXLVII." Compositors at this time often were learned men; and Baldwin was perhaps occasionally employed by Whitchurch both as a compositor and an author.

[s] Signat. m. iij.

* [To this writer must probably be attributed a thin quarto of prose and verse published in 1606, containing brief historical registers of our *regal Henries*, and entitled "The Nine English Worthies; or the famous and worthy princes of England being all of one name," &c.—PARK.]

[t] in duodecimo.

[u] A metrical commentary was written on the Canticles by one Dudley Fenner, a puritan, who retired to Middleburg to enjoy the privilege and felicity of preaching endless sermons without molestation. Middleb. 1587. 8vo.

[Fenner's work is entitled "The Song of Songs," &c. as Mr. Warton has fully displayed in his text, without being aware to whom the title appertained. Yet the name of Dudley Fenner is subscribed to the Dedication.—PARK.]

[w] B. i. Sat. viii. But for this abuse of the divine sonnetters, Marston not inelegantly retorts against Hall. Certayne Satyres, Lond. for E. Matts, 1598. 12mo Sat. iv.

Come daunce, ye stumbling Satyres, by his side,
If he list once the SYON MUSE deride.
Ye Granta's white Nymphs come, and with you bring
Some sillabub, whilst he does sweetly sing
Gainst Peters Teares, and Maries mouing Moane;
And like a fierce-enraged boare doth foame
At Sacred Sonnets, O daring hardiment!
At Bartas sweet Semaines[1] raile impudent.
At Hopkins, Sternhold, and the Scottish king,
At all Translators that do striue to bring
That stranger language to our vulgar tongue," &c.

[Meres, in his Wit's Treasury, speaks of "Saloman's Canticles in English verse," by Jervis Markham; but without praise or censure.—PARK.]

COMPLAINT, written by Robert Southwell, and printed in 1595, with some other religious effusions of that author, he adds,

Yea, and the prophet of the heavenly lyre,
Great Solomon, singes in the English quire;
And is become a new-found Sonnetist,
Singing his love, the holie spouse of Christ,
Like as she were some light-skirts of the rest[x],
In mightiest inkhornismes* he can thither wrest.
Ye Sion Muses shall by my dear will,
For this your zeal and far-admired skill,
Be straight transported from Jerusalem,
Unto the holy house of Bethlehem.

It is not to any of the versions of the CANTICLES which I have hitherto mentioned, that Hall here alludes. His censure is levelled at "The Poem of Poems, or SION'S MUSE. Contaynyng the diuine Song of King Salomon deuided into eight Eclogues. *Bramo assai, poco spero, nulla chieggio.* At London, printed by James Roberts for Mathew Lownes, and are to be solde at his shop in saint Dunstones churchyarde, 1596[y]." The author signs his dedication†, which is addressed to the *sacred virgin, diuine* mistress Elizabeth Sydney, sole daughter of the *euer admired* sir Philip Sydney, with the initials J. M. These initials, which are subscribed to many pieces in ENGLAND'S HELICON, signify Jarvis, or Iarvis, Markham[z].

Although the translation of the scriptures into English rhyme was for the most part an exercise of the enlightened puritans, the recent publication of Sternhold's psalms taught that mode of writing to many of the papists, after the sudden revival of the mass under queen Mary. One Richard Beearde, parson of saint Mary-hill in London, celebrated the accession of that queen in a *godly psalm* printed in 1553[a]. Much

[x] Origen and Jerom say, that the youth of the Jews were not permitted to read Solomon's Song till they were thirty years of age, for fear they should inflame their passions by drawing the spiritual allegory into a carnal sense. Orig. Homil. in Cantic. Cant. apud Hieronymi Opp. Tom. viii. p. 122. And Opp. Origen. ii. fol. 68. Hieron. Proem. in Ezech. iv. p. 330. D.

* [This term is lauded by Pinkerton, in his "Letters of Literature," p. 80, as a phrase of much felicity; but it was not Hall's coinage. See Wilson's Rhetorike, 1553, fol. 82.—PARK.]

[y] 16mo.

† [In this dedication Markham candidly and conscientiously tells his readers, that "rapt in admiration with the excellency of our English poets, whose wandred spirits have made wonderfull the workes of prophane love, he gave himselfe over to the study of inchaunting poesie; till, at length he betooke himself to Divinitie, and found Poesie, which he had so much reverenced, created but her handmaid: for as Poesie gave grace to vulgar subjects, so Divinitie gave glorie to the best part of a poet's invention," &c.—PARK.]

[z] Some of the prefatory Sonnets to Jarvis Markham's poem, entitled, "The most honorable Tragedie of sir Richard Grinuile knight," (At London, printed by J. Roberts for Richard Smith, 1595. 16mo.) are signed J. M. But the dedication, to Charles lord Montioy, has his name at length.

[a] In duodecimo, viz.

A godly psalm of Mary queen, which brought us comfort all,
Thro God whom we of deuty praise that give her foes a fall.

With psalm-tunes in four parts. See Strype's Eliz. p. 202. Newc. Rep. i. 451. See what is said above of Miles Hoggard.

about the same time, George Marshall wrote *A compendious treatise in metre, declaring the first original of sacrifice and of building churches and aultars, and of the first receiving the cristen faith here in England,* dedicated to George Wharton, esquire, and printed at London in 1554[b].

In 1556, Miles Hoggard, a famous butt of the protestants, published "A shorte treatise in meter vpon the CXXIX psalme of David called *De profundis.* Compiled and set forth by Miles Huggarde servante to the quenes maiestie[c]." Of the opposite or heretical persuasion was Peter Moone, who wrote a metrical tract on the abuses of the mass, printed by John Oswen at Ipswich, about the first year of queen Mary[d]. Near the same period, a translation of ECCLESIASTES into rhyme by Oliver Starkey occurs in bishop Tanner's library*, if I recollect right, together with his Translation of Sallust's two histories. By the way, there was another vernacular versification of ECCLESIASTES by Henry Lok, or Lock, of whom more will be said hereafter, printed in 1597. This book was also translated into Latin hexameters by Drant, who will occur again in 1572. The ECCLESIASTES was versified in English by Spenser†.

I have before mentioned the SCHOOL-HOUSE OF WOMEN, a satire against the fair sex[e]. This was answered by Edward More of Hambledon in Buckinghamshire, about the year 1557, before he was twenty years of age. It required no very powerful abilities either of genius or judgment to confute such a groundless and malignant invective. More's book is entitled, The DEFENCE OF WOMEN, *especially English women, against a book intituled the* SCHOOL-HOUSE OF WOMEN. It is dedicated to *Master* William Page, secretary to his neighbour and patron sir Edward Hoby of Bisham-abbey, and was printed at London in 1560.[f]

[b] In quarto, bl. lett.

[c] In quarto, bl. lett. for R. Caley. Jan. 4. with Grafton's copartment.

[d] A short treatise of certayne thinges abused,
In the popish church long used;
But now abolyshed to our consolation,
And God's word advanced, the light of our salvation.

In eight leaves, quarto, bl. lett. Fox mentions one William Punt, author of a *ballade made against the Pope and Popery* under Edward the Sixth, and of other tracts of the same tendency under queen Mary. Martyr. p. 1605. edit. vet. Punt's printer was William Hyll at the sign of the hill near the west door of saint Paul's. See in Strype, an account of Underhill's Sufferings in 1553, for writing a ballad against the queen, he "being a witty and facetious gentleman." Eccl. Mem. iii. 60, 61, ch. vi. Many rhymes and ballads were written against the Spanish match, in 1554. Strype ibid. p. 127. ch. xiv. Fox has preserved some hymns in Sternhold's metre sung by the protestant martyrs in Newgate, in 1555. Mart. fol. 1539. edit. 1597. vol. ii.

* [Warton is most probably mistaken, as Tanner, who merely follows Bale and Pitts, does not appear to have seen [this] book.—RITSON.]

† [Surrey's version of five chapters from the Ecclesiastes, has been noticed at p. 40 of this volume.—PARK.]

[e] Supr. p. 128.

[f] In quarto. Princip.

"Venus unto thee for help, good Lady, do I call."

Our author, if I remember right, has furnished some arguments to one William Heale of Exeter college; who wrote, in 1609, An Apology for Woman, in opposition to Dr. Gager, above-mentioned, who had maintained at the Public Act, that it was lawful for husbands to beat their wives. Wood says, that Heale "was always esteemed an ingenious man, but

With the catholic liturgy, all the pageantries of popery were restored to their ancient splendour by queen Mary. Among others, the procession of the boy-bishop was too popular a mummery to be forgotten. In the preceding reign of king Edward the Sixth, Hugh Rhodes, a gentleman or musician of the royal chapel, published an English poem with the title, THE BOKE OF NURTUR *for men seruants and children, or of the gouernaunce of youth*, with STANS PUER AD MENSAM[g]. In the following reign of Mary, the same poet printed a poem consisting of thirty-six octave stanzas, entitled, "The SONG of the CHYLD-BYSSHOP, as it was songe[h] before the queenes maiestie in her priuie chamber at her manour of saynt James in the ffeeldes on saynt Nicholas day and Innocents day this yeare nowe present, by the chylde bysshope of Poules churche[i] with his company. LONDINI, in ædibus Johannis Cawood typographi reginæ, 1555. Cum privilegio," &c.[k] By admitting this spectacle into her presence, it appears that her majesty's bigotry condescended to give countenance to the most ridiculous and unmeaning ceremony of the Roman ritual. As to the song itself, it is a fulsome panegyric on the queen's devotion, in which she is compared to Judith, Esther, the queen of Sheba, and the virgin Mary[l]. This show of the boy-bishop, not so much for its superstition as its levity and absurdity, had been formally abrogated by king Henry the Eighth, fourteen years before, in the year 1542, as appears by a "Proclamation devised by the King's Majesty by the advys of his Highness Counsel the xxii day

weak, as being too much devoted to the female sex." Ath. Oxon. i. 314.

[g] In quarto. [small 8vo.] Bl. lett. Pr. Prol. "There is few things to be understood." The poem begins, "Alle ye that wolde learn and wolde be called wyse." [As this book is said to be newly corrected, Mr. Ritson infers "there must have been an earlier edition."—PRICE.]

[h] In the church of York, no chorister was to be elected boy-bishop, "nisi habuerit claram vocem puerilem." Registr. Capitul. Eccles. Ebor. sub ann. 1390. MS. ut supr.

[i] In the old statutes of saint Pauls, are many orders about this mock-solemnity. One is, that the canon, called STAGIARIUS, shall find the boy-bishop his robes, and "equitatum honestum." MS. fol. 86. Diceto dean. In the statutes of Salisbury cathedral, it is ordered, that the boy-bishop shall not make a feast, "sed in domo communi cum sociis conversetur, nisi eum ut Choristam, ad domum Canonici, causa solatii, ad mensam contigerit evocari." Sub anno 1319. Tit. xlv. De Statu Choristarum. MS.

[k] In quarto, bl. lett. Strype says, that in 1556, "On S. Nicolas even, Saint Nicolas, that is a boy habited like a bishop *in pontificalibus*, went abroad in most parts of London, singing after the old fashion, and was received with many ignorant but well-disposed people into their houses; and had as much good cheer as ever was wont to be had before." Eccl. Mem. iii. 310. ch. xxxix. See also p. 387. ch. l. In 1554, Nov. 13, an edict was issued by the bishop of London to all the clergy of his diocese, to have a boy-bishop in procession, &c. Strype, ibid. p. 202. ch. xxv. See also p. 205, 206. ch. xxvi.

[l] In a poem by Llodowyke Lloyd, in the *Paradise of Daintie Deuises*, (edit. 1585.) on the death of sir Edward Saunders, queen Elizabeth is complimented much in the same manner. Num. 38. Signat. E. 2.

. . . . O sacred seate, where Saba sage doth sit,
Like Susan sound, like Sara sad, with Hester's mace in hand,
With Iudithes sword, Bellona-like, to rule this noble land.

[See specimens of the same courtly adulation in Habe's Commemoration of the Raigne of Q. Elizabeth (Harl. Misc. ix. 129.) and Mr. Nichols's display of her Progresses and Processions *passim*.—PARK.]

of Julie, 33 Hen. viij, commanding the ffeasts of saint Luke, saint Mark, saint Marie Magdalene, Inuention of the Crosse, and saint Laurence, which had been abrogated, should be nowe againe celebrated and kept holie days," of which the following is the concluding clause:—"And where as heretofore dyuers and many superstitious and chyldysh obseruances have be vsed, and yet to this day are obserued and kept, in many and sundry partes of this realm, as vpon saint Nicholas[m], saint Catharine[n], saint Clement[o], the holie Innocents, and such like[p], Children [boys] be strangelie decked and apparayled, to counterfeit Priestes, Bisshoppes, and Women, and so be ledde with Songes and Dances from

[m] In Barnabie Googe's Popish Kingdom, a translation from Naogeorgius's *Regnum Antichristi*, fol. 55. Lond. 1570. 4to.

Saint Nicholas monie vsde to give to maydens secretlie,
Who that be still may vse his wonted liberalitie:
The mother all their children on the Eeve do cause to fast,
And when they euerie one at night in senselesse sleepe are cast,
Both apples, nuts and payres they bring, and other thinges beside,
As cappes, and shoes, and petticoates, which secretly they hide,
And in the morning found, they say, that "this Saint Nicholas brought," &c.

See a curious passage in bishop Fisher's Sermon of the Months Minde of Margaret countess of Richmond; where it is said, that she praied to S. Nicholas *the patron and helper of all true maydens*, when nine years old, about the choice of a husband; and that the saint appeared in a vision, and announced the earl of Richmond. Edit. Baker, p. 8. There is a precept issued to the sheriff of Oxford from Edward the First, in 1305, to prohibit tournaments being intermixed with the sports of the scholars on saint Nicholas's day. Rot. Claus. 33 Edw. I. memb. 2.

I have already given traces of this practice in the colleges of Winchester and Eton. [see supr. vol. ii. p. 532.] To which I here add another. Registr. Coll. Wint. sub ann. 1427. "Crux deaurata de cupro [copper] cum Baculo, pro EPISCOPO PUERORUM." But it appears that the practice subsisted in common grammar-schools. "Hoc anno, 1464, in festo sancti Nicolai non erat EPISCOPUS PUERORUM in schola grammaticali in civitate Cantuariæ ex defectu Magistrorum, viz. J. Sidney et T. Hikson," &c. Lib. Johannis Stone, Monachi Eccles. Cant. sc. *De Obitibus et aliis Memorabilibus sui cœnobii ab anno* 1415 *ad annum* 1467. MS. C. C. C. C. Q. 8. The abuses of this custom in Wells cathedral are mentioned so early as Decemb. 1, 1298. Registr. Eccl. Wellens. [See supr. vol. ii. pp. 30. 521. 531.]

[n] The reader will recollect the old play of saint Catharine, *Ludus Catharinæ*, exhibited at saint Albans abbey in 1160. Strype says, in 1556, "On Saint Catharines day, at six of the clock at night, S. Katharine went about the battlements of S. Paul's church accompanied with fine singing and great lights. This was saint Katharine's Procession." Eccl. Mem. iii. 309. ch. xxxix. Again, her procession, in 1553, is celebrated with five hundred great lights, round saint Paul's steeple, &c. Ibid. p. 51. ch. v. and p. 57. ch. v.

[o] Among the church-processions revived by Queen Mary, that of S. Clement's church, in honour of this saint, was by far the most splendid of any in London. Their procession to Saint Paul's in 1557, "was made very pompous with fourscore banners and streamers, and the waits of the city playing, and threescore priests and clarkes in copes. And divers of the Inns of Court were there, who went next the priests," &c. Strype, ubi supr. iii. 337. ch. xlix.

[p] In the *Synodus Carnotensis*, under the year 1526, It is ordered, "In festo sancti Nicholai, Catharinæ, Innocentium, aut alio quovis die, prætextu recreationis, ne Scholastici, Clerici, Sacerdotesve, stultum aliquod aut ridiculum faciant in ecclesia. Denique ab ecclesia ejiciantur VESTES FATUORUM personas SCENICAS agentium." See Bochellus, Decret. Eccles. Gall. lib. iv. Tit. vii. C. 43. 44. 46. p. 586. Yet these sports seem to have remained in France so late as 1585; for in the Synod of Aix, 1585, it is enjoined, "Cessent in die Sanctorum Innocentium ludibria omnia et pueriles ac theatrales lusus." Bochell. ibid. C. 45. p. 586. A Synod of Tholouse, an. 1590, removes plays, spectacles, and *histrionum circulationes*, from churches and their cemeteries. Bochell. ibid. lib. iv. Tit. 1. C. 98. p. 560.

house to house, blessing the people, and gathering of money; and Boyes do singe masse, and preache in the pulpitt, with such other vnfittinge and inconuenient vsages, rather to the derysyon than anie true glorie of God, or honor of his sayntes: The Kynges maiestie therefore, myndinge nothinge so moche as to aduance the true glory of God without vain superstition, wylleth and commandeth, that from henceforth all such svperstitious obseruations be left and clerely extinguished throwout all this his realme and dominions, for-as-moche as the same doth resemble rather the vnlawfull superstition of gentilitie, than the pvre and sincere religion of Christe." With respect to the disguisings of these young fraternities, and their processions from house to house with singing and dancing, specified in this edict, in a very mutilated fragment of a COMPUTUS, or annual Accompt-roll, of saint Swithin's cathedral Priory at Winchester, under the year 1441, a disbursement is made to the singing-boys of the monastery, who, together with the choristers of saint Elizabeth's collegiate chapel near that city, were dressed up like girls, and exhibited their sports before the abbess and nuns of saint Mary's abbey at Winchester, in the public refectory of that convent, on Innocent's day[q]. "Pro Pueris Eleemosynariæ una cum Pueris Capellæ sanctæ Elizabethæ, ornatis more puellarum, et saltantibus, cantantibus, et ludentibus, coram domina Abbatissa et monialibus Abbathiæ beatæ Mariæ virginis, in aula ibidem in die sanctorum Innocentium[r]." And again, in a fragment of an Accompt of the Celerar of Hyde Abbey at Winchester, under the year 1490. "In larvis et aliis indumentis Puerorum visentium Dominum apud Wulsey, et Constabularium Castri Winton, in apparatu suo, necnon subintrantium omnia monasteria civitatis Winton, in ffesto sancti Nicholai[s]." That is, "In furnishing masks and dresses for the boys of the convent, when they visited the bishop at Wulvesey-palace, the constable of Winchester-castle, and all the monasteries of the city of Winchester, on the festival of saint Nicholas." As to the divine service being performed by children on

[q] In the Register of Wodeloke bishop of Winchester, the following is an article among the Injunctions given to the nuns of the convent of Rumsey in Hampshire, in consequence of an episcopal visitation, under the year 1310. "Item prohibemus, ne cubent in dormitorio pueri masculi cum monialibus, vel foemellæ, nec per moniales ducantur in Chorum, dum ibidem divinum officium celebratur." fol. 134. In the same Register these Injunctions follow in a literal French translation, made for the convenience of the nuns.

[r] MS. in Archiv. Wulves. apud Winton. It appears to have been a practice for itinerant players to gain admittance into the nunneries, and to play Latin Mysteries before the nuns. There is a curious Canon of the Council of Cologne, in 1549, which is to this effect:—"We have been informed that certain Actors of Comedies, not contented with the stage and theatres, have even entered the nunneries, in order to recreate the nuns, *ubi virginibus commoveant voluptatem*, with their profane, amorous, and *secular* gesticulations. Which spectacles, or plays, although they consisted of sacred and pious subjects, can yet notwithstanding leave little good, but on the contrary much harm, in the minds of the nuns, who behold and admire the outward gestures of the performers, and understand not the words. Therefore we decree, that henceforward no Plays, *Comedias*, shall be admitted into the convents of nuns," &c. Sur. Concil. tom. iv. p. 852. Binius, tom. iv. p. 765.

[s] MS. Ibid. See supr. p. 251.

these feasts, it was not only celebrated by boys, but there is an injunction given to the Benedictine nunnery of Godstowe in Oxfordshire, by archbishop Peckham, in the year 1278, that on Innocent's day, the public prayers should not any more be said in the church of that monastery PER PARVULAS, that is, by little girls[t].

The ground-work of this religious mockery of the boy-bishop, which is evidently founded on modes of barbarous life, may perhaps be traced backward at least as far as the year 867[u]. At the Constantinopolitan synod under that year, at which were present three hundred and seventy-three bishops, it was found to be a solemn custom in the courts of princes, on certain stated days, to dress some layman in the episcopal apparel, who should exactly personate a bishop both in his tonsure and ornaments; as also to create a burlesque patriarch, who might make sport for the company[w]. This scandal to the clergy was anathematised. But ecclesiastical synods and censures have often proved too weak to suppress popular spectacles, which take deep root in the public manners, and are only concealed for awhile, to spring up afresh with new vigour.

After the form of a legitimate stage had appeared in England, MYSTERIES and MIRACLES were also revived by queen Mary, as an appendage of the papistic worship.

..... En, iterum crudelia retro
Fata vocant[x] !

In the year 1556, a *goodly stage-play* of the PASSION OF CHRIST was presented at the Grey-friers in London, on Corpus-Christi day, before the lord mayor, the privy-council, and many great *estates* of the realm[y]. Strype also mentions, under the year 1557, a stage-play at the Grey-friers, of the Passion of Christ, on the day that war was proclaimed in London against France, and in honour of that occasion[z]. On saint Olave's day in the same year, the holiday of the church in Silver-street which is dedicated to that saint, was kept with much solemnity. At eight of the clock at night, began a stage-play, of *goodly*

[t] Harpsfield, Hist. Eccl. Angl. p. 441. edit. 1622. [See vol. ii. p. 508. et seqq.]

[u] Or 870. [See Mr. Strutt's Sports and Pastimes of the People of England. —PRICE.]

[A tract explaining the origin and ceremonial of the Boy-bishop was printed in 1649 with the following title: "*Episcopus puerorum in die Innocentium*; or a Discoverie of an ancient Custom in the church of Sarum, making an anniversarie Bishop among the Choristers." This tract was written in explanation of a stone monument still remaining in Salisbury-cathedral, representing a little boy habited in episcopal robes, with a mitre upon his head, a crosier in his hand, &c. and the explanation was derived from a chapter in the ancient statutes of that church entitled *De Episcopo Choristarum*. See a long account of the Boy Bishop, in Hawkins's History of Music, vol. ii.—PARK.]

[w] Surius, Concil. iii. 529. 539. Baron. Annal. Ann. 869. § 11. See Concil. Basil. num. xxxii. The French have a miracle-play, *Beau Miracle de S. Nicolas*, to be acted by twenty-four personages, printed at Paris, for Pierre Sergeant, in quarto, without date, bl. lett.

[x] Virgil, Georg. iv. 495.

[y] MSS. Cott. Vitell. E. 5. Strype. See Life of Sir Thomas Pope, Pref. p. xii.

[z] Eccl. Mem. vol. iii. ch. xlix.

matter, being the miraculous history of the life of that saint[a], which continued four hours, and was concluded with many religious songs.[b]

Many curious circumstances of the nature of these miracle-plays, appear in a roll of the churchwardens of Bassingborne in Cambridgeshire, which is an accompt of the expenses and receptions for acting the play of SAINT GEORGE at Bassingborne, on the feast of saint Margaret in the year 1511. They collected upwards of four pounds in twenty-seven neighbouring parishes for furnishing the play. They disbursed about two pounds in the representation. These disbursements are to four minstrels, or waits, of Cambridge for three days, v*s.* vj*d.* To the players, in bread and ale, iij*s.* ij*d.* To the *garnement-man* for *garnements*, and *propyrts*[c], that is, for dresses, decorations, and implements, and for *play-books*, xx*s.* To John Hobard *brotherhoode preeste*, that is, a priest of the guild in the church, for *the play-book*, ij*s.* viij*d.* For the *crofte*, or field in which the play was exhibited j*s.* For *propyrte-making*, or furniture, j*s.* iv*d.* "For fish and bread, and to setting up the stages, iv*d.*" For painting three *fanchoms* and four *tormentors*, words which I do not understand, but perhaps phantoms and devils ... The rest was expended for a feast on the occasion, in which are recited, "Four chicken for the gentilmen, iv*d.*" It appears from the manuscript of the Coventry plays, that a temporary scaffold only was erected for these performances. And Chaucer says, of Absolon, a parish-clerk, and an actor of king Herod's character in these dramas, in the MILLER'S TALE,

> And for to shew his lightnesse and maistry
> He playith Herawdes on a SCAFFALD HIE[d].

[a] Strype, ibid. p. 379. With the religious pageantries, other ancient sports and spectacles also, which had fallen into disuse in the reign of Edward the Sixth, began to be now revived. As thus, "On the 30th of May was a goodly May-game in Fenchurch-street, with drums, and guns, and pikes, with the NINE WORTHIES who rid. And each made his speech. There was also the Morice-dance, and an elephant and castle, and the Lord and Lady of the May appeared to make up this show." Strype, ibid. 376. ch. xlix.

[b] Ludovicus Vives relates, that it was customary in Brabant to present annual plays in honour of the respective saints to which the churches were dedicated; and he betrays his great credulity in adding a wonderful story in consequence of this custom. Not. in Augustin. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xii. cap. 25. C.

[c] The property-room is yet known at our theatres.

[d] Mill. T. v. 275. Urr. Mr. Steevens and Mr. Malone have shown, that the accommodations in our early regular theatres were but little better. That the old scenery was very simple, may partly be collected from an entry in a Computus of Winchester-college, under the year 1579. viz. Comp. Burs. Coll. Winton. A. D. 1573. Eliz. xv°.—"CUSTOS AULÆ. Item, pro diversis expensis circa Scaffoldam erigendam et deponendam, et pro Domunculis de novo compositis cum carriagio et recarriagio *ly joystes*, et aliorum mutuatorum ad eandem Scaffoldam, cum vj *linckes* et j° [uno] duodeno candelarum, pro lumine expensis, tribus noctibus in Ludis comediarum et tragediarum, xxv*s.* viij*d.*" Again, in the next quarter, "Pro vij *ly linckes* deliberatis pueris per M. Informatorem [the school-master] pro Ludis, iij*s.*" Again, in the last quarter, "Pro removendis Organis e templo in Aulam et præparandis eisdem erga Ludos, v*s.*" By DOMUNCULIS I understand little cells of board, raised on each side of the stage, for dressing-rooms, or retiring places. Strype, under the year 1559, says, that after a grand feast at Guildhall, "the same day was a scaffold set up in the hall for a play." Ann. Ref. i. 197. edit. 1725.

Scenical decorations and machinery* which employed the genius and invention of Inigo Jones, in the reigns of the first James and Charles, seem to have migrated from the masques at court to the public theatre. In the instrument here cited, the priest who wrote the play, and received only two shillings and eight pence for his labour, seems to have been worse paid in proportion than any of the other persons concerned. The learned Oporinus, in 1547, published in two volumes a collection of religious interludes, which abounded in Germany. They are in Latin, and not taken from Legends, but the Bible.

The puritans were highly offended at these religious plays now revived[e]. But they were hardly less averse to the theatrical representation of the christian than of the gentile story; yet for different reasons. To hate a theatre was a part of their creed, and therefore plays were an improper vehicle of religion. The heathen fables they judged to be dangerous, as too nearly resembling the superstitions of popery†.

* [Dr. Ashby suggests that some distinction should perhaps be made between scenery and machinery: and it may probably be ceded that scenic decoration was first introduced.—PARK.]

[e] A very late scripture-play is "A newe merry and witte comedie or enterlude, newlie imprinted treating the history of Jacob and Esau," &c. for H. Bynneman, 1568. 4to. bl. lett. But this play had appeared in queen Mary's reign, "An enterlude vpon the history of Jacobe and Esawe," &c. Licensed to Henry Sutton, in 1557. Registr. Station. A. fol. 23 a. It is certain, however, that the fashion of religious interludes was not entirely discontinued in the reign of queen Elizabeth; for I find licensed to T. Hackett in 1561, "A newe enterlude of the ij synnes of kynge Dauyde." Ibid. fol. 75 a. And to Pickeringe in 1560–1, the play of queen Esther. Ibid. fol. 62 b. Again, there is licensed to T. Colwell, in 1565, "A playe of the story of kyng Darius from Esdras." Ibid. fol. 133 b. Also, "A pleasaunte recytall worthy of the readinge contaynyge the effecte of iij worthye squyres of Daryus the kinge of Persia," licensed to Griffiths in 1565. Ibid. fol. 132 b. Often reprinted. And in 1566, John Charlewood is licensed to print "An enterlude of the repentance of Mary Magdalen." Ibid. fol. 152 a. Of this piece I have cited an ancient manuscript. Also, not to multiply instances, Colwell in 1568 is licensed to print "The playe of Susanna." Ibid. fol. 176 a. Ballads on scripture subjects are now innumerable. Peele's David and Bathsheba is a remain of the fashion of scripture-plays. I have mentioned the play of Holofernes acted at Hatfield in 1556. Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 87. In 1556, was printed "A ballet intituled the historye of Judith and Holyfernes." Registr. ut supr. fol. 154 b. And Registr. B. fol. 227. In Hearne's Manuscript *Collectanea* there is a licence dated 1571, from the queen, directed to the officers of Middlesex, permitting one John Swinton Powlter, "to have and use some playes and games at or uppon nine severall sondaies," within the said county. And because *greate resorte of people is lyke to come thereunto*, he is required, for the preservation of the peace, and for the sake of good order, to take with him four or five discreet and substantial men of those places *where the games shall be put in practice*, to superintend *duringe the contynuance of the games or playes*. Some of the exhibitions are then specified, such as *Shotinge with the brode arrowe*, *The lepping for men*, *The pitchynge of the barre*, and the like. But then follows this very general clause, "With all suche other games, as haue at anye time heretofore or now be lycensed, used, or played." Coll. MSS. Hearne, tom. lxi. p. 78. One wishes to know, whether any interludes, and whether religious or profane, were included in this instrument.

† [Opposite sects, as Romanists and protestants, often adopt each other's arguments. See Bayle's Dict.—ASHBY.]

SECTION LV.

English Language begins to be cultivated. Earliest book of Criticism in English. Examined. Soon followed by others. Early critical systems of the French and Italians. New and superb editions of Gower and Lydgate. Chaucer's monument erected in Westminster Abbey. Chaucer esteemed by the Reformers.

It appears, however, that the cultivation of an English style began to be now regarded. At the general restoration of knowledge and taste, it was a great impediment to the progress of our language, that all the learned and ingenious, aiming at the character of erudition, wrote in Latin. English books were written only by the superficial and illiterate, at a time when judgement and genius should have been exerted in the nice and critical task of polishing a rude speech. Long after the invention of typography, our vernacular style, instead of being strengthened and refined by numerous compositions, was only corrupted with new barbarisms and affectations, for want of able and judicious writers in English. Unless we except sir Thomas More, whose Dialogue on Tribulation, and History of Richard the Third were esteemed standards of style so low as the reign of James the First, Roger Ascham was perhaps the first of our scholars who ventured to break the shackles of Latinity, by publishing his Toxophilus in English; chiefly with a view of giving a pure and correct model of English composition, or rather of showing how a subject might be treated with grace and propriety in English as well as in Latin. His own vindication of his conduct in attempting this great innovation is too sensible to be omitted, and reflects light on the revolutions of our poetry. "As for the Lattine or Greeke tongue, euerye thinge is so excellentlye done in Them, that none can do better. In the Englishe tongue contrary, euery thing in a maner so meanlye, both for the matter and handelinge, that no man can do worse. For therein the learned for the most part haue bene alwayes most redye to write. And they which had least hope in Lattine haue bene most bould in Englishe: when surelye euerye man that is most ready to talke, is not most able to write. He that will write well in any tongue, must folow this counsell of Aristotle; to speake as the common people do, to thinke as wise men do. And so shoulde euerye man vnderstand him, and the iudgement of wise men allowe him. Manye Englishe writers haue not done so; but vsinge straunge wordes, as Lattine, French, and Italian, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones I communed with a man, which reasoned the Englishe tongue to be enriched and encreased thereby, sayinge, Who will not prayse that feast where a man shall drincke at a dinner both wyne, ale, and beere? Truly, quoth I, they be al good,

euery one taken by himselfe alone; but if you put Malmesye and sacke, redde wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you shall make a drinke neither easye to be knowen, nor yet holsome for the bodye. Cicero in folowing Isocrates, Plato, and Demosthenes, encreased the Lattine tongue after another sort. This way, because diuers men that write do not know, they can neyther folow it because of their ignoraunce, nor yet will prayse it for uery arrogancy: two faultes seldome the one out of the others companye. Englishe writers by diuersitie of tyme haue taken diuers matters in hand. In our fathers time nothing was red but bookes of fayned cheualrie, wherein a man by readinge should be led to none other ende but only to manslaughter and baudrye. If anye man suppose they were good enough to passe the time withall, he is deceiued. For surely vaine wordes do worke no smal thinge in vaine, ignorant, and yong mindes, specially if they be geuen any thing thervnto of their owne nature. These bookes, as I haue heard say, were made the most part in abbayes and monasteries, a very likely and fit fruite of such an ydle and blind kind of liuing[a]. In our time now, when euery man is geuen to know much rather than liue wel, very many do write, but after such a fashion as very many do shoote. Some shooters take in hande stronger bowes than they be able to maintaine. This thinge maketh them sometime to ouershoote the marke, sometyme to shoote far wyde and perchance hurt some that loke on. Other, that neuer learned to shoote, nor yet knoweth good shaft nor bowe, will be as busie as the best[b]."

Ascham's example was followed by other learned men. But the chief was Thomas Wilson, who published a system of Logic and Rhetoric, both in English. Of his Logic I have already spoken. I have at present only to speak of the latter, which is not only written in English, but with a view of giving rules for composing in the English language. It appeared in 1553, the first year of queen Mary, and is entitled, The Arte of Rhetorike* *for the vse of all suche as are studious of Eloquence, sette forthe in Englishe by* Thomas Wilson[c]. Leonarde Cox,

[a] He says in his Schoolemaster, written soon after the year 1563, "There be more of these vngracious bookes set out in print within these few monethes, than have bene seene in England many score years before." B. i. fol. 26 a. edit. 1589. 4to. [These ungracious books could not be recent productions of monasteries, says Dr. Ashby, and quere as to the fact?—Park.]

[b] *To all the Gentlemen and Yomen of England.* Prefixed to *Toxophilus, The Schole or partition of shooting,* Lond. 1545. 4to.

* [Puttenham tells us that "Master secretary Wilson, giving an English name to his Arte of Logicke, called it *Witcraft.*" Qu. whether this term was not the conceit of Ralphe Lever, who in 1573 published "The Arte of Reason, rightly termed *Witcraft,* teaching a perfect way to argue and dispute." This quaint author was fond of new-devised terms, whence he uses *Speachcraft* for rhetoric, and *forespeach* for preface. Dudley Fenner, who has before been mentioned as a puritan preacher (supr. p. 262. note [u].), printed at Middleburg in 1584, "The Artes of Logike and Rethorike, plainly set forth in the English tongue; together with examples for the practise of the same," &c. These examples and their illustrations are constantly drawn from Scripture.—Park.]

[c] Lond. 1553. 4to. Dedicated to John Dudley, earl of Warwick. In the Dedication he says, that he wrote great part of this treatise during the last summer vacation in the country, at the house of sir

a schoolmaster, patronised by Farringdon the last abbot of Reading, had published in 1530, as I have observed, an English tract on rhetoric, which is nothing more than a technical and elementary manual. Wilson's treatise is more liberal, and discursive; illustrating the arts of eloquence by example, and examining and ascertaining the beauties of composition with the speculative skill and sagacity of a critic. It may therefore be justly considered as the first book or system of criticism in our language. A few extracts from so curious a performance need no apology; which will also serve to throw light on the present period, and indeed on our general subject, by displaying the state of critical knowledge, and the ideas of writing, which now prevailed.

I must premise, that Wilson, one of the most accomplished scholars of his time, was originally a fellow of King's College[d], where he was tutor to the two celebrated youths Henry and Charles Brandon dukes of Suffolk. Being a doctor of laws, he was afterwards one of the ordinary masters of requests, master of saint Katharine's hospital near the Tower, a frequent ambassador from queen Elizabeth to Mary queen of Scots, and into the Low Countries*, a secretary of state and a privy counsellor, and at length, in 1579, dean of Durham. He died in 1581. His remarkable diligence and dispatch in negotiation is said to have resulted from an uncommon strength of memory. It is another proof of his attention to the advancement of our English style, that he translated seven orations of Demosthenes, which, in 1570, he dedicated to sir William Cecil[e].

Under that chapter of his third book of RHETORIC which treats of the four parts belonging to elocution, Plainnesse, Aptnesse, Compo-

Edward Dimmoke; and that it originated from a late conversation with his lordship, "emonge other talke of learnyng." It was reprinted by Jhon Kingston in 1560. Lond. 4to. With "A Prologue to the Reader," dated Dec. 7, 1560. Again, 1567, 1580, and 1585. 4to. In the Prologue, he mentions his escape at Rome, which I have above related; and adds, "If others neuer gette more by bookes than I have doen, it wer better be a carter than a scholar, for worldlie profite."

[d] Admitted scholar in 1541. A native of Lincolnshire. MS. Hatcher.

* [From a Prologue to the reader before the second edition of his Rhetoric in 1560, we learn that he was in Italy and at Rome in 1558, where he was "coumpted an heretike," for having written his two books on Logic and Rhetoric, where he underwent imprisonment, was convened before the college of Cardinals, and narrowly escaped with life to England, "his deare countrie, out of greate thraldome and forrein bondage."—PARK.]

[e] Which had been also translated into Latin by Nicholas Carr. To whose version Hatcher prefixed this distich. [MSS. More, 102. Carr's Autograph MS.]

Hæc eadem patrio Thomas sermone polivit
Wilsonus, patrii gloria prima soli.

Wilson published many other things. In Gabriel Harvey's *Smithus*, dedicated to sir Walter Mildmay, and printed by Binneman in 1578, he is ranked with his learned cotemporaries. See Signat. D iij. —E ij.—I j.

[Barneby Barnes has a sonnet in Pierce's Supererogation, in which he speaks of our rhetorician as

Wilson, whose discretion did redresse
Our English barbarism.

Haddon in his *Poemata*, 1567, pays twofold tribute to Wilson's Arts of Logic and Rhetoric; and Dr. Knox, in his Liberal Education, regards the latter of these as doing honour to English literature, if we consider the state of the times.—PARK.]

sicion, Exornacion, Wilson has these observations on simplicity of style, which are immediately directed to those who write in the English tongue. "Among other lessons this should first be learned, that we neuer affect any straunge ynkehorne termes, but to speake as is commonly receiued: neither seking to be ouer fine, nor yet liuing ouer carelesse, vsing our speache as moste men do, and ordering our wittes as the fewest haue doen. Some seke so farre for outlandishe Englishe, that they forget altogether their mothers language. And I dare sweare this, if some of their mothers were aliue, thei were not able to tel what thei saie: and yet these fine Englishe clerkes wil saie thei speake in their mother tongue, if a man should charge them for counterfeityng the kinges Englishe. Some farre iournied gentlemen at their returne home, like as thei loue to go in forrein apparel, so thei will pouder their talke with ouersea language. He that cometh lately out of Fraunce will talke Frenche Englishe, and neuer blushe at the matter. Another choppes in with Englishe Italianated, and applieth the Italian phraise to our Englishe speakyng: the whiche is, as if an Oratour that professeth to vtter his mynde in plaine Latine, would needes speake Poetrie, and farre fetched colours of straunge antiquitie. The lawier will store his stomacke with the prating of pedlers. The auditour, in makyng his accompt and reckenyng, cometh in with *sise sould*, and *cater denere**, for vj*s.* and iiij*d.* The fine courtier will talke nothyng but CHAUCER†. The misticall wisemen, and poeticall clerkes, will speake nothyng but quainte prouerbes, and blinde allegories; delightyng muche in their owne darknesse, especially when none can tel what thei do saie. The vnlearned or folishe phantasticall, that smelles but of learnyng (svche fellowes as haue seene learned men in their daies) will so Latine their tongues, that the simple cannot but wonder at their talke, and thinke surely thei speake by some reuelacion. I know Them, that thinke RHETORIKE to stand wholie vpon darke wordes; and he that can catche an ynkehorne terme by the taile, hym thei compt to be a fine Englishman and a good rhetorician[f]. And the rather to set out

* [i.e. accounts kept in French or Latin, size sous and quatre deniers.—ASHBY.]

† [And yet Puttenham, a little afterwards, in the passage quoted by Mr. Warton (Note [f]), alleges that the language of Chaucer was then out of use, which made it unadvisable for poets to follow it. Spenser however thought otherwise, and Webbe seems to have applauded his practice.—PARK.]

[f] Puttenham, in The Arte of English Poesie, where he treats of style and language, brings some illustrations from the practice of oratory in the reign of queen Mary, in whose court he lived: and although his book is dated 1589, it was manifestly written much earlier. He refers to sir Nicholas Bacon, who began to be high in the departments of the law in queen Mary's time, and died in 1579. Having told a story from his own knowledge in the year 1553, of a ridiculous oration made in parliament by a new speaker of the house, who came from Yorkshire, and had more knowledge in the affairs of his country, and of the law, than gracefulness or delicacy of language, he proceeds, "And though graue and wise counsellours in their consultations do not vse much superfluous eloquence, and also in their iudiciall hearings do much mislike all scholasticall rhetoricks; yet in such a case as it may be (and as this parliament was) if the lord chancelour of England or archbishop of Canterbury himselfe were to speke, he ought to do it cunningly and elo-

this folie, I will adde here svche a letter as William Sommer[g] himself could not make a better for that purpose,—deuised by a Lincolneshire man for a voide benefice[h]." This point he illustrates with other familiar and pleasant instances[i].

In enforcing the application and explaining the nature of fables, for

quently, which cannot be without the vse of figures: and neuerthelesse, none impeachment or blemish to the grauitie of their persons or of the cause: wherein I report me to them that knew sir Nicholas Bacon lord keeper of the great seale, or the now lord treasurer of England, and haue bene conuersant with their speeches made in the parliament house and starre chamber. From whose lippes I haue seene to proceede more graue and naturall eloquence, than from all the oratours of Oxford and Cambridge.—I have come to the lord keeper sir Nicholas Bacon, and found him sitting in his gallery alone, with the workes of Quintilian before him. In deede he was a most eloquent man and of rare learning and wisdome as euer I knew England to breed, and one that ioyed as much in learned men and men of good witts." Lib. iii. ch. ii. pag. 116 seq. What follows soon afterwards is equally apposite: "This part in our maker or poet must be heedyly looked vnto, that it [his language] be naturall, pure, and the most vsuall of all his countray: and for the same purpose, rather that which is spoken in the kinges court, or in the good townes and cities within the land, than in the marches and frontiers, or in port townes where straungers haunt for traffike sake, or yet in vniuersities where schollars vse much peevish affectation of words out of the primitiue languages; or finally, in any vplandish village or corner of the realme, &c. But he shall follow generally the better brovght vp sort, such as the Greekes call *charientes*, men ciuill and graciously behauored and bred. Our maker therefore at these dayes shall not follow Piers Plowman, nor Gower, nor Lydgate, nor yet Chaucer, for their language is now out of vse with vs: neither shall he take the termes of northerne men, suche as they vse in daily talke, whether they be noblemen or gentlemen, or of their best clarkes, all is a matter, &c. Ye shall therefore take the vsuall speach of the court, and that of London, and the shires lying abovt London within lx myles, and not mvch aboue. I say not this, bvt that in euery shyre of England there be gentlemen and others that speke, but specially write, as good Sovtherne as we of Middlesex or Surrey do, bvt not the common people of euery shire, to whom the gentlemen, and also their learned clarkes, do for the most part condescend: but herein we are already ruled by the English Dictionaries, and other bookes written by learned men. Albeit peraduenture some small admonition be not impertinent; for we finde in our English writers many wordes and speeches amendable, and ye shall see in some many ink-horne termes so ill-affected brought in by men of learning, as preachers and schoolemasters, and many straunge termes of other languages by secretaries and marchaunts and traueillours, and many darke wordes and not vsuall nor well sounding, though they be daily spoken at court." Ibid. ch. iii. fol. 120, 121.

[g] King Henry's jester. In another place he gives us one of Sommer's jests. "William Sommer seying muche adoe for accomptes makyng, and that Henry the Eight wanted money, such as was due to him, And please your grace, quoth he, you haue so many Frauditours, so many Conueighers, and so many Deceiuers, to get vp your money, that thei get all to themselues." That is, Auditors, Surveyors, and Receivers. fol. 102 b. I have seen an old narrative of a progress of king Henry the Eighth and queen Katharine to Newbery in Berkshire, where Sommer, who had accompanied their majesties as court-buffoon, fell into disgrace with the people for his impertinence, was detained, and obliged to submit to many ridiculous indignities; but extricated himself from all his difficulties by comic expedients and the readiness of his wit. On returning to court, he gave their majesties, who were inconsolable for his long absence, a minute account of these low adventures, with which they were infinitely entertained. What shall we think of the manners of such a court?

[h] Viz. "Ponderyng, expendyng, and reuolutyng with myself, your ingent affabilitie, and ingenious capacitie for mundane affaires, I cannot but celebrate and extoll your magnificall dexteritie above all other. For how could you have adapted suche illustrate prerogative, and dominicall superioritie, if the fecunditie of your ingenie had not been so fertile and wonderfull pregnaunt?" &c. It is to the lord chancellor. See what is said of A. Borde's style, at p. 73 of this volume.

[i] B. iii. fol. 82 b. edit. 1567

the purpose of amplification, he gives a general idea of the Iliad and Odyssey. "The saying of poetes, and al their fables, are not to be forgotten. For by them we maie talke at large, and win men by perswasion, if we declare before hand, that these tales wer not fained of suche wisemen without cause, neither yet continued vntill this time, and kept in memorie without good consideracion, and therevpon declare the true meanyng of all svche writynge. For vndoubtedly, there is no one Tale among all the poetes, but vnder the same is comprehended somethyng that perteyneth either to the amendement of maners, to the knowledge of truthe, to the settyng forth of natures worke, or els to the vnderstanding of some notable thing doen. For what other is the painful trauaile of Vlisses, described so largely by Homere, but a liuely picture of mans miserie in this life? And as Plutarche saith, and likewise Basilius Magnus, in the ILIADES are described strength and valiauntnesse of bodie; in ODISSEA, is set forthe a liuely paterne of the mynde. The Poetes were Wisemen, and wisshed in harte the redresse of thinges, the which when for feare thei durst not openly rebuke, they did in colours paint them out, and tolde men by shadowes what thei shold do in good sothe: or els, because the wicked were vnworthy to heare the trueth, thei spake so that none might vnderstande but those vnto whom thei please to vtter their meanyng, and knewe them to be men of honest conuersacion*."

Wilson thus recommends the force of circumstantial description, or, what he calls, *An euident or plaine setting forthe of a thing as though it were presently doen*. "An example. If our enemies shal inuade and by treason win the victory, we al shal die euery mothers sonne of vs, and our citee shal be destroied, sticke and stone: I se our children made slaues, our daughters rauished, our wiues carried away, the father forced to kill his owne sonne, the mother her daughter, the sonne his father, the sucking childe slain in his mothers bosom, one standyng to the knees in anothers blood, churches spoiled, houses plucte down, and al set on fire round about vs, euery one cvrsing the daie of their birth, children criyng, women wailing, &c. Thus, where I might haue said, *We shal al be destroied*, and say no more, I haue by description set the euill forthe at large[k]." It must be owned that this picture of a sacked city is literally translated from Quintilian; but it is a proof, that we were now beginning to make the beauties of the ancients our own.

On the necessity of a due preservation of character he has the following precepts, which seem to be directed to the writers of Historical Plays. "In describyng of persons, there ought alwaies a comelinesse to be vsed, so that nothing be spoken which may be thought is not in them. As if one shold describe Henry the Sixth, he might call hym jentle, milde of nature, ledde by perswacion, and ready to forgiue, carelesse for wealth, suspecting none, mercifull to al, fearful in aduersitie,

* Lib. iii. fol. 99 b. [k] Fol. 91 a.

and without forecast to espie his misfortvne. Againe, for Richarde the Thirde, I might brynge him in cruell of harte, ambicious by nature, enuious of minde, a deepe dissembler, a close man for weightie matters, hardie to reuenge and fearefull to lose hys high estate, trustie to none, liberall for a purpose, castyng still the worste, and hoping euer the best[l]. By this figure[m] also, we imagine a talke for some one to speake, and accordyng to his persone we frame the oration. As if one shoulde bryng in noble Henry the Eight of moste famous memory, to enuegh against rebelles, thus he might order his oration. *What if Henry the Eight were aliue, and sawe suche rebellion in the realme, would he not saie thus and thus?* Yea, methinkes I heare hym speake euen nowe. And so sette forthe suche wordes as we would haue hym to say[n]." Shakspeare himself has not delineated the characters of these English monarchs with more truth. And the first writers of the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES, who *imagine a talke for some one to speake, and according to his person frame the oration*, appear to have availed themselves of these directions, if not to have catched the notion of their whole plan from this remarkable passage.

He next shows the advantages of personification in enlivening a composition. "Some times it is good to make God, the Countray, or some one Towne, to speake; and looke what we would saie in our owne persone, to frame the whole tale to them. Such varietie doeth much good to auoide tediousnesse. For he that speaketh all in one sorte, though he speake thinges neuer so wittilie, shall sone weary his hearers. Figures therefore were inuented, to auoide satietie, and cause delite: to refresh with pleasure and quicken with grace the dulnesse of mans braine. Who will looke on a white wall an houre together where no workemanshippe is at all? Or who will eate still one kynde of meate and neuer desire chaunge[o]?"

Prolix narratives, whether jocose or serious, had not yet ceased to be the entertainment of polite companies; and rules for telling a tale with grace now found a place in a book of general rhetoric[p]. In treat-

[l] Richard the Third seems to have been an universal character for exemplifying a cruel disposition. Our author, meaning to furnish a chamber with persons famous for the greatest crimes, says in another place, "In the bedstede I will set Richarde the Third kinge of Englande, or somelike notable murtherer." fol. 109 b. Shakspeare was not the first that exhibited this tyrant upon the stage. In 1586, a ballad was printed called a "tragick report of kinge Richarde the iii." Registr. Station. B. fol. 210 b.

[m] Lively description.

[n] Fol. 91 b.

[o] Fol. 91 b. 92 a.

[p] Yet he has here also a reference to the utility of tales both at the Bar and in the Pulpit. For in another place, professedly both speaking of Pleadings and Sermons, he says, "If tyme maie so serue, it were good when menne be wearied, to make them somewhat merie, and to begin with some pleasaunte tale, or take occasion to ieste wittelie," &c. fol. 55 b. Again, "Men commonlie taric the ende of a merie Plaie, and cannot abide the half hearyng of a sower checkyng Sermon. Therefore euen these aunciente preachers muste nowe and then plaie the fooles in the pulpite to serue the tickle eares of their fletyng audience." &c. fol. 2 a. I know not if he means Latimer here, whom he commends, "There is no better preacher among them al except Hugh Latimer the father of al preachers." fol. 63 a. And again, "I would thinke it not amisse to speake muche accordyng to the nature and phansie of the igno-

ing *of pleasaunt sporte made rehearsyng of a whole matter*, he says, "Thei that can liuely tell pleasaunt tales and mery dedes doen, and set them out as wel with gesture as with voice, leauing nothing behinde that maie serue for beautifying of their matter, are most meete for this purpose, whereof assuredly ther are but fewe. And whatsoeuer he is, that can aptlie tell his tale, and with countenaunce, voice, and gesture, so temper his reporte, that the hearers may still take delite, hym coompte I a man worthie to be highlie estemed. For vndoubtedly no man can doe any such thing excepte that thei haue a greate mother witte, and by experience confirmed suche their comelinesse, whervnto by nature thei were most apte. Manie a man readeth histories, heareth fables, seeth worthie actes doen, euen in this our age; but few can set them out accordinglie, and tell them liuelie, as the matter selfe requireth to be tolde. The kyndes of delityng in this sort are diuers: whereof I will set forth many,—*Sporte moued by tellyng of olde tales.*—If there be any olde tale or straunge historie, well and wittelie applied to some man liuyng, all menne loue to heare it of life. As if one were called Arthure, some good felowe that were well acquainted with KYNG ARTHURES BOOKE and the Knightes of his Rounde Table, would want no matter to make good sport, and for a nede would dubbe him knight of the Rounde Table, or els proue hym to be one of his kynne, or else (which

rant, that the rather thei might be wonne through fables to learne more weightie and graue matters. For al men cannot brooke sage causes and auncient collations, but will like earnest matters the rather, if something be spoken there among agreeing to their natures. The multitude, as Horace doth saie, is a beast or rather a monster that hath many heddes, and therefore, like vnto the diuersitie of natvres, varietie of inuention must alwaies be vsed. Talke altogether of most graue matters, or deppely searche out the ground of thynges, or vse the quiddities of Dunce [Duns Scotus] to set forth Gods misteries, you shal se the ignorant, I warrant you, either fall aslepe, or els bid you farewell. The multitude must nedes be made merry; and the more foolish your talke is, the more wise will thei counte it to be. And yet it is no foolishnes but rather wisdome to win men, by telling of fables to heare Gods goodnes." fol. 101 a. See also fol. 52 a. 69 a. Much to the same purpose he says, "Euen in this our tyme, some offende muche in tediousnesse, whose parte it were to comfort all men with cherefulnesse. Yea, the preachers of God mind so muche edifiyng of soules, that thei often forgette we have any bodies. And therefore, some doe not so muche good with tellyng the truthe, as thei doe harme with dullyng the hearers; beyng so farre gone in their matters, that oftentimes thei cannot tell when to make an ende." fol. 70 a. Yet still he allows much praise to the preachers in general of his age. "Yea, what tell I nowe of suche lessons, seeyng God hath raised suche worthy preachers in this our tyme, that their godlie and learned doynges maie be a moste iuste example for all other to followe." fol. 55 b. By the way, although a zealous gospeller, in another place he obliquely censures the rapacity with which the reformation was conducted under Edward the Sixth. [See p. 14 of this volume.] "I had rather, said one, make my child a cobler than a preacher, a tankard-bearer than a scholer. For what shall my sonne seke for learnyng, when he shall neuer get thereby any livyng? Set my sonne to that whereby he mai get somewhat. Doe you not see, how euery one catcheth and pulleth from the churche what thei can? I feare me, one dai they will plucke downe churche and all. Call you this the Gospell, when men seke onlie for to prouide for their bellies, and care not a groate though their soules go to helle? A patrone of a benefice will haue a poore yngrame soule to beare the name of a parsone for twentie marke, or tenne pounde; and the patrone hymself will take vp, for his snapshare, as good as an hundred marke. Thus, God is robbed, learnyng decaied, England dishonoured, and honestie not regarded." fol. 9 a.

were muche) proue him to be Arthur himself. And so likewise of other names, merie panions[q] would make madde pastyme. Oftentymes the deformitie of a mannes body giueth matter enough to be right merie, or elles a picture in shape like another manne will make some to laugh right hartelye," &c.[r] This is no unpleasing image of the arts and accomplishments, which seasoned the mirth, and enlivened the conversations of our forefathers. Their wit seems to have chiefly consisted in mimicry[s].

He thus describes the literary and ornamental qualifications of a young nobleman which were then in fashion, and which he exemplifies in the characters of his lamented pupils*, Henry duke of Suffolk and lord Charles Brandon his brother[t]: "I maie commende hym for his learnyng, for his skill in the French or in the Italian, for his knowlege in cosmographie, for his skill in the lawes, in the histories of al countrees, and for his gift of enditing. Againe, I maie commende him for playing at weapons, for running vpon a great horse, for chargyng his staffe at the tilt, for vauting, for plaiyng upon instrumentes, yea and for painting, or drawing of a plat, as in olde time noble princes muche delited therin[u]." And again, "Suche a man is an excellent fellowe, saithe one, he can speake the tongues well, he plaies of instrumentes, fewe men better, he feigneth to the lvte marveilous sweetlie[w], he endites excellentlie; but for al this, the more is the pitee, he hath his faultes, he will be dronke once a daie, he loues women well," &c.[x]

The following passage acquaints us, among other things, that many now studied, and with the highest applause, to write elegantly in English as well as in Latin. "When we haue learned vsuall and accvstomable wordes to set forthe our meanynge, we ought to ioyne them together in apte order, that the eare maie delite in hearyng the harmonie. I knowe some Englishemen, that in this poinct haue suche a gift in the Englishe as fewe in Latin haue the like; and therefore delite the Wise and Learned so muche with their pleasaunte composition, that many reioyce when thei maie heare suche, and thinke muche learnyng is gotte when thei maie talke with them[y]." But he adds the faults which were

[q] Companions, a cant word.

[r] Fol. 74 a.

[s] See fol. 70 a.

* ["All England, he says, lament the death of Duke Henrie and Duke Charles, two noble brethren of the house of Suffolk. Then may we well judge that these two gentlemen were wonderfully beloved when they both were so lamented." fol. 65 a.—PARK.]

[t] He gives a curious reason why a young nobleman had better be born in London than any other place. "The shire or towne helpeth somewhat towardes the encrease of honour; as it is much better to be borne in Paris than in Picardie, in London than in Lincolne; for that bothe the aire is better, the people more ciuil, and the wealth much greater, and the menne for the most parte more wise." fol. 7 a.

[u] Fol. 7 a.

[w] He mentions the Lute again. "The tongue giueth a certaine grace to euery matter, and beautifieth the cause, in like maner as a sweete soundyng lute muche setteth forth a meane deuised ballade." fol. 111 a.

[x] Fol. 67 a.

[y] This work is enlivened with a variety of little illustrative stories, not ill told, of which the following is a specimen. "An Italian havyng a sute here in Englande to the archbushoppe of Yorke that then was,

sometimes now to be found in English composition, among which he censures the excess of alliteration.—"Some will bee so shorte, and in such wise curtall their sentences, that thei had neede to make a mentary immediatelie of their meanyng, or els the moste that heare them shal be forced to kepe counsaile. Some wil speake oracles, that a man can not tell, which waie to take them. Some will be so fine, and so poeticall withall, that to their seming there shall not stande one heare [hair] amisse, and yet euery bodie els shall think them meter [fitter] for a ladies chamber than for an earnest matter in any open assembly.—Some vse overmuche repetition of one letter, as *pitifull povertie prayeth for a penie, but puffed presumpcion passeth not a poinct, pamperyng his panche with pestilent pleasure, procuryng his*

and commynge to Yorke toune, when one of the Prebendaries there brake his bread, as they terme it, and therevpon made a solemne longe diner, the whiche perhaps began at eleuen and continued well nigh till fower in the afternoone, at the whiche dinner this bishoppe was: It fortvned that as they were sette, the Italian knockt at the gate, vnto whom the porter, perceiuing his errand, answered, that my lord bisshoppe was at diner. The Italian departed, and retourned betwixte twelve and one; the porter aunswered they were yet at dinner. He came againe at twoo of the clocke; the porter tolde hym thei had not half dined. He came at three a clocke, vnto whom the porter in a heate answered neuer a worde, but churlishlie did shutte the gates vpon him. Wherevpon, others told the Italian, that ther was no speaking with my Lord, almoste all that daie, for the solemne diner sake. The gentilman Italian, wonderyng muche at suche a long sitting, and greatly greued because he could not then speake with the archbysshoppes grace, departed straight towardes London; and leauyng the dispatche of his matters with a dere frende of his, toke his iourney towardes Italie. Three yeres after, it hapened that an Englishman came to Rome, with whom this Italian by chaunce fallyng acquainted, asked him if he knewe the archbisshoppe of Yorke? The Englishman said, he knewe hym right well. I praie you tell me, quoth the Italian, *hath that archbishop yet dined?*" The Italian explaining himself, they both laughed heartily. fol. 78 b. 79 a.

He commends Dr. Haddon's latinity, which is not always of the purest cast. "There is no better Latine man within England, except Gualter Haddon the lawier." fol. 63 a. Again, he commends a *prosopopeia* of the duchess of Suffolk, in Haddon's *Oratio de vita et obitu fratrum Suffolciensium Henrici et Caroli Brandon.* [edit. Hatcher, Lond. 1577. 4to. p. 89, viz. *Lucubrationes* G. Haddon.] fol. 94 a.

He mentions John Heiwood's Proverbs. [See p. 88 of this volume.] "The Englishe Proverbes gathered by Jhon Heiwoode helpe well in this behaulfe [allegory], the which commonlie are nothyng els but Allegories, and dark deuised sentences." fol. 90 a. Again, for furnishing similitudes, "The Prouerbes of Heiwood helpe wonderfull well for thys purpose." fol. 96 b.

He condemns, in an example, the growing practice of mothers who do not suckle their own children, which he endeavours to prove to be both against the law of nature and the will of God. fol. 56 a. Here is an early proof of a custom, which may seem to have originated in a more luxurious and delicate age.

To these miscellaneous extracts I shall only add, that our author, who was always esteemed a sincere advocate for protestantism, and never suspected of leaning to popery, speaking of an artificial memory, has this theory concerning the use of images in churches. "When I see a lion, the image thereof abideth faster in my minde, than if I should heare some reporte made of a lion. Emong all the sences, the iye [eye] sight is most quicke, and conteineth the impression of thinges more assuredlie than any of the other sences doe. And the rather, when a manne both heareth and seeth a thing, (as by artificiall memorie he doeth almost see thinges liuely,) he doeth remember it muche the better. The sight printeth thinges in a mans memorie as a seale doeth printe a mans name in waxe. And therefore, heretofore Images were sette vp for remembraunce of sainctes, to be LAIEMENNES BOOKES, that the rather by seeing [seeing] the pictures of suche men, thei might be stirred to follow their good living.—Marry, for this purpose whereof we now write, this would haue serued gailie well." fol. 111 a.

passeport to poste it to hell pitte, there to be punished with paines perpetuall." Others he blames for the affectation of ending a word with a vowel and beginning the next with another. "Some," he says, "ende their sentences al alike, makyng their talke [style] rather to appere rimed meter, than to seme plaine speache.—I heard a preacher[z] delityng muche in this kinde of composicion, who vsed so often to ende his sentence with woordes like vnto that which went before, that in my iudgement, there was not a dosen sentences in his whole sermon but thei ended all in rime for the moste parte. Some, not best disposed, wished the Preacher a Lute, that with his rimed sermon he might vse some pleasaunte melodie, and so the people might take pleasure diuers waies, and daunce if thei liste." Some writers, he observes, disturbed the natural arrangement of their words: others were copious when they should be concise. The most frequent fault seems to have been, the rejection of common and proper phrases, for those that were more curious, refined, and unintelligible[a].

The English RHETORIC of Richard Sherry, schoolmaster of Magdalene college at Oxford, published in 1555[b], is a jejune and a very different performance from Wilson's, and seems intended only as a manual for school-boys. It is entitled, "A treatise of the figures of grammar and rhetorike, profitable to all that be studious of eloquence, and in especiall for such as in grammar scholes doe reade most eloquente poetes and oratours. Wherevnto is ioygned the Oration which Cicero made to Cesar, geuing thankes vnto him for pardonyng and restoring again of that noble man Marcus Marcellus. Sette fourth by Richarde Sherrye Londonar, 1555[c]." William Fullwood, in his *Enemie of idleness, teaching the manner and style howe to endyte and write all sorts of epistles and letters, set forth in English by William Fullwood merchant,* published in 1571[d], written partly in prose and partly in verse, has left

[z] Preaching and controversial tracts occasioned much writing in English after the reformation.

[a] Fol. 85 a. b. 86 a. One Thomas Wilson translated the Diana of Montemayer, a pastoral Spanish romance, about the year 1595, which has been assigned as the original of the Two Gentlemen of Verona. He could hardly be our author, unless that version was one of his early juvenile exercises. This translator Wilson I presume is the person mentioned by Meres as a poet, "Who for learning and extemporall witte in this facultie is without compare or compeere, as to his great and eternall commendations he manifested in his challenge at the Swanne on the Bank side." Wit's Treas. edit. 1598. 12mo. ut supr. fol. 285. p. 2. Again, he mentions one Wilson as an eminent dramatic writer, perhaps the same. Ibid. fol. 282. There is, by one Thomas Wilson, an Exposition on the Psalms, Lond. 1591. 4to. and an Exposition on the Proverbs, Lond. 1589. 4to. Among the twelve players sworn the queen's servants in 1583, were "two rare men, viz. Thomas Wilson for a quicke, delicate, refined extemporall witte, and Richard Tarleton," &c. Stowe's Ann. edit. 1615. fol. 697.

[I apprehend that Mr. Warton in this note has confounded Dean Wilson the rhetorical writer, with Thomas Wilson, the romance translator, and with another Wilson, who is recorded by Stowe, by Meres, and by Heywood, as a comedian of distinguished celebrity.—PARK.]

[b] But there seems to have been a former edition by Richard Day, 1550, in octavo.

[There was one by Rd. Grafton in 1553, 4to, which from the continued date in the title was probably the first.—PARK.]

[c] For Richard Tottell. 12mo. In 74 leaves.

[d] In four books, 12mo. [1568. 1571. 1578. 1586. 1598.

this notice:—"Whoso will more circumspectly and narrowly entreat of such matters, let them read the rhetorike of maister doctour Wilson, or of maister Richard Rainolde[e]." I have never seen Richard Rainolde's RHETORIC, nor am I sure that it was ever printed*. The author, Rainolde, was of Trinity college in Cambridge, and created doctor of medicine in 1567[f]. He wrote also a Latin tract dedicated to the duke of Norfolk, on the condition of princes and noblemen[g]: and there is an old CRONICLE in quarto by one Richard Reynolds[h]. I trust it will be deemed a pardonable anticipation, if I add here, for the sake of connection, that Richard Mulcaster, who from King's college in Cambridge was removed to a Studentship of Christ-church in Oxford about the the year 1555, and soon afterwards, on account of his distinguished accomplishments in philology, was appointed the first master of Merchant-Taylors' school in London[i], published a book which contains many

"This booke, by practise of the pen
And judgement of the wise,
Stands Enemie to Idlenesse,
And friend to exercise."—PARK.]

It is dedicated to the master, wardens, and company of Merchant Taylors London. "Think not Apelles painted piece." PR. "The ancient poet Lucanus." The same person translated into English, The Castle of Memorie, from William Gratarol, dedicated to lord Robert Dudly, master of the horse to the queen, Lond. for W. Howe in Fleetstreet, 1573. 8vo. Ded. begins, "Syth noble Maximilian kyng."

[Robinson thus introduces him in an obscure poem called The Rewarde of Wickednesse, 1574.

"Let Studley, Hake, or *Fulwood* take,
That *William* hath to name,
This piece of worke in hand, that bee
More fitter for the same."—PARK.]

[e] Fol. 7 a. In 1562, "the Boke of Retoryke," of which I know no more, is entered to John Kyngeston. Registr. Station. A. fol. 87 b.

[Kingston published editions of Wilson's Rhetorike in 1560, 1567, and 1584. See Herbert, who records a later edition by Geo. Robinson in 1585. See also note [c], p. 272. supr.—PARK.]

* [It was printed in 1563, 4to. and had for title "A booke called the Foundacion of Rhetorike, because all other partes of Rhetorike are grounded thereupon; every parte sette forthe in an oracion upon questions, verie profitable to bee knowen and redde. Made by Richard Rainolde, maister of arte of the Universitie of Cambridge."—This work is much less attractive than that of Dr. Wilson, and hence perhaps it has become proportionably rare. The following compliment seems liberally offered to his predecessor:—"In fewe yeres past, a learned woorke of Rhetorike is compiled and made in the Englishe toungue, of *one* who floweth in all excellencie of arte, who in judgement is profounde, in wisedome and eloquence most famous." Address to the reader.—PARK.]

[f] MSS. Cat. Graduat. Univ. Cant.

[g] MSS. Stillingfl. 160, "De statu nobilium virorum et principum."

[h] Of the Emperors of the romaines from Julius Cesar to Maximilian. Licenced to T. Marshe, in 1566. Registr. Station. A. fol. 154 b. [And printed in 1571, 4to. See Herb. p. 860. Doubtless by the writer on Rhetoric, since he designates himself "Doctor in phisicke."—PARK.]

[i] In 1561. It was then just founded as a proseminary for saint John's college Oxford, in a house called the Manour of the Rose in saint Lawrence Pounteney, by the company of Merchant-Taylors. Saint John's college had been then established about seven years, which Mulcaster soon filled with excellent scholars till the year 1586. In the Latin plays acted before queen Elizabeth and James the First at Oxford, the students of this college were distinguished. This was in consequence of their being educated under Mulcaster. He was afterwards, in 1596, master of saint Paul's school. He was a prebendary of Salisbury, and at length was rewarded by the queen with the opulent rectory of Stanford-Rivers in Essex, where he died in 1611. He was elected scholar of King's college Cambridge in 1548. MSS. Hatcher. and Contin. Hatch. Celebrated in its time was his CATECHISMUS PAULINUS *in usum Scholæ Paulinæ conscriptus*, Lond. 1601. 8vo. &c. It is in long and short verse. Many of Mulcaster's panegyrics in Latin verse may be seen prefixed to the works of his cotemporaries. A copy of his Latin

judicious criticisms and observations on the English language, entitled, "The first part of the ELEMENTARIE, which entreateth chefely of the right writing of the English tung, sett forth by Richard Mulcaster, Lond. 1582[k]." And, as many of the precepts are delivered in metre, I take this opportunity of observing, that William Bullokar published a "Bref grammar for English, Imprinted at London by Edmund Bollifant, 1586[l]." This little piece is also called, "W. Bullokar's abbreuiation of his Grammar for English extracted out of his Grammar at larg for the spedi parcing of English spech, and the eazier coming to the knowledge of grammar for other langages[m]." It is in the black letter, but with many novelties in the type, and affectations of spelling. In the preface, which is in verse, and contains an account of his life, he promises a dictionary of the English language, which, he adds, will make his third work[n]. His first work I apprehend to be "A Treatise of Orthographie in Englishe by William Bullokar," licenced to Henry Denham in 1580[o]. Among Tanner's books is a copy of his *bref grammar* above-mentioned, interpolated and corrected with the author's own hand, as it appears, for a new impression. In one of these manuscript insertions, he calls this, "the first grammar for Englishe that euer waz, except my *grammar at large*[p]."

The French have vernacular critical and rhetorical systems at a much higher period. I believe one of their earliest is "Le JARDIN de plaisance et FLEUR de rhetorique, contenant plusieurs beaux livres." It is in quarto, in the gothic type with wooden cuts, printed at Lyons by Olivier Arnoullett for Martin Boullon, and without date. But it was probably printed early in 1500[q]. In one of its poems, LA PIPEE *ou*

verses was spoken before queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth-castle in 1575. See G. Gascoyne's Narrative, &c. Signat. A. iij.

[k] Most elegantly printed, in the white letter, by Thomas Vautrollier in quarto. It contains 272 pages. The second part never appeared. His "POSITIONS, wherein those primitive circumstances be examined which are necessarie for the training vp of children either for skill in their booke or health in their bodies," [Lond. 1581. 1587. 4to.] haʋe no connection with this work.

[Mr. Warton must have made this remark without referring to the publications of Mulcaster, who tells his readers that the stream of discourse in his first book named POSITIONS did carry him on to promise, and bind him to perform, his book named ELEMENTARIE; that is "the hole matter which children ar to learn, and the hole maner how masters ar to teach them, from their first beginning to go to anie school untill theie passe to grammer."—The latter therefore was a ramification from the former, and treated chiefly of five points—Reading, Writing, Drawing, Singing, and Playing.—PARK.]

[l] Coloph. "Qd. W. Bullokar." 12mo. It contains 68 pages.

[m] Fol. 1.

[n] Here he says also, that he has another volume lying by him *of more fame*, which is not to see the light till christened and called forth by the queen.

[o] Jun. 10. Registr. Station. B. fol. 169 a. But I must not forget, that in 1585, he published, "Esop's fables in tru orthography, with grammer notz. Herunto ar also coioned the shorte sentencez of the wyz Cato, imprinted with lyke form and order: both of which authorz ar translated out of Latin intoo English by William Bullokar." 12mo.

[p] Fol. 68. In his metrical preface he says, that he served in the army under sir Richard Wingfield in queen Mary's time. There is "A petee schole of spellinge and writinge Englishe," licensed to Butter, Jul. 20, 1580. Registr. B. fol. 171 a.

[q] There is another, I suppose a second, edition, without date, in black letter, with wooden cuts, in folio, contain-

chasse de dieu d'amour is cited the year 1491[r]. Another edition, in the same letter, but in octavo, appeared at Paris in 1547, *Veuve de Jehan Tréperel et Jehan Jehannot.* Beside the system of Rhetoric, which is only introductory, and has the separate title of L'ART DE RHETORIQUE, *de ses couleurs, figures et especes*[s], it comprehends a miscellaneous collection of *Balades, rondeaux, chansons, dicties, comedies,* and other entertaining little pieces[t], chiefly on the subject of the sentimental and ceremonious love which then prevailed*. The whole, I am speaking of the oldest edition, contains one hundred and ninety leaves. The RHETORIC is written in the short French rhyme; and the tenth chapter consists of rules for composing Moralities, Farces, Mysteries, and other ROMANS. That chapter is thus introduced, under the Latin rubric PROSECUTIO:—

Expediez sont neuf chapitres,
Il faut un dixième exposer:
Et comme aussi des derniers titers,
Qu'on doit à se propos poser,
Et comme l'on doit composer
Moralités, Farces, Mistères;
Et d'autres Rommans disposer
Selon les diverses matières.

The Latin rubrics to each species are exceedingly curious. "Decimum Capitulum pro forma compilandi MORALITATES.—Pro COMEDIS[u].—Pro MISTERIIS compilandis." Receipts to make poems have generally been thought dull. But what shall we think of dull receipts for making dull poems? Gratian du Pont, a gentleman of Tholouse, printed in 1539 the "Art et Science de Rhetorique métrifiée[w]." It must be remembered, that there had been an early establishment of prizes in poetry at Tholouse, and that the seven troubadours or rhetoricans at Tholouse were more famous in their time than the seven sages of Greece[x]. But the "Grand et vrai Art de plein Rhetorique,"

ing two hundred and forty-eight leaves, exclusive of the tables. This has some improvements.

[r] Stance 22. fol. 134.

[s] From fol. 2 a. to fol. 14 a.

[t] But the compiler has introduced "Le DONNET, traité de grammaire baillé au feu roi Charles viii." fol. 20 a. One of the pieces is a Morisque, in which the actors are Amorevse grace, Enuieuse jalousie, Espoir de parvenir, Tout habandonne, Sot penser, fol. 32 b.

* [This was the remains of one half of chivalry-love, romantic and platonic beyond belief: the other half was just the contrary, and equally indelicate from the same source. He refers for examples to Sect. xliii. pp. 116, 117 of this volume.—ASHBY.]

[u] The farce, or comedy, must have,

"Chose qui soit mélodieuse,
Matière qui soit comédieuse," &c.

[w] Par N. Viellard, 4to.

[x] See Verdier, ii. 649. From an ingenious correspondent, who has not given me the honour of his name, and who appears to be well acquainted with the manners and literature of Spain, I have received the following notices relating to this institution, of which other particulars may be seen in the old French History of Languedoc. "At the end of the second volume of Mayan's *Origines de la Lingua Espanola,* printed in duodecimo at Madrid in 1737, is an extract from a manuscript entitled, *Libro de la Arte de Trovar, ò Gaya Sciencia, por Don Enrique de*

in two books, written by Pierre Fabri, properly Le Fevre, an ecclesiastic of Rouen, for teaching elegance in prose as well as rhyme, is dated still higher. Goujet mentions a Gothic edition of this tract in

Villena, said to exist in the library of the cathedral of Toledo, and perhaps to be found in other libraries of Spain. It has these particulars.—The Trovadores had their origin at Tholouse about the middle of the twelfth century. A CONSISTORIO *de la Gaya Sciencia* was there founded by Ramon Vidal de Besalin, containing more than one hundred and twenty celebrated poets, and among these, princes, kings, and emperors. Their art was extended throughout Europe, and gave rise to the Italian and Spanish poetry, *servio el Garonade Hippocrene.* To Ramon Vidal de Besalin succeeded Jofre de Foxa, Monge negro, who enlarged the plan, and wrote what he called *Continuacion de trovar.* After him Belenguer de Troya came from Majorca, and compiled a treatise *de Figuras y Colores Rhetoricos.* And next Gul. Vedal of Majorca wrote *La Suma Vitulina.* To support the *Gaya Sciencia* at the poetical college of Tholouse, the king of France appropriated privileges and revenues, appointing seven *Mantenedores, que liciessen Leyes.* These constituted the Laws of Love, which were afterwards abridged by Guill. Moluier under the title *Tratado de las Flores.* Next Fray Ramon framed a system called *Doctrinal*, which was censured by Castilnon. From thence nothing was written in Spanish on the subject till the time of Don Enrique de Villena.—So great was the credit of the Gay Science, that Don Juan the first king of Arragon, who died 1393, sent an embassy to the king of France requesting that some Troubadours might be transmitted to teach this art in his kingdom. Accordingly two *Mantenedores* were dispatched from Tholouse, who founded a college for poetry in Barcelona, consisting of four Mantenedores, a Cavalier, a Master in Theology, a Master in Laws, and an honourable Citizen. Disputes about Don Juan's successor occasioned the removal of the college to Tortosa: but Don Ferdinand being elected King, Don Enrique de Villena was taken into his service, who restored the college, and was chosen principal. The subjects he proposed, were sometimes, the Praises of the Holy Virgin, of Arms, of Love, *y de buenas Costumbres.* An account of the ceremonies of their public Acts then follows, in which every composition was recited, being written *en papeles Damasquinos dediversos colores, con letras de oro y de plata, et illuminaduras formosas, lo major qua cada una podio.* The best performance had a crown of gold placed upon it; and the author, being presented with a *joya*, or prize, received a licence to *cantar y decir in publico.* He was afterwards conducted home in form, escorted among others by two *Mantenedores*, and preceded by minstrels and trumpets, where he gave an entertainment of confects and wine."—[See supr. vol. i. p. 147. et seqq. vol. ii. p. 224.]

[Mr. Ashby thinks it probable that the anonymous correspondent was the Rev. Mr. John Bowles.—PARK.]

There seems to have been a similar establishment at Amsterdam, called *Rhederiicker camer*, or the CHAMBER OF RHETORICIANS, mentioned by Isaacus Pontanus, who adds, "Sunt autem hi rhetores viri amœni et poetici spiritus, qui lingua vernacula, aut prosa aut vorsa oratione, comœdias, tragœdias, subindeque et mutas personas, et facta maiorum notantes, magna spectantium voluptate exhibent." Rer. et Urb. Amst. lib. ii. c. xvi. pag. 118. edit. 1611. fol. In the preceding chapter, he says, that this fraternity of rhetoricians erected a temporary theatre, at the solemn entry of prince Maurice into Amsterdam in 1594, where they exhibited in DUMB SHOW the history of David and Goliath. Ibid. c. xv. p. 117.

Meteranus, in his Belgic history, speaks largely of the annual prizes, assemblies, and contests of the guilds or colleges of the rhetoricians, in Holland and the Low Countries. They answered in rhyme, questions proposed by the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant. At Ghent in 1539, twenty of these colleges met with great pomp, to discuss an ethical question, and each gave a solution in a moral comedy, magnificently presented in the public theatre. In 1561, the rhetorical guild of Antwerp, called the VIOLET, challenged all the neighbouring cities to a decision of the same sort. On this occasion, three hundred and forty rhetoricians of Brussels appeared on horseback, richly but fantastically habited, accompanied with an infinite variety of pageantries, sports and shows. These had a garland, as a reward for the superior splendour of their entry. Many days were spent in determining the grand questions; during which, there were feastings, bonfires, farces, tumbling, and every popular diversion. Belg. Histor. Universal. fol. 1597. lib. i. p. 31, 32.

1521[y]. It contains remarks on the versification of mysteries and farces, and throws many lights on the old French writers.

But the French had even an ART OF POETRY so early as the year 1548. In that year Thomas Sibilet published his *Art poetique* at Paris, *Veuve* François Regnault[z]. This piece preserves many valuable anecdotes of the old French poetry; and, among other particulars which develope the state of the old French drama, has the following sensible strictures. "The French farce contains little or nothing of the Latin comedy. It has neither acts nor scenes, which would only serve to introduce a tedious prolixity: for the true subject of the French farce, or SOTTIE, is every sort of foolery which has a tendency to provoke laughter.—The subject of the Greek and Latin comedy was totally different from every thing on the French stage; for it had more morality than drollery, and often as much truth as fiction. Our MORALITIES hold a place indifferently between tragedy and comedy: but our farces are really what the Romans called mimes, or *Priapées*, the intended end and effect of which was excessive laughter, and on that account they admitted all kinds of licentiousness, as our farces do at present. In the meantime, their pleasantry does not derive much advantage from rhymes, however flowing, of eight syllables[a]." Sibilet's work is chiefly founded on Horace. His definitions are clear and just, and his precepts well explained. The most curious part of it is the enumeration of the poets who in his time were of most repute. Jacques Pelletier du Mans, a physician, a mathematician, a poet, and a voluminous writer on various subjects both in prose and verse, also published an ART POETIQUE at Lyons in 1555[b]. This critic had sufficient penetration to perceive the false and corrupt taste of his cotemporaries. "Instead of the regular ode and sonnet, our language is sophisticated by *ballads*, *rondeaux*, *lays*, and *triolets*. But with these we must rest contented, till the farces which have so long infatuated our nation are converted into comedy, our martyr-plays into tragedy, and our romances into heroic poems[c]." And again, "We have no pieces in our language written in the genuine comic form, except some affected and unnatural MORALITIES, and other plays of the same character, which do not deserve the name of comedy. The drama would appear to advantage, did it but resume its proper state and ancient dignity. We have, however, some tragedies in French learnedly translated, among which is the HECUBA of Euripides by Lazare de Baïf," &c.[d] Of rhyme the same writer says, "S'il n'étoit question que de parler ornement, il ne faudroit sinon écrire en prose, ou s'il n'étoit question

[y] Bibl. Fr. 361. He mentions another edition in 1539. Both at Paris. 12mo.

[z] In 16mo.

[a] Liv. ii. ch. viii. At the end of Sibilet's work is a critical piece of Quintil against Ch. Fontaine, first printed separately at Paris, 1538. 16mo.

[b] By Jean de Tournes. 8vo.

[c] Ch. de l'Ode.

[d] *Ch. de la Comedie et de la Tragedie.* See also, to the same purpose, Collettet *Sur la poesie morale*, and Guillaume des Autels, *Repos d'un plus grand travail.*

que de rimer, il ne faudroit, sinon rimer en farceur: mais en poesie, il faut faire tous les deux, et BIEN DIRE, et BIEN RIMER[e]." His chapters on IMITATION and TRANSLATION have much more philosophy and reflection than are to be expected for his age, and certain observations which might edify modern critics[f]. Nor must I forget, that Pelletier also published a French translation of Horace's ART OF POETRY at Paris in 1545[g]. I presume, that Joachim du Bellay's *Deffense et Illustration de la* LANGUE FRANÇOISE was published at no great distance from the year 1550. He has the same just notion of the drama. "As to tragedies and comedies, if kings and states would restore them in their ancient glory, which has been usurped by farces and MORALITIES, I am of opinion that you would lend your assistance; and if you wish to adorn our language, you know where to find models[h]."

The Italian vernacular criticism began chiefly in commentaries and discourses on the language and phraseology of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace. I believe one of the first of that kind is, "Le tre fontane di Nicolò Liburnio sopra la grammatica, e l'eloquenza di Dante, del Petrarcha, e del Boccacio. In Venezia, per Gregorio Gregori, 1526[i]." Numerous expositions, lectures, annotations, and discourses of the same sort, especially on Dante's Inferno, and the Florentine dialect, appeared soon afterwards. Immediately after the publication of their respective poems, Ariosto, whose ORLANDO FURIOSO was styled the *nuova poesia*, and Tasso, were illustrated or expounded by commentators more intricate than their text. One of the earliest of these is, "Sposizione de Simon Fornari da Reggio sopra l'Orlando Furioso di Ludovico Ariosto. In Firenze per Lorenzo Torrentino 1549[k]." Perhaps the first criticism on what the Italians call the Volgar Lingua is by Pietro Bembo, "Prose di Pietro Bembo della volgar Lingua divise in tre libri. In Firenze per Lorenzo Torrentino, 1549[l]." But the first edition seems to have been in 1525. This subject was discussed in an endless succession of *Regole grammaticali*, *Osservazioni*, *Avvertimenti*, and *Ragionamenti*. Here might also be mentioned, the annotations, although they are altogether explanatory, which often accompanied the early translations of the Greek and Latin classics into Italian. But I resign this labyrinth of research to the superior opportunities and abilities of the French and Italian antiquaries in their native literature. To have said nothing on the subject might have been thought an omission, and to have said more, impertinent. I therefore return to our own poetical annals.

Our three great poets, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, seem to have maintained their rank, and to have been in high reputation, during the period of which we are now treating. Splendid impressions of large

[e] Liv. ii. ch. i. *De la Rime.*
[f] See liv. i. ch. v. and vi.
[g] Par Michel Vascosan. 8vo.
[h] Liv. ii. ch. iv.
[i] In quarto. Again, per Marchio Sessa, 1534. 8vo.
[k] In 8vo. The *Seconde Partie* appeared ibid. 1550. 8vo.
[l] In quarto.

works were at this time great undertakings. A sumptuous edition of Gower's CONFESSIO AMANTIS was published by Berthelette in 1554. On the same ample plan, in 1555, Robert Braham printed with great accuracy, and a diligent investigation of the ancient copies, the first correct edition of Lydgate's TROYBOKE[m]. I have before incidentally remarked[n], that Nicholas Briggam, a polite scholar, a student at Oxford and at the Inns of Court, and a writer of poetry, in the year 1555, deposited the bones of Chaucer under a new tomb, erected at his own cost, and inscribed with a new epitaph, in the chapel of bishop Blase in Westminster abbey, which still remains[o]. Wilson, as we have just seen in a citation from his RHETORIC, records an anecdote, that the more accomplished and elegant courtiers were perpetually quoting Chaucer. Yet this must be restricted to the courtiers of Edward the Sixth. And indeed there is a peculiar reason why Chaucer, exclusive of his real excellence, should have been the favourite of a court which laid the foundations of the reformation of religion. It was, that his poems abounded with satirical strokes against the corruptions of the church, and the dissolute manners of the monks. And undoubtedly Chaucer long before, a lively and popular writer, greatly assisted the doctrines of his cotemporary Wickliffe, in opening the eyes of the people to the absurdities of popery, and exposing its impostures in a vein of humour and pleasantry. Fox the martyrologist, a weak and a credulous compiler, perhaps goes too far in affirming, that Chaucer has undeniably proved the pope to be the antichrist of the apocalypse[p].

Of the reign of queen Mary we are accustomed to conceive every thing that is calamitous and disgusting; but when we turn our eyes from its political evils to the objects which its literary history presents, a fair and flourishing scene appears. In this prospect, the mind feels a repose from contemplating the fates of those venerable prelates, who suffered the most excruciating death for the purity and inflexibility of their faith; and whose unburied bodies, dissipated in ashes, and undistinguished in the common mass, have acquired a more glorious monument, than if they had been interred in magnificent shrines, which might have been visited by pilgrims, loaded with superstitious gifts, and venerated with the pomp of mistaken devotion.

[m] Nothing can be more incorrect than the first edition in 1513.

[n] See supr. vol. ii. p. 263.

[o] Undoubtedly Chaucer was originally buried in this place. Leland cites a Latin elegy, or *Nænia*, of thirty-four lines, which he says was composed by Stephanus Surigonius of Milan, at the request of William Caxton the printer; and which, Leland adds, was written on a white tablet by Surigonius, on a pillar near Chaucer's grave in the south aisle at Westminster. *Script. Brit.* GALFRID. CHAUCERUS. See Caxton's Epilogue to Chaucer's Booke of Fame, in Caxton's Chaucer. Wood says, that Briggam "exercised his muse much in poetry, and took great delight in the works of Jeffrey Chaucer; for whose memory he had so great a respect, that he removed his bones into the south crossile or transept of S. Peter's church," &c. Ath. Oxon. i. 130. I do not apprehend there was any removal, in this case, from one part of the abbey to another. Chaucer's tomb has appropriated this aisle, or transept, to the sepulture or to the honorary monuments of our poets.

[p] Tom ii. p. 42. edit 1684.

SECTION LVI.

Sackville's Gorbodiuc. Our first regular tragedy. Its fable, conduct, characters, and style. Its defects. Dumb-show. Sackville not assisted by Norton.

THE first poem which presents itself at the commencement of the reign of queen Elizabeth, is the play of GORBODUC, written by Thomas Sackville lord Buckhurst, the original contriver of the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES[a]. Thomas Norton, already mentioned as an associate with Sternhold and Hopkins in the metrical version of David's Psalms, is said to have been his coadjutor[b].

It is no part of my plan, accurately to mark the progress of our drama, much less to examine the merit of particular plays. But as this piece is perhaps the first specimen in our language of an heroic tale, written in blank verse, divided into acts and scenes, and clothed in all the formalities of a regular tragedy, it seems justly to deserve a more minute and a distinct discussion in this general view of our poetry.

It was first exhibited in the great Hall of the Inner Temple, by the students of that Society, as part of the entertainment of a grand Christmas*, and afterwards before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall, on the eight-

[a] It is scarcely worth observing, that one Thomas Brice, at the accession of Elizabeth, printed in English metre a *Register of the Martyrs and Confessors under queen Mary*, Lond. for R. Adams, 1559, 8vo. I know not how far Fox might profit by this work. I think he has not mentioned it. In the Stationers' Registers, in 1567, were entered to Henry Binneman, Songes and Sonnetts by Thomas Brice. Registr. A. fol. 164 a. I have never seen the book. In 1570, an elegy, called "An epitaph on Mr. Bryce preacher" occurs, licensed to John Alde. Ibid. fol. 205 b. Again, we have the Court of Venus, I suppose a ballad, MORALISED, in 1566, by Thomas Bryce, for Hugh Singleton. Ibid. fol. 156 a.

[Brice, at the end of his Metrical "Register," has a poem of the ballad kind, which he calls "The Wishes of the Wise."

It begins:—

When shal this time of travail cease,
Which we with wo sustayne?
When shal the daies of rest and peace
Returne to us againe?

Before his Register he expresses an earnest wish and desire, that "the authour and endightynge were halfe so worthye as the matter, that it myght bee conveyed and delyvered to the Quenes Majesties owne handes."—PARK.]

[b] See p. 149 of this volume. See Preface to Gorboduc, edit. 1571. Strype says, that Thomas Norton was a clergyman, a puritan, a man of parts and learning, well known to secretary Cecil and archbishop Parker, and that he was suspected, but without foundation, of writing an answer to Whitgift's book against the puritans, published in 1572. Life of Parker, p. 364. Life of Whitgift, p. 28. I forgot to mention before, that Norton has a copy of recommendatory verses prefixed to Turner's Preservative, a tract against the Pelagians, dedicated to Hugh Latimer, printed Lond. 1551. 12mo. In the Conferences in the Tower with Campion the Jesuit, in 1581, one Norton, but not our author, seems to have been employed as a notary. See "A true Reporte of the Disputation," &c. Lond. 1583. bl. lett. 4to. Signat. A a. iij.

* [See a description of the magnificent celebration of that festival in Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*, p. 150.—PARK.]

centh day of January in 1561. It was never intended for the press; but being surreptitiously and very carelessly printed in 1565, an exact edition, with the consent and under the inspection of the authors, appeared in 1571, in black letter, thus entitled:—"The TRAGIDIE OF FERREX AND PORREX, set forth without addition or alteration, but altogether as the same was showed on stage before the queenes Majestie about nine yeare past, viz. The xviij day of Januarie, 1561. By the gentlemen of the Inner Temple. Seen and allowed, &c. Imprinted at London by John Daye dwelling ouer Aldersgate." It has no date, nor notation of pages, and contains only thirty-one leaves in small octavo[c]. In the edition of 1565, it is called the TRAGEDIE OF GORBODUC. The whole title of that edition runs thus:—"The Tragedie of GORBODUC, whereof three actes were wrytten by Thomas Nortone and the two laste by Thomas Sackvyle. Sett forthe as the same was shewed before the queenes most excellent maiestie in her highnes court of Whitehall, the 18 Jan. 1561. By the gentlemen of thynner Temple in London. Sept. 22, 1565." Printed by William Griffith at the sign of the falcon in Fleet-street, in quarto[d]. I have a most incorrect black lettered copy in duodecimo, without title, but with the printer's monogram in the last page, I suspect of 1569, which once belonged to Pope[e], and from which the late Mr. Spence most faithfully printed a modern edition of the tragedy in the year 1736. I believe it was printed before that of 1571, for it retains all the errors of Griffith's first or spurious edition of 1565. In the Preface prefixed to the edition of 1571, is the following passage:—"Where [whereas] this tragedy was for furniture of part of the grand Christmasse in the Inner-temple, first written about nine years ago by the right honourable Thomas now lord Buckhurst, and by T. Norton; and afterwards showed before her maiestie, and neuer intended by the authors thereof to be published: Yet one W. G. getting a copie thereof at some young mans hand, that lacked a little money and much discretion, in the last great plague *anno* 1565, about fiue yeares past, while the said lord was out of England, and T. Norton far out of London, and neither of them both made priuy, put it forth exceedingly corrupted,"

[c] For the benefit of those who wish to gain a full and exact information about this edition, so as to distinguish it from all the rest, I will here exhibit the arrangement of the lines of the title-page. "The Tragidie of Ferrex | and Porrex, | set forth without addition or alte- | ration but altogether as the same was shewed | on stage before the queenes maiestie, | about nine yeares past, *vz.* the | xviij daie of Januarie, 1561. by the Gentlemen of the | Inner Temple. | Seen and allowed &c. | Imprinted at London by | John Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate." With the Bodleian copy of this edition, are bound up four pamphlets against the papists by Thomas Norton.

[d] On the books of the Stationers, "The Tragedie of Gorboduc where iij actes were written by Thomas Norton and the laste by Thomas Sackvyle," is entered in 1565-6, with William Griffiths. Registr. A. fol. 132 b.

[e] In the year 1717, my father, then a fellow of Magdalene college at Oxford, gave this copy to Mr. Pope, as appears by a letter of Pope to R. Digby, dated Jun. 2, 1717. See Pope's Letters, vol. ix. p. 39. edit. 12mo. 1754. "Mr. Warton forced me to take Gorboduc," &c. Pope gave it to the late bishop Warburton, who gave it to me about ten years ago, 1770.

&c. W. G. is William Griffith, the printer in Fleet-street, above mentioned. Mr. Garrick had another old quarto edition, printed by Alde, in 1590.

These are the circumstances of the fable of this tragedy. Gorboduc, a king of Britain about six hundred years before Christ, made in his life-time a division of his kingdom to his sons Ferrex and Porrex. The two young princes within five years quarreled for universal sovereignty. A civil war ensued, and Porrex slew his elder brother Ferrex. Their mother Viden, who loved Ferrex best, revenged his death by entering Porrex's chamber in the night, and murthering him in his sleep. The people, exasperated at the cruelty and treachery of this murther, rose in rebellion, and killed both Viden and Gorboduc. The nobility then assembled, collected an army, and destroyed the rebels. An intestine war commenced between the chief lords; the succession of the crown became uncertain and arbitrary, for want of the lineal royal issue; and the country, destitute of a king, and wasted by domestic slaughter, was reduced to a state of the most miserable desolation.

In the dramatic conduct of this tale, the unities of time and place are eminently and visibly violated; a defect which Shakspeare so frequently commits, but which he covers by the magic of his poetry. The greater part of this long and eventful history is included in the representation. But in a story so fertile of bloodshed, no murther is committed on the stage. It is worthy of remark, that the death of Porrex in the bed-chamber is only related. Perhaps the players had not yet learned to die, nor was the poniard so essential an article as at present among the implements of the property-room. Nor is it improbable, that to kill a man on the stage was not now avoided as a spectacle shocking to humanity, but because it was difficult and inconvenient to be represented. The writer has followed the series of facts related in the chronicles without any material variation, or fictitious embarrassments, and with the addition only of a few necessary and obvious characters.

There is a Chorus of Four Ancient and Sage Men of Britain, who regularly close every act, the last excepted, with an ode in long-lined stanzas, drawing back the attention of the audience to the substance of what has just passed, and illustrating it by recapitulatory moral reflections, and poetical or historical allusions. Of these the best is that which terminates the fourth act, in which prince Porrex is murthered by his mother Viden. These are the two first stanzas.

When greedie lust in royall seat to reigne,
Hath reft all care of goddes, and eke of men,
And Cruell Heart, Wrath, Treason, and Disdaine,
Within th' ambicious breast are lodged, then
Behold howe MISCHIEFE wide herselfe displaies,
And with the brothers hand the brother slaies!

When blood thus shed doth staine the heauens face,
Crying to Joue for vengeaunce of the deede,
The mightie god euen moueth from his place,
With wrath to wreak. Then sendes he forth with spede
The dreadful Furies, daughters of the night,
With serpents girt, carrying the whip of ire,
With haire of stinging snakes, and shining bright,
With flames and blood, and with a brande of fire.
These for reuenge of wretched murder done
Do make the mother kill her onelie son!

Blood asketh blood, and death must death requite:
Joue, by his iust and euerlasting doom,
Justly hath euer so required it, &c.[f]

In the imagery of these verses, we discern no faint traces of the hand which drew the terrible guardians of hell-gate, in the INDUCTION to the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES.

The moral beauties and the spirit of the following ode, which closes the third act, will perhaps be more pleasing to many readers.

The lust of kingdom[g] knowes no sacred faithe,
No rule of reason, no regarde of right,
No kindlie loue, no feare of heauens wrathe:
But with contempt of goddes, and man's despight,
Through blodie slaughter doth prepare the waies
To fatall scepter, and accursed reigne:
The sonne so lothes the fathers lingerynge daies,
Ne dreads his hande in brothers blode to staine!
O wretched prince! ne dost thou yet recorde
The yet fressh murthers done within the lande,
Of thie forefathers, when the cruell sworde
Bereft Morgain his liefe with cosyn's hande?
Thus fatall plagues pursue the giltie race,
Whose murderous hand, imbrued with giltles bloode,
Askes vengeaunce still[h], before the heauens face,
With endles mischiefes on the cursed broode.
The wicked child thus[i] bringes to wofull sier
The mournefull plaintes, to waste his wery[k] life:
Thus do the cruell flames of civyll fier
Destroye the parted reigne with hatefull strife:
And hence doth spring the well, from which doth flo
The dead black streames of mourning[l], plaint, and wo.[m]

[f] Act iv. sc. ult.
[g] 'kingdoms,' edit. 1565.
[h] 'still,' omitt. edit. 1565.
[i] 'this,' edit. 1565.
[k] 'very,' a worse reading, in edit. 1571.
[l] 'mournings,' edit. 1565.
[m] Act iii. sc. ult.

Every act is introduced, as was the custom in our old plays, with a piece of machinery called the DUMB SHOW, shadowing by an allegorical exhibition the matter that was immediately to follow. In the construction of this spectacle and its personifications, much poetry and imagination was often displayed. It is some apology for these prefigurations, that they were commonly too mysterious and obscure, to forestal the future events with any degree of clearness and precision. Not that this mute mimicry was always typical of the ensuing incidents. It sometimes served for a compendious introduction of such circumstances as could not commodiously be comprehended within the bounds of the representation. It sometimes supplied deficiencies, and covered the want of business. Our ancestors were easily satisfied with this artificial supplement of one of the most important unities, which abundantly filled up the interval that was necessary to pass, while a hero was expected from the Holy Land, or a princess was imported, married, and brought to bed. In the mean time, the greater part of the audience were probably more pleased with the emblematical pageantry than the poetical dialogue, although both were alike unintelligible.

I will give a specimen in the DOMME SHEWE preceding the fourth act. "First, the musick of howeboies began to plaie. Duringe whiche, there came forth from vnder the stage, as thoughe out of hell, three Furies, ALECTO, MEGERA, and CTESIPHONE[n], clad in blacke garments sprinkled with bloud and flames, their bodies girt with snakes, their heds spread with serpents instead of heare, the one bearing in her hande a snake, the other a whip, and the thirde a burning firebrande: eche driuynge before them a kynge and a queene, which moued by Furies vnnaturally had slaine their owne children. The names of the kinges and queenes were these, TANTALUS, MEDEA, ATHAMAS, INO, CAMBISES, ALTHEA. After that the Furies, and these, had passed aboute the stage thrise, they departed, and then the musicke ceased. Hereby was signified the vnnaturall murders to followe, that is to saie, Porrex slaine by his owne mother; and of king Gorboduc and queene Viden killed by their owne subjectes." Here, by the way, the visionary procession of kings and queens long since dead, evidently resembles our author Sackville's original model of the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES; and, for the same reason, reminds us of a similar train of royal spectres in the tent-scene of Shakspeare's KING RICHARD THE THIRD.

I take this opportunity of expressing my surprise, that this ostensible comment of the Dumb Show should not regularly appear in the tragedies of Shakspeare. There are even proofs that he treated it with contempt and ridicule. Although some critics are of opinion, that because it is never described in form at the close or commencement of his acts, it was therefore never introduced. Shakspeare's aim was to collect an audience, and for this purpose all the common expedients were neces-

[n] Tisiphone.

sary. No dramatic writer of his age has more battles or ghosts. His representations abound with the usual appendages of mechanical terror, and he adopts all the superstitions of the theatre. This problem can only be resolved into the activity or the superiority of a mind, which either would not be entangled by the formality, or which saw through the futility, of this unnatural and extrinsic ornament. It was not by declamation or by pantomime that Shakspeare was to fix his eternal dominion over the hearts of mankind.

To return to Sackville. That this tragedy was never a favorite among our ancestors, and has long fallen into general oblivion, is to be attributed to the nakedness and uninteresting nature of the plot, the tedious length of the speeches, the want of a discrimination of character, and almost a total absence of pathetic or critical situations. It is true that a mother kills her own son. But this act of barbarous and unnatural impiety, to say nothing of its almost unexampled atrocity in the tender sex, proceeds only from a brutal principle of sudden and impetuous revenge. It is not the consequence of any deep machination, nor is it founded in a proper preparation of previous circumstances. She is never before introduced to our notice as a wicked or designing character. She murthers her son Porrex, because in the commotions of a civil dissension, in self-defence, after repeated provocations, and the strongest proofs of the basest ingratitude and treachery, he had slain his rival brother, not without the deepest compunction and remorse for what he had done. A mother murthering a son is a fact which must be received with horror; but it required to be complicated with other motives, and prompted by a co-operation of other causes, to rouse our attention, and work upon our passions. I do not mean that any other motive could have been found, to palliate a murther of such a nature. Yet it was possible to heighten and to divide the distress, by rendering this bloody mother, under the notions of human frailty, an object of our compassion as well as of our abhorrence. But perhaps these artifices were not yet known or wanted. The general story of the play is great in its political consequences; and the leading incidents are important, but not sufficiently intricate to awaken our curiosity, and hold us in suspense. Nothing is perplexed and nothing unravelled. The opposition of interests is such as does not affect our nicer feelings. In the plot of a play, our pleasure arises in proportion as our expectation is excited.

Yet it must be granted, that the language of GORBODUC* has great

[* Rymer termed Gorboduc "a fable better turn'd for tragedy than any on this side the Alps, in the time of lord Buckhurst, and might have been a better direction to Shakspeare and Ben Jonson, than any guide they have had the luck to follow." Short View of Tragedy, p. 84. Mr. Pope also observed, that "the writers of the succeeding age might have improved by copying from this drama, a propriety in the sentiments and dignity in the sentences, and an unaffected perspicuity of style, which are essential to tragedy." Yet Dryden and Oldham both spoke con-

purity and perspicuity; and that it is entirely free from that tumid phraseology, which does not seem to have taken place till play-writing had become a trade, and our poets found it their interest to captivate the multitude by the false sublime, and by those exaggerated imageries and pedantic metaphors, which are the chief blemishes of the scenes of Shakspeare, and which are at this day mistaken for his capital beauties by too many readers. Here also we perceive another and a strong reason why this play was never popular*.

Sir Philip Sydney, in his admirable DEFENCE OF POESIE, remarks, that this tragedy is full of *notable moralitie*. But tragedies are not to instruct us by the intermixture of moral sentences, but by the force of example, and the effect of the story. In the first act, the three counsellors are introduced debating about the division of the kingdom in long and elaborate speeches, which are replete with political advice and maxims of civil prudence. But this stately sort of declamation, whatever eloquence it may display, and whatever policy it may teach, is undramatic, unanimated, and unaffecting. Sentiment and argument will never supply the place of action upon the stage; not to mention, that these grave harangues have some tincture of the formal modes of address, and the ceremonious oratory, which were then in fashion. But we must allow, that in the strain of dialogue in which they are professedly written, they have uncommon merit, even without drawing an apology in their favour from their antiquity; and that they contain much dignity, strength of reflection, and good sense, couched in clear expression and polished numbers. I shall first produce a specimen from the speech of Arostus, who is styled a Counsellor to the King, and who is made to defend a specious yet perhaps the least rational side of the question.

> And in your lyfe, while you shall so beholde
> Their rule, their vertues, and their noble deedes,
> Such as their kinde behighteth to vs all;
> Great be the profites that shall growe thereof:
> Your age in quiet shall the longer last,
> Your lastinge age shall be their longer staie:
> For cares of kynges, that rule, as you haue rulde,

temptuously of this piece, and apparently without having perused it; since they supposed Gorboduc to have been a female, and the former calls it the tragedy of "Queen Gorboduc." See Scott's Edit. of his Works, ii. 118; and Biog. Dram. ii. 238.—PARK.]

* [If Shakspeare could not of himself find out what was natural and right in language and sentiment, Gorboduc might have taught him. But Mr. Warton supposes that what we now reckon a beauty and merit, was a strong reason why Gorboduc never became popular. Was not this reason enough for Shakspeare, whose only endeavours were *populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas*, to take another course? Had Shakspeare ever stretched his views to fame and posterity, he would at least have printed some of his plays. But it is not easy to conceive how a man can write for a future generation. It is not in his power to know what they will like; though he may be able to please his contemporaries, by giving them what they have been accustomed to approve.—ASHBY.]

For publique wealth, and not for private ioye,
Do waste mannes lyfe, and hasten crooked age,
With furrowed face, and with enfeebled lymmes,
To drawe on creepynge Death a swifter pace.
They two, yet yonge, shall beare the parted[o] regne
With greater ease, than one, now olde, alone,
Can welde the whole: for whom, muche harder is
With lessened strength the double weight to beare.
Your age, your counsell, and the graue regarde
Of father[p], yea of suche a fathers name,
Nowe at beginning of their sondred reigne,
When is[q] the hazarde of their whole successe,
Shall bridle so the force of youthfull heates,
And so restraine the rage of insolence
Whiche most assailes the yong and noble minds,
And so shall guide and traine in tempred staie
Their yet greene bending wittes with reuerent awe,
As[r] now inured with vertues at the first.
Custom, O king, shall bringe delightfulnes:
By vse of vertue, vice shall growe in hate.
But if you so dispose it, that the daye
Which endes your life, shal first begin their reigne,
Great is the perill. What will be the ende,
When suche beginning of suche liberties
Voide of suche stayes[s] as in your life do lye,
Shall leaue them free to random[t] of their will,
An open prey to traiterous flattery,
The greatest pestilence of noble youthe:
Which perill shal be past, if in your life,
Their tempred youth, with aged fathers awe,
Be brought in vre of skilfull staiedness, &c.[u]

From an obsequious complaisance to the king, who is present, the topic is not agitated with that opposition of opinion and variety of arguments which it naturally suggests, and which would have enlivened the disputation and displayed diversity of character. But Eubulus, the king's secretary, declares his sentiments with some freedom, and seems to be the most animated of all our three political orators.

To parte your realme vnto my lords your sonnes,
I think not good, for you, ne yet for them,
But worst of all for this our native land:
Within[w] one lande one single rule is best.

[o] 'partie,' edit. 1565.
[p] 'fathers,' edit. 1565.
[q] 'it is,' edit. 1565.
[r] 'and,' edit. 1565.
[s] 'states,' edit. 1565.
[t] 'to free randon,' edit. 1565.
[u] Act i. sc. 2.
[w] 'for with,' edit. 1565.

Diuided reignes do make diuided hartes,
But peace preserues the countrey and the prince.
Suche is in man the gredie minde to reigne,
So great is his desire to climbe aloft
In worldly stage the stateliest partes to beare,
That faith, and iustice, and all kindly[x] loue,
Do yelde vnto desire of soueraigntie,
Where egall state doth raise an egall hope,
To winne the thing that either wold attaine.
Your grace remembreth, howe in passed yeres
The mightie Brute, first prince of all this lande,
Possessed the same, and ruled it well in one:
He thinking that the compasse did suffice,
For his three sonnes three kingdoms eke to make,
Cut it in three, as you would nowe in twaine:
But how much Brittish[y] blod hath since[z] been spilt,
What princes slaine before their timely hour[a],
To ioyne againe the sondred vnitie?
What wast of townes and people in the lande?
What treasons heaped on murders and on spoiles?
Whose iust reuenge euen yet is scarcely ceased,
Ruthfull remembraunce is yet raw[b] in minde, &c.[c]

The illustration from Brutus is here both apposite and poetical.

Spence, with a reference to the situation of the author lord Buckhurst in the court of queen Elizabeth, has observed in his preface to the modern edition of this tragedy, that "'tis no wonder, if the language of kings and statesmen should be less happily imitated by a poet than a privy counsellor*." This is an insinuation that Shakspeare, who has left many historical tragedies, was less able to conduct some parts of a royal story than the statesman lord Buckhurst. But I will venture to pronounce, that whatever merit there is in this play, and particularly in the speeches we have just been examining, it is more owing to the poet than the privy counsellor. If a first minister was to write a tragedy, I believe the piece will be the better, the less it has of the first

[x] natural.
[y] 'brutish,' edit. 1565.
[z] 'sithence,' edit. 1565.
[a] 'honour,' edit. 1565.
[b] 'had,' edit. 1565. [c] Act i. sc. 2.

* [If Norton wrote the first three acts of Gorboduc, as the title-page of 1565 sets forth, and the later edition does not contradict (supra, p. 290.), then the excellence of the speech above cited from act i. cannot have arisen from its being penned by a privy-counsellor. Could Richelieu write so good a tragedy as Corneille or Racine? asks Mr. Ashby, while he relates the following anecdote in reply. Queen Caroline was fond of talking to learned men. One day she was earnest with bishop Gibson to tell her, which he liked best, tragedy or comedy. The bishop parried the question by alleging he had not read or seen any thing of that kind a long while. The queen still persisting in her inquiry, he said, "Though I cannot answer your majesty's question, yet your majesty can inform me in one particular that nobody else can." She expressed great readiness to do so, and he added, "Pray, do kings and queens, when alone, talk such fine language as on the stage?" This was enough.—PARK.]

minister. When a statesman turns poet, I should not wish him to fetch his ideas or his language from the cabinet. I know not why a king should be better qualified than a private man to make kings talk in blank verse.

The chaste elegance of the following description of a region abounding in every convenience, will gratify the lover of classical purity.

Yea, and that half, which in[d] abounding store
Of things that serue to make a welthie realme,
In statelie cities, and in frutefull soyle*,
In temperate breathing of the milder heauen,
In thinges of nedeful vse, whiche friendlie sea
Transportes by traffike from the forreine partes[e],
In flowing wealth, in honour and in force, &c.[f]

The close of Marcella's narration of the murther of Porrex by the queen, which many poets of a more enlightened age would have exhibited to the spectators, is perhaps the most moving and pathetic speech in the play†. The reader will observe, that our author, yet to a good purpose, has transferred the ceremonies of the tournament to the court of an old British king.

O queene of adamante! O marble breaste;
If not the fauour of his comelie face,
If not his princelie chere and countenaunce,
His valiant active armes, his manlie breaste,
If not his faier and semelie personage,
His noble lymmes in suche proporcion[g] caste,
As would have wrapped[h] a sillie womans thought,
If this mought not haue moued thy[i] bloodie harte,
And that most cruell hande, the wretched weapon
Euen to let fall, and kisse[k] him in the face,
With teares for ruthe to reaue suche one by death:
Should nature yet consent to slaye her sonne?
O mother thou, to murder thus thie childe!
Euen Joue, with Justice, must with lightening flames
From heauen send downe some strange reuenge on thee.

[d] 'within,' edit. 1565.

* [Though the country is represented as fruitful, yet *imports* only are mentioned. This was precisely the case of England then. See Compendious Examination by W. S.—ASHBY.]

[e] 'portes,' edit. 1565.

[f] Act ii. sc. 1.

† [This speech had before been commended as very much in the manner of the ancients by Mr. Hawkins, who adds: "There are few narrations of Euripides, not excepting even that in the Alcestis, which are superior to it in tenderness and simplicity." Preface to the Orig. of the Eng. Drama, p. x.—PARK.]

[g] In the edition of 1565, this word is *preparacion*. I mention this, as a specimen of the great incorrectness of that edition.

[h] wrapped, rapt, i. e. ravished. I once conjectured *warped*. We have "wrapped in wo." Act iv. sc. 2.

[i] 'the,' edit. 1565.

[k] 'kiste,' edit. 1565.

Ah! noble prince, how oft have I beheld
Thee mounted on thy fierce and traumpling stede,
Shyning in armour bright before thy tylte,
And with thy mistresse' sleaue tied on thy helme,
And charge thy staffe, to please thy ladies eie,
That bowed the head peece of thy frendly foe?
Howe oft in armes on horse to bende the mace?[l]
How oft in arms on foote to breake the sworde?
Which neuer now these eyes may see againe![m]

Marcella, the only lady in the play except the queen, is one of the maids of honour; and a modern writer of tragedy would have made her in love with the young prince who is murthered.

The queen laments the loss of her eldest and favorite son, whose defeat and death had just been announced, in the following soliloquy. The ideas are too general, although happily expressed: but there is some imagination in her wishing the old massy palace had long ago fallen, and crushed her to death.

Why should I lyue, and lynger forth my time
In longer liefe, to double my distresse?
O me most wofull wight, whome no mishap
Long ere this daie could haue bereued hence!
Mought not these handes, by fortune or by fate,
Haue perst this brest, and life with iron reft?
Or in this pallaice here, where I so longe
Haue spent my daies, could not that happie houre
Ones, ones, haue hapt, in which these hugie frames
With death by fall might haue oppressed me?
Or should not this most hard and cruell soile,
So oft where I haue prest my wretched steps,
Somtyme had ruthe of myne accursed liefe,
To rend in twaine, and swallowe me therin?
So had my bones possessed nowe in peace
Their happie graue within the closed grounde,
And greadie wormes had gnawen this pyned hart
Without my feelynge paine! So should not nowe
This lyvynge brest remayne the ruthefull tombe
Wherein my hart, yelden to dethe, is graued, &c.[n]

There is some animation in these imprecations of prince Ferrex upon his own head, when he protests that he never conceived any malicious design, or intended any injury, against his brother Porrex.[o]

The wrekefull gods poure on my cursed head
Eternall plagues, and neuer dyinge woes!

[l] the shaft of the lance.
[m] Act iv. sc. 2.
[n] Act iv. sc. 1.
[o] Act ii. sc. 1.

The hellish prince[p] adiudge my dampned ghoste
To Tantales[q] thirste, or proude Ixions wheele,
Or cruel gripe[r], to gnaw my growing harte;
To durynge tormentes and vnquenched flames;
If euer I conceiued so foule a thought,
To wishe his ende of life, or yet of reigne.

It must be remembered, that the ancient Britons were supposed to be immediately descended from the Trojan Brutus, and that consequently they were acquainted with the pagan history and mythology. Gorboduc has a long allusion to the miseries of the siege of Troy[s].

In this strain of correct versification and language, Porrex explains to his father Gorboduc the treachery of his brother Ferrex.

When thus I sawe the knot of loue unknitte;
All honest league, and faithfull promise broke,
The lawe of kind[t] and trothe thus rent in twaine,
His hart on mischiefe set, and in his brest
Blacke treason hid: then, then did I dispaier
That euer tyme coulde wynne him frende to me;
Then sawe I howe he smyled with slaying knife
Wrapped vnder cloke, then sawe I depe deceite
Lurke in his face, and death prepared for mee, &c.[u]

As the notions of subordination, of the royal authority, and the divine institution of kings, predominated in the reign of queen Elizabeth, it is extraordinary, that eight lines, inculcating in plain terms the doctrine of passive and unresisting obedience to the prince, which appeared in the fifth act of the first edition of this tragedy, should have been expunged in the edition of 1571, published under the immediate inspection of the authors[w]. It is well known, that the Calvinists carried their ideas of reformation and refinement into government as well as religion; and it seems probable, that these eight verses were suppressed by Thomas Norton, Sackville's supposed assistant in the play, who was not only an active and I believe a sensible puritan, but a licenser of the publication of books under the commission of the bishop of London[x].

As to Norton's assistance in this play, it is said on better authority

[p] Pluto.
[q] 'Tantalus,' edit. 1565.
[r] The vulture of Prometheus.
[s] Act iii. sc. 1.
[t] nature.
[u] Act iv. sc. 2.
[w] See Signat. D. V. edit. 1571.
[x] For instance, "*Seven steppes to heaven, also The seven psalmes reduced into meter by W. Hunnys, The honny succles,*" &c. by Hunnys. Nov. 8, 1581, to Denham. Registr. Station. B. fol. 185 a. Also, in the same year, "*The picture of two pernicious varlettes called Prig Pickthank and Clem Clawbacke described by a peevishe painter.*" Ibid. fol. 184 a. All "under the hands of Mr. Thomas Norton." Et alibi passim. "The Stage of popishe Toyes, written by T. N." perhaps the same is licensed to Binneman, Feb. 22, 15[8]0. Ibid. fol. 178 a.

than that of Antony Wood, who supposes GORBODUC to have been in old English rhyme, that the three first acts were written by Thomas Norton, and the two last by Sackville *. But the force of internal evidence often prevails over the authority of assertion, a testimony which is diminished by time, and may be rendered suspicious from a variety of other circumstances. Throughout the whole piece, there is an invariable uniformity of diction and versification. Sackville has two poems of considerable length in the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES, which fortunately furnish us with the means of comparison: and every scene of GORBODUC is visibly marked with his characteristical manner †, which consists in a perspicuity of style, and a command of numbers, superior to the tone of his times [y]. Thomas Norton's poetry is of a very different and a subordinate cast: and if we may judge from his share in our metrical psalmody, he seems to have been much more properly qualified to shine in the miserable mediocrity of Sternhold's

* [Could we suppose, that Norton wrote the first three acts of Gorboduc, it would infinitely diminish Sackville's merit, because the design and example must be given to the former. Norton might write dully, as we find most poets do, on sacred subjects; and with more spirit when left to his own invention. Shakspeare himself wrote but dully, in his historic poem of Tarquin and Lucrece. Yet it is difficult to conceive how Sackville and Norton, whose general poetic talents were so widely different, could write distinct parts of a play, the whole of which should appear of uniform merit; like the famous statue made by two sculptors in different countries, which so greatly excited the wonder of Pliny.—ASHBY.]

† [The reflections of Eubulus at the close of the drama on the miseries of civil war, are so patriotically interesting, that I am impelled to take the occasion of placing an extract from them in the margin.

And thou, O Brittaine! whilome in renowne,
Whilome in wealth and fame, shalt thus be torne,
Dismembred thus, and thus be rent in twaine,
Thus wasted and defaced, spoyled and destroyed,
These be the fruites your civil warres will bring.
Hereto it comes, when kinges will not consent
To grave advise, but follow wilfull will.
This is the end, when in fonde princes hartes
Flattery prevailes, and sage rede [1] hath no place.
These are the plages, when murder is the meane
To make new heires unto the royall crowne.
Thus wreke the gods, when that the mother's wrath
Nought but the bloud of her owne childe may swage.
These mischiefes spring when rebells will arise,
To worke revenge, and judge their princes fact.
This, this ensues, when noble men do faile
In loyall trouth, and subjectes will be kinges.
And this doth growe, when loe unto the prince,
Whom death or sodeine happe of life beraves,
No certaine heire remaines; such certaine heire
As not all onely is the rightfull heire,
But to the realme is so made knowen to be,
And trouth therby vested in subjectes hartes.—PARK.]

[y] The same may be said of Sackville's Sonnet prefixed to Thomas Hoby's English version of Castiglio's *Il Cortegiano*, first printed in 1556. The third part, on *the behaviour of Court-ladies*, appears to have been translated in 1551, at the request of the marchioness of Northampton.

[1] advice.

stanza, and to write spiritual rhymes for the solace of his illuminated brethren, than to reach the bold and impassioned elevations of tragedy.

SECTION LVII.

Classical drama revived and studied. The Phœnissæ of Euripides translated by Gascoigne. Seneca's Tragedies translated. Account of the translators, and of their respective versions. Queen Elizabeth translates a part of the Hercules Oetæus.

THIS appearance of a regular tragedy, with the division of acts and scenes, and the accompaniment of the ancient chorus, represented both at the Middle Temple and at Whitehall, and written by the most accomplished nobleman of the court of queen Elizabeth, seems to have directed the attention of our more learned poets to the study of the old classical drama, and in a short time to have produced vernacular versions of the JOCASTA of Euripides, as it is called, and of the ten Tragedies of Seneca. I do not find that it was speedily followed by any original compositions on the same legitimate model.

The JOCASTA of Euripides was translated by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmersh, both students of Gray's-inn, and acted in the refectory of that society, in the year 1566. Gascoigne translated the second, third*, and fifth acts, and Kinwelmersh the first and fourth. It was printed in Gascoigne's poems, of which more will be said hereafter, in 1577, under the following title, "JOCASTA, a Tragedie written in Greeke by Euripides. Translated and digested into Acte, by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmershe of Graies inn, and there by them presented, An. 1566." The Epilogue was written in quatraines by Christopher Yelverton, then one of their brother students. So strongly were our audiences still attached to spectacle, that the authors did not venture to present their play, without introducing a DUMB SHEW at the beginning of every act. For this, however, they had the example and authority of GORBODUC. Some of the earliest specimens of Inigo Jones's Grecian architecture are marred by Gothic ornaments.

It must, however, be observed, that this is by no means a just or exact translation of the JOCASTA, that is the PHŒNISSÆ, of Euripides. It is partly a paraphrase, and partly an abridgement, of the Greek tragedy. There are many omissions, retrenchments, and transpositions. The chorus, the characters, and the substance of the story,

* [This third act has no denotation of its translator, in edit. 1575.—PARK.]

are entirely retained, and the tenor of the dialogue is often preserved through whole scenes. Some of the beautiful odes of the Greek chorus are neglected, and others substituted in their places, newly written by the translators. In the favorite address to Mars[a], Gascoigne has totally deserted the rich imagery of Euripides, yet has found means to form an original ode, which is by no means destitute of pathos or imagination.

O fierce and furious Mars! whose harmefull hart
Reioiceth most to shed the giltlesse blood;
Whose headie will doth all the world subvart,
And doth enuie the pleasant merry mood
Of our estate, that erst in quiet stood:
Why dost thou thus our harmlesse towne annoy,
Whych mighty Bacchus gouerned in ioy?

Father of warre and death, that doost remoue,
With wrathfull wrecke, from wofull mothers brest
The trusty pledges of their tender loue!
So graunt the goddes, that for our finall rest
Dame Venus' pleasant lookes may please thee best:
Whereby, when thou shalt all amazed stand,
The sword may fall out of thy trembling hand[b]:

And thou mayst proue some other way ful wel
The bloody prowess of thy mighty speare,
Wherewith thou raisest from the depth of hel
The wrathful sprites of all the Furies there;
Who, when they wake, do wander euery where,
And neuer rest to range about the costes,
T' enrich that pit with spoyle of damned ghostes.

And when thou hast our fields forsaken thus,
Let cruel Discord beare thee company,
Engirt with snakes and serpents venemous;
Euen She, that can with red vermilion die
The gladsome greene that florisht pleasantly;
And make the greedy ground a drinking cvp,
To sup the blood of murdered bodies vp.

Yet thou returne, O Ioie, and pleasant Peace!
From whence thou didst against our willes depart:
Ne let thy worthie mind from trauel cease,
To chase disdayne out of the poysned heart,
That raysed warre to all our paynes and smart,

[a] See Phœniss. p. 140. edit. Barnes.

Ω πολυμοχθος Αρης,
Τι ποθ' αἱματι
Και θανατῳ κατεχη, &c.

[b] So Tibullus, where he cautions Mars not to gaze on his mistress, lib. iv. ii. 3.

. . . . . At tu, violente, caveto,
Ne tibi miranti turpiter arma cadant.

Euen from the breast of Oedipus his sonne
Whose swelling pride hath all this iarre begon, &c.[c]

I am of opinion, that our translators thought the many mythological and historical allusions in the Greek chorus too remote and unintelligible, perhaps too cumbersome, to be exhibited in English. In the ode to CONCORD, which finishes the fourth act, translated by Kinwelmershe, there is great elegance of expression and versification. It is not in Euripides.

O blissefull CONCORD, bred in sacred brest
Of hym that rules the restlesse-rolling skie,
That to the earth, for mans assured rest,
From height of heauens vouchsafest downe to flie!
In thee alone the mightie power doth lie,
With sweet accorde to keepe the frowning starres,
And euerie planet els, from hurtful warres.

In thee, in thee, such noble vertue bydes,
As may commaund the mightiest gods to bend:
From thee alone such sugred frendship slydes
As mortall wights can scarcely comprehend.
To greatest strife thou setst deliteful end.
O holy Peace, by thee are only found
The passing ioyes that euerie where abound!

Thou only, thou, through thy celestiall might,
Didst first of all the heauenly pole devide
From th' old confused heap, that Chaos hight:
Thou madste the sunne, the moone, the starres, to glyde
With ordred course, about this world so wyde:
Thou hast ordaynde Dan Tytans shining light
By dawne of day to change the darksome night.

When tract of time returnes the lusty ver[d],
By thee alone the buds and blossoms spring,
The fields with flours be garnisht euery where;
The blooming trees aboundant fruite doe bring,
The chereful byrdes melodiously doe sing:
Thou doest appoynt the crop of summers seede,
For mans releefe, to serue the winters neede.

Thou dost inspire the hearts of princely peers,
By prouidence proceeding from aboue,
In flowring youth to choose their proper feeres[e];
With whom they liue in league of lasting loue,
Till fearfull death doth flitting life remoue:
And looke howe fast to death man payes his due!
So fast agayne doest thou his stock renue.

[c] Act ii. sc. ult. [d] spring. [e] mates.

By thee the basest thing aduanced is:
Thou euery where dost graffe such golden peace,
As filleth man with more than earthly blisse:
The earth by thee doth yeelde her sweete increase,
At beck of thee al bloody discords cease.
And mightiest realmes in quyet do remayne,
Whereas thy hand doth hold the royall rayne.

But if thou fayle, then all things gone to wrack:
The mother then doth dread her natural childe;
Then euery towne is subiect to the sack,
Then spotles maydes, then virgins be defilde;
Then rigour rules, then reason is exilde;
And this, thou woful THEBES! to ovr greate payne,
With present spoyle art likely to sustayne.

Methink I heare the waylful-weeping cryes
Of wretched dames in euery coast resound!
Methinks I see, howe vp to heauenly skies,
From battred walles the thundring-claps rebound:
Methink I heare howe al things go to ground:
Methink I see how souldiers wounded lie
With gasping breath, and yet they cannot die, &c.[f]

The constant practice of ending every act with a long ode sung by the chorus, seems to have been adopted from GORBODUC[g].

But I will give a specimen of this performance as a translation, from that affecting scene, in which Oedipus, blind and exiled from the city, is led on by his daughter Antigone, the rival in filial fidelity of Lear's Cordelia, to touch the dead and murthered bodies of his queen Jocasta, and his sons Eteocles and Polynices. It appears to be the chief fault of the translators, that they have weakened the force of the original, which consists in a pathetic brevity, by needless dilatations, and the affectations of circumlocution. The whole dialogue in the original is carried on in single lines. Such, however, is the pregnant simplicity of the Greek language, that it would have been impossible to have rendered line for line in English*.

[f] Act iv. sc. ult.

[g] It may be proper to observe here, that the tragedy of Tancred and Gismund, acted also before the queen at the Inner Temple, in 1568, has the chorus. The title of this play, not printed till 1592, shows the quick gradations of taste. It is said to be "Newlie revived and polished according to the decorum of these daies, by R. W. Lond. printed by T. Scarlet, &c. 1592." 4to. R. W. is Robert Wilmot, mentioned with applause as a poet in Webbe's Discourse, Signat. C 4. The play was the joint-production of five students of the society. Each seems to have taken an act. At the end of the fourth is *Composuit Chr. Hatton*, or sir Christopher Hatton, undoubtedly the same that was afterwards exalted by the queen to the office of lord keeper for his agility in dancing.

* [The Reviewers pronounced Mr. Potter's attempt to preserve this single-line dialogue, "snip-snap," and insist upon it, that however agreeable it might appear on the Athenian stage, it cannot be borne with us. Yet Mr. Hayley not quite unsuccessfully has tried it, in some of his rhyming dramas.—PARK.]

OEDIPUS.

Daughter, I must commend thy noble heart.

ANTIGONE.

Father, I will not liue in company[h],
And you alone wander in wildernes.

OEDIPUS.

O yes, dear daughter, leaue thou me alone
Amid my plagues: be merry while thou mayst.

ANTIGONE.

And who shall guide these aged feete of yours,
That banisht beene, in blind necessitie?

OEDIPUS.

I will endure, as fatal lot me driues,
Resting these crooked sory sides of mine
Where so the heauens shall lend me harborough.
And, in exchange of rich and stately towres,
The woods, the wildernes, the darksome dennes,
Shall be the boure of mine unhappy bones.

ANTIGONE.

O father, now where is your glory gone?

OEDIPUS.

One happy day did rayse me to renowne,
One haples day hath throwen mine honor downe.

ANTIGONE.

Yet wil I beare a part of your mishaps.

OEDIPUS.

That fitteth not amyd thy pleasant yeres.

ANTIGONE.

Deare father, yes: let youth geue place to age.

OEDIPUS.

Where is thy mother? Let me touch her face;
That with these hands I may yet feele the harme
That these blind eyes forbid me to behold.

ANTIGONE.

Here father, here her corps, here put your hand.

[h] I will not marry.

OEDIPUS.

O wife, O mother! O, both woful names!
O woful mother, and O woful wife!
O would to God, alas! O would to God!
Thou nere had been my mother, nor my wife!
But where now lie the paled bodies two
Of mine vnluckie sonnes? O where be they?

ANTIGONE.

Lo, here they lie, one by another dead!

OEDIPUS.

Stretch out this hand, deare daughter, stretch this hand
Vpon their faces.

ANTIGONE.

Lo father, loe, now you do touch them both.

OEDIPUS.

O bodies deare! O bodies deerely bought
Vnto your father! Bought with hard mishap!

ANTIGONE.

O louely name of my dear Polynice!
Why cannot I of cruel Creon crave,
Ne with my death now purchase thee, a graue?

OEDIPUS.

Now comes Apollo's oracle to passe,
That I in Athens towne should end my dayes.
And since thou doest, O daughter mine, desire
In this exile to be my wofull mate,
Lend me thy hand, and let vs goe together.

ANTIGONE.

Loe here all prest[i], my deare beloued father!
A feeble guyde, and eke a simple scoute,
To passe the perils in[k] a doubtful way[l].

OEDIPUS.

Vnto the wretched be a wretche guyde.

ANTIGONE.

In this alonly equall to my father.

OEDIPUS.

And where shall I set foorth my trembling feete?

[i] ready. [k] Read, *of*. [l] road, path.

O reach me yet some surer staffe,[m] to stay
My staggering pace amyd these wayes vnknowen.

ANTIGONE.

Here, father, here, and here, set foorth your feete.

OEDIPUS.

Nowe can I blame none other for my harmes
But secret spite of fore-decreed fate.
Thou art the cause, that crooked, old, and blind,
I am exilde farre from my countrey soyle, &c.[n]

That it may be seen in some measure, how far these two poets, who deserve much praise for even an attempt to introduce the Grecian drama to the notice of our ancestors, have succeeded in translating this scene of the tenderest expostulation, I will place it before the reader in a plain literal version.

"OED. My daughter, I praise your filial piety. But yet— ANT. But if I was to marry Creon's son, and you, my father, be left alone in banishment? OED. Stay at home, and be happy. I will bear my own misfortunes patiently. ANT. But who will attend you, thus blind and helpless, my father? OED. I shall fall down and be found lying in some field on the ground, as it may chance to happen*. ANT. Where is now that Oedipus, and his famous riddle of the Sphinx? OED. He is lost! one day made me happy, and one day destroyed me! ANT. Ought I not, therefore, to share your miseries? OED. It will be but a base banishment of a princess with her blind father! ANT. To one that is haughty: not to one that is humble, and loves her father. OED. Lead me on then, and let me touch the dead body of your mother. ANT. Lo, now your hand is upon her[o]. OED. O my mother! O my most wretched wife! ANT. She lies a wretched corpse, covered with every woe. OED. But where are the dead bodies of my sons Eteocles and Polynices? ANT. They lie just by you, stretched out close to one another. OED. Put my blind hand upon their miserable faces! ANT. Lo now, you touch your dead children with your hand. OED. O, dear, wretched carcases of a wretched father! ANT. O, to me the most dear name of my brother Polynices[p]! OED. Now, my daughter, the oracle of Apollo proves true. ANT. What? Can you tell any more evils than those which have happened? OED. That I should die an exile at Athens. ANT. What city of Attica will take you in? OED. The sacred Colonus, the house of Equestrian Neptune. Come, then, lend your assist-

[m] "*She giueth him a staffe and stayeth him herselfe also.*" Stage-direction.

[n] Act v. sc. ult.

* It is impossible to represent the Greek, v. 1681.

Πεσων, ὁπου μοι μοιρα, κεισομαι πεδῳ.

[o] "The dear old woman," in the Greek.

[p] Creon had refused Polynices the rites of sepulture. This was a great aggravation of the distress.

ance to this blind father, since you mean to be a companion of my flight. ANT. Go then into miserable banishment! O my ancient father, stretch out your dear hand! I will accompany you, like a favourable wind to a ship. OED. Behold, I go! Daughter, be you my unfortunate guide! ANT. Thus, am I, am I, the most unhappy of all the Theban virgins! OED. Where shall I fix my old feeble foot? Daughter, reach to me my staff. ANT. Here, go here, after me. Place your foot here, my father, you that have the strength only of a dream. OED. O most unhappy banishment! Creon drives me in my old age from my country. Alas! alas! wretched, wretched things have I suffered," &c.[q]

So sudden were the changes or the refinements of our language, that in the second edition of this play, printed again with Gascoigne's poems in 1587*, it was thought necessary to affix marginal explanations of many words, not long before in common use, but now become obsolete and unintelligible. Among others, are *behest* and *quell*[r]. This, however, as our author says, was done at the request of a lady, who did not understand *poetical words or termes*[s].

Seneca's ten Tragedies were translated at different times and by different poets. These were all printed together in 1581, under this title, "SENECA HIS TENNE TRAGEDIES, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH. *Mercurii Nutrices horæ.* IMPRINTED AT LONDON IN FLEETSTREETE *neare vnto* saincte Dunstons church by Thomas Marshe, 1581[t]." The book is dedicated, from Butley in Cheshire, to sir Thomas Heneage, treasurer of the queen's chamber. I shall speak of each man's translation distinctly[u].

The HYPPOLITUS, MEDEA, HERCULES OETEUS, and AGAMEMNON, were translated by John Studley, educated at Westminster school, and afterwards a scholar of Trinity college in Cambridge. The HYPPOLITUS, which he calls the fourth and *most ruthfull tragedy*, the MEDEA †,

[q] Phœniss. v. 1677 seq. p. 170. edit. Barnes.

* [In Sir John Davis's Epigrams, which appeared about ten years later, a new-fangled youth who gives into every fashionable foolery of the time, is made to close the catalogue of his absurdities by giving praise to "Old George Gascoine's rimes," Epig. 22.—PARK.]

[r] *command, kill.* By the way, this is done throughout this edition of Gascoigne's Poems. So we have Nill, *will not*, &c.

[s] Pag. 128. Among others, words not of the obsolete kind are explained, such as *Monarchie, Diademe*, &c. Gascoigne is celebrated by Gabriel Harvey, as one of the English poets who have written in praise of women. Gratulat. Validens. edit. Binneman, 1578. 4to. Lib. iv. p. 22.

CHAUCERUSQUE adsit, SURREIUS et inclytus adsit,
GASCOIGNOQUE aliquis sit, mea Corda, locus.

[t] Coloph. "IMPRINTED AT LONDON IN FLEETSTREETE *Near vnto Sainct Dunston's church* by Thomas Marshe, 1581." Containing 217 leaves.

[u] I know not the purport of a book licensed to E. Matts, "Discourses on Seneca the tragedian," Jun. 22, 1601. Registr. Station. C. fol. 71 b.

† [The following lines which close the fourth chorus in Medea, seem worthy of notice for their poetical expression.

Now Phœbus, lodge thy charyot in the west,
Let neyther raynes nor brydle stay thy race:

in which are some alterations of the chorus[w], and the HERCULES OETEUS, were all first printed in Thomas Newton's collection of 1581, just mentioned[x]. The AGAMEMNON was first and separately published in 1566, and entitled, "The eyght Tragedie of Seneca entituled AGAMEMNON, translated out of Latin into English by John Studley student in Trinitie college in Cambridge. Imprinted at London in Flete streete beneath the Conduit at the signe of S. John Euangelyst by Thomas Colwell A.D. M.D.LXVI[y]." This little book is exceedingly scarce, and hardly to be found in the choicest libraries of those who collect our poetry in black letter[z]. Recommendatory verses are prefixed, in praise of our translator's performance. It is dedicated to secretary Cecil*. To the end of the fifth act our translator has added a whole scene, for the purpose of relating the death of Cassandra, the imprisonment of Electra, and the flight of Orestes. Yet these circumstances were all known and told before. The narrator is Eurybates, who in the commencement of the third act had informed Clytemnestra of Agamemnon's return. These efforts, however imperfect or improper, to improve the plot of a drama by a new conduct or contrivance, deserve particular notice at this infancy of our theatrical taste and knowledge. They show that authors now began to think for themselves, and that they were not always implicitly enslaved to the prescribed letter of their models. Studley, who appears to have been qualified for better studies, misapplied his time and talents in translating Bale's Acts of the Popes. That translation, dedicated to Thomas lord Essex, was printed in 1574[b]. He has left twenty Latin distichs on the death of the learned Nicholas Carr, Cheke's successor in the Greek professorship at Cambridge[c].

Let groveling light with dulceat nyghte oppress,
In cloking cloudes wrap up his muffled face;
Let Hesperus, the loadesman of the nyghte,
In western floode drench deepe the day so bryght.—PARK.]

[w] See Newt. edit. fol. 121 a.

[x] But I must except the Medea, which is entered as translated by John Studley of Trinity-college in Cambridge, in 1565–6, with T. Colwell. Registr. Station. A. fol. 140 b. I have never seen this separate edition. Also the Hippolitus is entered to Jones and Charlewood, in 1579. Registr. B. In 1566–7, I find an entry to Henry Denham, which I do not well understand, "for printing the fourth part of Seneca's workes." Registr. A. fol. 152 b. Hippolitus is the fourth Tragedy.

[Qu. whether he had not a greater share of the whole?—HERBERT.]

[y] Bl. lett. 12mo. [In the Bodleian library, marked 8°. 4. 44. Art. Seld.—PARK.]

[z] Entered in 1565–6. Registr. Station. A. fol. 136 b.

* [In this dedication Studley says, he "was sometyme scholler in the Queenes Majesties grammer schoole at Westminster." Wood speaks of him as "a noted poet" in his day; and probably inferred this from the metrical compliments of contemporaries prefixed to the early edition of his Agamemnon. Chetwood, whose authority is at all times very doubtful, tells us he was killed in Flanders in 1587. See Brit. Bibl. ii. 373.—PARK.]

[b] In quarto, bl. lett. "The Pageaunt of Popes, &c. &c. Englished with sundrye additions, by J. S." For Thomas Marshe, 1574.

[c] At the end of Bartholomew Dodington's Epistle of Carr's Life and Death, addressed to sir Walter Mildmay, and subjoined to Carr's Latin Translation of seven Orations of Demosthenes. Lond. 1571. 4to. Dodington, a fellow of Trinity college, succeeded Carr in the Greek chair, 1560. See Camden's Monum. Eccles. Coll. Westmon. edit. 1600. 4to. Signat. K. 2.

The OCTAVIA is translated by T. N. or Thomas Nuce, or Newce, a fellow of Pembroke-hall in 1562, afterwards rector of Oxburgh in Norfolk, Beccles, Weston-Market, and vicar of Gaysley in Suffolk[d]; and at length prebendary of Ely cathedral in 1586[e]. This version is for the most part executed in the heroic rhyming couplet. All the rest of the translators have used, except in the chorus, the Alexandrine measure, in which Sternhold and Hopkins rendered the Psalms, perhaps the most unsuitable species of English versification that could have been applied to this purpose. Nuce's OCTAVIA was first printed in 1566[f]. He has two very long copies of verses, one in English and the other in Latin, prefixed to the first edition of Studley's AGAMEMNON in 1566, just mentioned.

Alexander Nevyle translated, or rather paraphrased, the OEDIPUS, in the sixteenth year of his age, and in the year 1560, not printed till the year 1581[g]. It is dedicated to doctor Wootton, a privy counsellor, and his godfather. Notwithstanding the translator's youth, it is by far the most spirited and elegant version in the whole collection, and it is to be regretted that he did not undertake all the rest. He seems to have been persuaded by his friends, who were of the graver sort, that poetry was only one of the lighter accomplishments of a young man, and that it should soon give way to the more weighty pursuits of literature. The first act of his OEDIPUS begins with these lines, spoken by Oedipus.

The night is gon, and dreadfull day begins at length t'appeere,
And Phœbus, all bedimde with clowdes, himselfe aloft doth reere:
And gliding forth with deadly hue, a dolefull blase in skies
Doth beare: great terror and dismay to the beholders eyes!
Now shall the houses voyde be seene, with Playgue deuoured quight,
And slaughter which the night hath made, shall day bring forth to light.
Doth any man in princely throne reioyce? O brittle ioy!
How many ills, how fayre a face, and yet how much annoy,
In thee doth lurk, and hidden lies! What heapes of endles strife!
They iudge amisse, that deeme the Prince to haue the happie life.[h]

Nevyl was born in Kent, in 1544[i], and occurs taking a master's degree at Cambridge, with Robert earl of Essex, on the sixth day of July, 1581[k]. He was one of the learned men whom archbishop Parker retained in his family[l]; and at the time of the archbishop's death, in 1575,

[d] Where he died in 1617, and is buried with an epitaph in English rhyme. See Bentham's Ely, p. 251.

[e] Feb. 21.

[f] For in that year, there is a receipt for license to Henry Denham to print it. Registr. Station. A. fol. 148 b.

[g] But in 1563, is a receipt for Thomas Colwell's license to print "a boke entituled the Lamentable History of the prynce Oedypus." Registr. Station. A. fol. 89 a.

[h] Fol. 78 a.

[i] Lambarde, Peramb. Kent, p. 72.

[k] MS. Catal. Grad. Univ. Cant.

[l] Strype's Grindal, p. 196.

was his secretary[m]. He wrote a Latin narrative of the Norfolk insurrection under Kett, which is dedicated to archbishop Parker, and was printed in 1575[n]. To this he added a Latin account of Norwich, printed the same year, called NORVICUS, the plates of which were executed by Lyne and Hogenberg, archbishop Parker's domestic engravers, in 1574[o]. He published the Cambridge verses on the death of sir Philip Sydney, which he dedicated to lord Leicester, in 1587[p]. He projected, but I suspect never completed, an English translation of Livy, in 1577[q]. He died in 1614[r].

The HERCULES FURENS, THYESTES, and TROAS, were translated into English by Jasper Heywood*. The HERCULES FURENS was first

[m] Strype, Life of Parker, p. 497. He is styled *Armiger*. See also the Dedication to his *Kettus*.

[n] Lond. 4to. The title is, "*Kettus*, sive de furoribus Norfolciensium Ketto duce." Again at London, 1582, by Henry Binneman, 8vo. And in English, 1615, and 1623. The disturbance was occasioned by an inclosure in 1549, and began at an annual play, or spectacle, at Wymondham, which lasted two days and two nights, according to ancient custom, p. 6. edit. 1582. He cites part of a ballad sung by the rebels, which had a most powerful effect in spreading the commotion, p. 88. Prefixed is a copy of Latin verses on the death of his patron archbishop Parker; and a recommendatory Latin copy by Thomas Drant, the first translator of Horace. See also Strype's Parker, p. 499. Nevile has another Latin work, *Apologia ad Walliæ Proceres*, Lond. for Binneman, 1576. 4to. He is mentioned in that part of G. Gascoigne's poems called DEVISES. His name, and the date 1565, are inscribed on the *Cartularium S. Gregorii Cantuariæ*, among bishop More's books, with two Latin lines which I hope he did not intend for hexameters.

[o] It is sometimes accompanied with an engraved map of the Saxon and British kings. See Hollinsh. Chron. i. 139.

[p] Lond. 4to. viz. "Academiæ Cantabrigiensis Lacrymæ tumulo D. Philippi Sidneii sacratæ."

[q] See Note in the Register of the Stationers' Company, dated May 3, 1577. Registr. B. fol. 139 b. It was not finished in 1597.

[Nevyle has five pages of verses in commendation of the author before Googe's Eclog. &c. 1563.—PARK.]

[r] Octob. 4. Batteley's Canterb. App. 7. where see his Epitaph. He is buried in a chapel in Canterbury cathedral with his brother Thomas, dean of that church. The publication of Seneca's Oedipus in English by Studley, or rather Gascoigne's Jocasta, produced a metrical tale of Eteocles and Polynices, in "The Forrest of Fancy, wherein is contained very pretty Apothegmes, and pleasant Histories, both in *meeter* and *prose*, Songes, Sonets, Epigrams, and Epistles, &c. Imprinted at London by Thomas Purfoote, &c. 1579." 4to. See Signat. B. ij. Perhaps Henry Chettle, or Henry Constable, is the writer or compiler. [See supr. p. 243.] At least the colophon is, "Finis, H. C." By the way, it appears that Chettle was the publisher of Greene's Groatsworth of Wit in 1592. It is entered to W. Wrighte, Sept. 20. Registr. Station. B. fol. 292 b.

[Mr. Warton's copy of "The Forrest of Fancy" came into the possession of my respected friend James Bindley, Esq., who favoured me with the perusal, and from its great difference in style to the received productions of Constable, I should hesitate to assign the work to him; nor does it much resemble the compositions of Chettle; such, at least, as I have inspected, viz. "Kind Harts Dreame," 1592, and "England's Mourning Garment," on the death of Queen Elizabeth. —PARK.]

* [To Heywood, Neville, and other contemporary translators, the following tribute was offered by T. B. in verses to the Reader before Studley's version of the Agamemnon, 1566.

When Heiwood did in perfect verse
And dolfull tune set out,
And by hys smouth and fytest style
Declared had aboute,
What toughe reproche the Troyans of
The hardy Greekes receyved,
Whey they of towne, of goods, and lyves,
Togyther were depryved, &c.
May *Heywood* thus alone get prayse,
And *Phaer* be cleare forgott,
Whose verse and style doth far surmount,
And gotten hath the lot?
So may not *Googe* have part with hym,
Whose travayle and whose payne,

printed at London in 1561[s], and dedicated to William Herbert lord Pembroke, with the following pedantic Latin title:—"Lucii Annaei Senecae tragoedia prima, quæ inscribitur HERCULES FURENS, nuper recognita, et ab omnibus mendis quibus scatebat sedulo purgata, et in studiosae juventutis utilitatem in Anglicum tanta fide conversa, ut carmen pro carmine, quoad Anglica lingua patiatur, pene redditum videas, per Jasperum Heywodum Oxoniensem." The THYESTES, said to be *faithfully Englished by Iasper Heywood felow of Alsolne colledge in Oxenforde*, was also first separately printed by Berthelette at London in 1560[t]. He has added a scene to the fourth act, a soliloquy by Thyestes, who bewails his own misfortunes, and implores vengeance on Atreus. In this scene, the speaker's application of all the torments of hell to Atreus's unparalleled guilt of feasting on the bowels of his children, furnishes a sort of nauseous bombast, which not only violates the laws of criticism, but provokes the abhorrence of our common sensibilities. A few of the first lines are tolerable.

O kyng of Dytis dungeon darke, and grysly ghost of hell,
That in the deepe and dreadfull denne of blackest Tartare dwell,
Where leane and pale Diseases lye, where Feare and Famyne are,
Where Discord standes with bleeding browes, where euery kinde of care;

Whose verse also is full as good,
Or better of the twaine?
A *Nevyle* also one there is
In verse that gives no place
To *Heiwood*, though he be full good,
In using of his pace.
Nor *Goldinge* can have lesse renowne,
Which Ovid dyd translate;
And by the thondryng of hys verse
Hath set in chayre of state;—
A great sorte more I reckon myght
With *Heiwood* to compare,
And this our Author (Pund) one of them
To compte I will not spare;
Whose paynes is egall with the rest
In thys he hath begun,
And lesser prayse deserveth not
Then Heiwood's worke hath done—
Give therefore *Studley* part of prayse,
To recompense hys payne;
For egall labour evermore
Deserveth egall gayne.—PARK.]

[s] In 12mo.

[t] In 12mo. It is dedicated in verse to sir John Mason. Then follows in verse also, "The translatour to the booke." From the metrical Preface which next follows, I have cited many stanzas. See supr. p. 227. This is a Vision of the poet Seneca, containing 27 pages. In the course of this Preface, he laments a promising youth just dead, whom he means to compliment by saying, that he now "lyues with Joue, another Ganymede." But he is happy that the father survives, who seems to be sir John Mason. Among the old Roman poets he mentions Palingenius. After Seneca has delivered him the Thyestes to translate, he feels an unusual agitation, and implores Megæra to inspire him with tragic rage.

"O thou Megaera, then I sayd,
If might of thyne it bee
(Wherewith thou Tantall drouste from hell)
That thus dysturbeth mee,
Enspyre my pen!"——
This sayde, I felt the Furies force
Enflame me more and more:
And ten tymes more now chafte I was
Than euer yet before.
My haire stoode vp, I waxed wood[1],
My synewes all dyd shake:
And, as the Furye had me vext,
My teethe began to quake.
And thus enflamede, &c.

He then enters on his translation. Nothing is here wanting but a better stanza.

[Mr. Warton has omitted to notice that a fourth scene to the fifth act is added by the Translator. It consists of a monologue or soliloquy assigned to Thyestes, who invokes all the infernal tribes of Tartarus to become his conjoined associates.—PARK.]

[1] mad.

Where Furies fight on beds of steele, and heares of crauling snakes,
Where Gorgon gremme, where Harpies are, and lothsom limbo lakes,
Where most prodigious[u] vgly things the hollow hell doth hyde,
If yet a monster more mishapt, &c.

In the TROAS, which was first faultily printed in or before 1560[w], afterwards reprinted* in 1581 by Newton, he has taken greater liberties. At the end of the chorus after the first act, he has added about sixty verses of his own invention. In the beginning of the second act, he has added a new scene, in which he introduces the spectre of Achilles raised from hell, and demanding the sacrifice of Polyxena. This scene, which is in the octave stanza, has much of the air of one of the legends in the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES. To the chorus of this act he has subjoined three stanzas. Instead of translating the chorus of the third act, which abounds with the hard names of the ancient geography, and which would both have puzzled the translator and tired the English reader, he has substituted a new ode. In his preface to the reader, from which he appears to be yet a fellow of All Souls college, he modestly apologises for these licentious innovations, and hopes to be pardoned for his seeming arrogance, in attempting "to set forth in English this present piece of the flowre of all writers Seneca, among so many fine wittes, and towardly youth, with which England this day florisheth[x]." Our translator Jasper Heywood has several poems extant in the *Paradise of Daintie Deuises*, published in 1573†. He was the son of John Heywood, commonly called the epigrammatist, and born in London. In 1547, at twelve years of age, he was sent to Oxford, and in 1553 elected fellow of Merton college. But inheriting too large a share of his father's facetious and free disposition, he sometimes in the early part of life indulged his festive vein in extravagancies and indiscretions, for which being threatened with expulsion, he resigned his fellowship[y]. He exercised the office of Christmas-prince, or lord of misrule, to the college; and seems to have given offence, by suffering the levities and jocularities of that character to mix with his life and general conversation[z]. In the year 1558, he was recommended by cardinal Pole, as a polite scholar, an able disputant, and a steady

[u] So Milton, on the same subject, and in the true sense of the word, Par. L. ii. 625.

—All monstrous, all PRODIGIOUS things.

[w] I have never seen this edition of 1560 or before, but he speaks of it himself in the metrical Preface to the Thyestes just mentioned, and says it was most carelessly printed at the sign of the hand and star. This must have been at the shop of Richard Tottel within Temple Bar.

* [Or rather published by Newton, who translated the last Tragedy. It was *printed* by T. Marsh.—PARK.]

[x] Fol. 95 a.

† [Herbert, in Typogr. Antiq. p. 686, thinks this date a misprint for 1578, the first edition not having been published till 1576, and Mr. Warton having before cited the publication as dated 1578.—PARK.]

[y] See Harrington's Epigrams, "Of old Haywood's sonnes." B. ii. 102.

[z] Among Wood's papers, there is an oration *De Ligno et Fœno*, spoken by Heywood's cotemporary and fellow-collegian, David de la Hyde, in commendation of his execution of this office.

catholic, to sir Thomas Pope, founder of Trinity college in the same university, to be put in nomination for a fellowship of that college, then just founded. But this scheme did not take place[a]. He was, however, appointed fellow of All Souls college the same year. Dissatisfied with the change of the national religion, within four years he left England, and became a catholic priest and a Jesuit at Rome, in 1562*. Soon afterwards he was placed in the theological chair at Dilling in Switzerland, which he held for seventeen years. At length returning to England, in the capacity of a popish missionary, he was imprisoned, but released by the interest of the earl of Warwick. For the deliverance from so perilous a situation, he complimented the earl in a copy of English verses, two of which, containing a most miserable paronomasy on his own name, almost bad enough to have condemned the writer to another imprisonment, are recorded in Harrington's Epigrams[b]. At length he retired to Naples, where he died in 1597[c]. He is said to have been an accurate critic in the Hebrew language[d]. His translation of the TROAS, not of Virgil as it seems, is mentioned in a copy of verses by T. B.[e] prefixed to the first edition, above-mentioned, of Studley's AGAMEMNON. He was intimately connected abroad with the biographer Pitts, who has given him rather too partial a panegyric.

Thomas Newton, the publisher of all the ten tragedies of Seneca in English, in one volume, as I have already remarked, in 1581[f], himself added only one to these versions of Studley, Nevile, Nuce, and Jasper Heywood. This is the THEBAIS, probably not written by Seneca, as it so essentially differs in the catastrophe from his OEDIPUS. Nor is it likely the same poet should have composed two tragedies on the same subject, even with a variation of incidents. It is without the chorus and a fifth act. Newton appears to have made his translation in 1581, and perhaps with a view only of completing the collection. He is more prosaic than most of his fellow-labourers, and seems to have paid the chief attention to perspicuity and fidelity. In the general EPISTLE DEDICATORY to sir Thomas Henneage, prefixed to the volume, he says, "I durst not haue geuen the aduenture to approch your presence, vpon trust of any singularity, that in this Booke hath vnskilfully dropped out of myne owne penne, but that I hoped the perfection of others ar-

[a] MS. Collectan. Fr. Wise. See Life of Sir T. Pope.

* [Arthur Hall, before his Homer in 1581, speaks of the learned and painful translation of *part* of Seneca by M. Jasper Heywood, "a man then (circa 1562) better learned than fortunate, and since more fortunate than he hath well bestowed, as it is thought, the giftes God and nature hath liberally lent him."—PARK.]

[b] Epigr. lib. iii. Epigr. 1.

[c] Ath. Oxon. i. 290.

[d] H. Morus, Hist. Provinc. Angl. Societatis Jes. lib. iv. num. 11. sub annum 1585.

[e] With these initials, there is a piece prefixed to Gascoigne's poems, 1579. [A misprint perhaps for 1575; no such edition as the preceding being known.—PARK.]

[f] There is a receipt from Marsh for "Seneca's Tragedies in Englishe." Jul. 2, 1581. Registr. Station. B. fol. 181 b. The English version seems to have produced an edition of the original for Man and Brome, Sept. 6, 1585. Ibid. fol. 205 b.

tificiall workmanship that haue trauayled herein, as well as myselfe, should somewhat couer my nakednesse, and purchase my pardon.—Theirs I knowe to be deliuered with singular dexterity: myne, I confesse to be an vnfiidge [unfledged] nestling, vnable to flye; an vnnatural abortion, and an vnperfect embryon: neyther throughlye laboured at Aristophanes and Cleanthes candle, neither yet exactly waighed in Critolaus his precise ballaunce. Yet this I dare saye, I haue deliuered myne authors meaning with as much perspicuity as so meane a scholar, out of so meane a stoare, in so smal a time, and vpon so short a warning, was well able to performe," &c.[g]

Of Thomas Newton, a slender contributor to this volume, yet perhaps the chief instrument of bringing about a general translation of Seneca, and otherwise deserving well of the literature of this period, some notices seem necessary. The first letter of his English THEBAIS is a large capital D. Within it is a shield exhibiting a sable Lion ram-

[g] Dated, "From Butley in Cheshyre the 24. of Aprill, 1581."

I am informed by a manuscript note of Oldys, that Richard Robinson translated the Thebais. Of this I know no more, but R. Robinson was a large writer both in verse and prose. Some of his pieces I have already mentioned. He wrote also "Christmas Recreations of histories and moralizations aplied for our solace and consolacions," licensed to T. East, Dec. 5, 1576. Registr. Station. B. fol. 136 b. And, in 1569, is entered to Binneman, "The ruefull tragedy of Hemidos, &c. by Richard Robinson." Registr. A. fol. 190 a. And, to T. Dawson in 1579, Aug. 26, "The Vineyard of Vertue a booke gathered by R. Robinson." Registr. B. fol. 163 a. He was a citizen of London. The reader recollects his English *Gesta Romanorum*, in 1577. He wrote also "The avncient order, societie, and vnitie laudable, of Prince Arthure, and his knightly armory of the Round Table. With a threefold assertion, &c. Translated and collected by R. R." Lond. for J. Wolfe, 1583. bl. lett. 4to. This work is in metre, and the armorial bearings of the knights are in verse. Prefixed is a poem by Churchyard, in praise of the Bow. His translation of Leland's *Assertio Arthuri* (bl. lett. 4to.) is entered to J. Wolfe, Jun. 6, 1582. Registr. Station. B. fol. 189 b. [It was published in the same year.—PARK.] I find, licensed to R. James in 1565, "A boke intituled of very pleasaunte sonnettes and storyes in myter [metre] by Clement Robynson." Registr. B. fol. 141 a.

[In 1584 was printed "A Handefull of pleasant Delites, containing sundrie new sonets and delectable histories, in diuers kindes of meeter, newly devised to the newest times, &c. by Clement Robinson and others." 16mo. Extracts from this Miscellany are given in Censura Literaria, vol. iv. and Ellis's Specimens, vol. ii. Richard Robinson put forth the following works, "The Rewarde of Wickednesse, discoursing the sundrye monstrous Abuses of wicked and ungodlye Worldelinges, in such sort set downe and written, as the same have been dyversely practised in the persones of popes, harlots, proude princes, tyrauntes, Romish byshoppes, and others," &c. Author's address, dated May 1574. Lond. by W. Williamson. 4to. n. d. From this tract it appears, that R. Robinson was in the household service of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and employed by him as a domestic sentinel over the Q. of Scots. In 1576, he published a work, which Mr. Warton had entered as duly licensed. It was entitled "Robinson's Poems; certain selected histories for Christian recreations, with their several Moralizations. Brought into English verse, and are to be sung with several notes composed by Rich. Robinson." Lond. for H. Kirkham. In 1578 he printed "A Dyall of dayly Contemplacion, or devine Exercise of the Mind; instructing us to live unto God, and to dye unto the world," &c. Lond. by Hugh Singleton. This was translated from the Latin of Fox, bishop of Durham and Winchester. A work of a similar kind, translated from the Latin of Dr. Urbanus, was printed in 1587–1590, and lastly, by R. Jones in 1594. It was called "The Solace of Sion and Joy of Jerusalem, or Consolation of God's Church in the latter Age, redeemed by the preaching of the Gospell universallie." In these three latter pieces he designates himself as a citizen of London.—PARK.]

pant, crossed in argent on the shoulder, and a half moon argent in the dexter corner, I suppose his armorial bearing. In a copartment, towards the head, and under the semicircle, of the letter, are his initials, T. N. He was descended from a respectable family in Cheshire, and was sent while very young, about thirteen years of age, to Trinity college in Oxford[h]. Soon afterwards he went to Queen's college in Cambridge; but returned within a very few years to Oxford, where he was re-admitted into Trinity college[i]. He quickly became famous for the pure elegance of his Latin poetry. Of this he has left a specimen in his ILLUSTRIA ALIQUOT ANGLORUM ENCOMIA, published at London in 1589[k]. He is perhaps the first Englishman that wrote Latin elegiacs with a classical clearness and terseness after Leland, the plan of whose ENCOMIA and TROPHÆA he seems to have followed in this little work[l]. Most of the learned and ingenious men of that age appear to have courted the favours of this polite and popular encomiast. His chief patron was the unfortunate Robert earl of Essex. I have often incidentally mentioned some of Newton's recommendatory verses, both in English and Latin, prefixed to cotemporary books, according to the mode of that age. One of his earliest philological publications is a NOTABLE HISTORIE OF THE SARACENS, digested from Curio, in three books, printed at London in 1575[m]. I unavoidably anticipate in remarking here, that he wrote a poem on the death of queen Elizabeth, called "ATROPOION DELION," or, "the Death of Delia with the Tears of her funeral. A poetical excusive discourse of our late Eliza. By T. N. G.* Lond. 1603[n]." The next year he published a flowery romance, "A plesant new history, or a fragrant posie made of three flowers Rosa, Rosalynd, and Rosemary. London, 1604[o]." Phillips, in his THEATRUM POETARUM, attributes to Newton a tragedy in two parts, called TAMBURLAIN THE GREAT, OR THE SCYTHIAN SHEPHERD. But this play, printed at London in 1593, was written by Christopher Marlowe[p]. He seems to have been a partisan of the puritans, from his pamphlet of CHRISTIAN FRIENDSHIP, *with an Invective against dice-play and other profane games*, printed at London, 1586[q]. For some time our author practised physic, and, in the character of that profession, wrote or translated many medical tracts. The first of these, on a curious subject, *A direction for the health of magistrates and students*, from Gratarolus, appeared in 1574. At length taking orders, he first taught school at Macclesfield in Che-

[h] Registr. ibid. [i] Ibid.

[k] His master John Brunswerd, at Macclesfield school, in Cheshire, was no bad Latin poet. See his *Progymnasmata aliquot Poemata*. Lond. 1590. 4to. See Newton's Encom. p. 128. 131. Brunswerd died in 1589; and his epitaph, made by his scholar Newton, yet remains in the chancel of the church of Macclesfield.

Alpha poetarum, coryphæus grammaticorum
Flos παιδαγωγων, hac sepelitur humo.

[l] Lond. 1589. 4to. Reprinted by Hearne, Oxon. 1715. 8vo.

[m] In quarto. With a Summary annexed on the same subject.

* ["Thomas Newton, gentleman," seems to be here adumbrated.—PARK.]

[n] In quarto. For W. Johnes.

[o] In quarto.

[p] See Heywood's Prologue to Marlowe's Jew of Malta, 1633.

[q] In octavo. From the Latin of Lamb. Danæus.

shire, and afterwards at Little Ilford in Essex, where he was beneficed. In this department, and in 1596, he published a correct edition of Stanbridge's Latin Prosody[r]. In the general character of an author, he was a voluminous and a laborious writer. From a long and habitual course of studious and industrious pursuits he had acquired a considerable fortune, a portion of which he bequeathed in charitable legacies.

It is remarkable, that Shakspeare has borrowed nothing from the English Seneca*. Perhaps a copy might not fall in his way. Shakspeare was only a reader by accident†. Hollinshed and translated Italian novels supplied most of his plots or stories. His storehouse of learned history was North's Plutarch. The only poetical fable of antiquity which he has worked into a play, is TROILUS. But this he borrowed from the romance of Troy. Modern fiction and English history were his principal resources. These perhaps were more suitable to his taste; at least he found that they produced the most popular subjects. Shakspeare was above the bondage of the classics.

I must not forget to remark here, that, according to Ames, among the copies of Henry Denham recited in the register of the Company of Stationers[s], that printer is said, on the eighth of January, in 1583, among other books, to have *yielded into the hands and dispositions* of the master, wardens, and assistants of that fraternity, "Two or three of Seneca his tragedies[t]." These, if printed after 1581, cannot be new impressions of any single plays of Seneca, of those published in Newton's edition of all the ten tragedies.

Among Hatton's manuscripts in the Bodleian library at Oxford[u], there is a long translation from the HERCULES OETAEUS of Seneca, by queen Elizabeth. It is remarkable that it is blank verse, a measure which her majesty perhaps adopted from GORBODUC; and which therefore proves it to have been done after the year 1561. It has, however, no other recommendation but its royalty.

[r] "Vocabula magistri Stanbrigii ab infinitis quibus scatebant mendis repurgata, observata interim (quoad ejus fieri potuit) carminis ratione, et meliuscule etiam correcta, studio et industria Thomae Newtoni Cestreshyrii. Edinb. excud. R. Waldegrave." I know not if this edition, which is in octavo, is the first. See our author's Encom. p. 128. Our author published one or two translations on theological subjects.

* [Yet the learned Mr. Whalley remarks, it exceeds the usual poetry of that age, and is equal perhaps to any of the versions which have been made of it since. Inquiry into the Learning of Shakspeare. —PARK.]

† [Mr. G. Chalmers scouts this intelligence; and points out to curious inquirers the very books which Shakspeare studied. See Suppl. Apol. p. 228.—PARK.]

[s] I find nothing of this in Register B.

[t] They are mentioned by Ames, with these pieces, viz. "Pasquin in a traunce. The hoppe gardein. Ovid's metamorphosis. The courtier. Cesar's commentaries in English. Ovid's epistles. Image of idlenesse. Flower of frendship. Schole of vertue. Gardener's laborynth. Demosthenes' orations." I take this opportunity of acknowledging my great obligations to that very respectable society, who in the most liberal manner have indulged me with a free and unreserved examination of their original records; particularly to the kind assistance and attention of one of its members, Mr. Lockyer Davies, bookseller in Holborn.

[u] MSS. Mus. Bodl. 55. 12. [Olim Hyper. Bodl.] It begins,

"What harming hurle of Fortune's arme,"
&c.

SECTION LVIII.

Most of the classic poets translated before the end of the sixteenth century. Phaier's Eneid. Completed by Twyne. Their other works. Phaier's Ballad of Gad's-hill. Stanihurst's Eneid in English hexameters. His other works. Fleming's Virgil's Bucolics and Georgics. His other works. Webbe and Fraunce translate some of the Bucolics. Fraunce's other works. Spenser's Culex. The original not genuine. The Ceiris proved to be genuine. Nicholas Whyte's story of Jason, supposed to be a version of Valerius Flaccus. Golding's Ovid's Metamorphoses. His other works. Ascham's censure of rhyme. A translation of the Fasti revives and circulates the story of Lucrece. Euryalus and Lucretia. Detached fables of the Metamorphoses translated. Moralisations in fashion. Underdowne's Ovid's Ibis. Ovid's Elegies translated by Marlowe. Remedy of Love, by F. L. Epistles by Turberville. Lord Essex a translator of Ovid. His literary character. Churchyard's Ovid's Tristia. Other detached versions from Ovid. Ancient meaning and use of the word Ballad. Drant's Horace. Incidental criticism on Tully's Oration pro Archia.

But, as scholars began to direct their attention to our vernacular poetry, many more of the ancient poets now appeared in English verse. Before the year 1600, Homer, Musaeus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Martial, were translated. Indeed most of these versions were published before the year 1580. For the sake of presenting a connected display of these early translators, I am obliged to trespass, in a slight degree, on that chronological order which it has been my prescribed and constant method to observe. In the mean time we must remember, that their versions, while they contributed to familiarise the ideas of the ancient poets to English readers, improved our language and versification; and that in a general view, they ought to be considered as valuable and important accessions to the stock of our poetical literature. These were the classics of Shakspeare.

I shall begin with those that were translated first in the reign of Elizabeth. But I must premise, that this inquiry will necessarily draw with it many other notices much to our purpose, and which could not otherwise have been so conveniently disposed and displayed.

Thomas Phaier, already mentioned as the writer of the story of Owen Glendour in the Mirrour for Magistrates, a native of Pembrokeshire, educated at Oxford, a student of Lincoln's Inn, and an advocate to the council for the Marches of Wales, but afterwards doctorated in medicine at Oxford, translated the seven first books of the Eneid of

Virgil*, on his retirement to his patrimonial seat in the forest of Kilgarran, in Pembrokeshire, in the years 1555, 1556, 1557. They were printed at London in 1558, by Ihon Kyngston, and dedicated to queen Mary[a]. He afterwards finished the eighth book on the tenth of September, within forty days, in 1558. The ninth, in thirty days, in 1560. Dying at Kilgarran the same year, he lived only to begin the tenth[b]. All that was thus done by Phaer†, one William Wightman published in 1562, with a dedication to Sir Nicholas Bacon, "The nyne first books of the Eneidos of Virgil conuerted into English verse by Thomas Phaer doctour of physick," &c.[c] The imperfect work was at length completed, with Maphaeus's supplemental or thirteenth book, in 1583[4], by Thomas Twyne‡, a native of Canterbury, a physician of Lewes in Sussex, educated in both universities, an admirer of the my-

* [With this title: The seven first Bookes of the Eneidos of Virgill, conuerted in Englishe meter by Thos. Phaer, esq. sollicitour to the king and quenes majesties, attending their honorable counsaile in the marchies of Wales. Anno 1558. xxviij. Maij.—PARK.]

[a] ["To the ende," says Phaer, "that like as my diligence employed in your service in the Marches, maie otherwise appeare to your Grace by your hon'ble counsaile there; so your Highness hereby may receiue the accompts of my pastyme in all my vacations, since I haue been prefered to your service by your right noble and faithful counsaillour William lord marquis of Winchester, *my first bringer-up and patron.*"—PARK.] In quarto, bl. lett. At the end of the seventh book is this colophon, "Per Thomam Phaer in foresta Kilgerran finitum iij Decembris. Anno 1557. Opus xij dierum." And at the end of every book is a similar colophon, to the same purpose. The first book was finished in eleven days, in 1555. The second in twenty days, in the same year. The third in twenty days, in the same year. The fourth in fifteen days, in 1556. The fifth in twenty-four days, on May the third, in 1557, "post periculum eius Karmerdini," i. e. at Caermarthen. The sixth in twenty days, in 1557.

Phaier has left many large works in his several professions of law and medicine. He is pathetically lamented by sir Thomas Chaloner as a most skilful physician. Encom. p. 356. Lond. 1579. 4to. He has a recommendatory English poem prefixed to Philip Betham's Military Precepts, translated from the Latin of James earl of Purlilias, dedicated to lord Studley, Lond. 1544. 4to. For E. Whitchurch.

There is an entry to Purfoot in 1566, for printing "serten verses of Cupydo by Mr. Fayre [Phaier]." Registr. Station. A. fol. 154 a.

[In his version of the Æneid, Phaer was thus complimented along with several of his cotemporaries:—

Who covets craggy rock to clime
Of high Parnassus hill,
Or of the happy Helicon
To drawe and drinke his fille;
Let him the worthy worke surview,
Of *Phare* the famous wight,
Or happy phrase of Heywood's verse,
Or Turberviles aright:
Or Googe, or Golding Gascoine else,
Or Churchyard, Whetstone, Twyne,
Or twentie worthy writers moe,
That drawe by learned line,
Whose paineful pen hath wel procured
Ech one his proper phrase, &c.

Ded. to Fulwood's Enemie of Idlenesse, 1598. And Hall, in the dedication to his translation of Homer, 1581, says, he was abashed when he came to look upon Phaer's Virgilian English in his heroical Virgil, and his own poor endeavour to learn Homer to talk our mother-tongue. —PARK.]

[b] Ex coloph. ut supr.

† [In the poems of Barnabe Googe, written before March 1563, there is an epitaph on maister Thomas Phayre, which flatters him with having excelled the earl of Surrey, Grimaold, and Douglas (bishop of Dunkeld) in his style of translating Virgil, and expresses regret that his death, in the midst of his toil, had left a work imperfect which no other man could end.—PARK.]

[c] In quarto. Bl. lett. For Rowland Hall.

‡ [The joint translation of Virgil by Phaer and Twyne was first published in 1573.—RITSON.]

sterious philosophy of John Dee, and patronised by lord Buckhurst the poet[d]. The ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth books were finished at London in 1573[e]. The whole was printed at London in 1584, with a dedication, dated that year from Lewes, to Robert Sackville[f], the eldest son of lord Buckhurst, who lived in the dissolved monastery of the Cluniacs at Lewes[g]. So well received was this work, that it was followed by three new editions in 1596[h], 1607, and 1620[i]. Soon after the last-mentioned period, it became obsolete and was forgotten[k].

Phaier undertook this translation for the *defence*, to use his own phrase, of the English language, which had been by too many deemed incapable of elegance and propriety, and for the "honest recreation of you the nobilitie, gentlemen, and ladies, who studie in Latine." He adds, "By mee first this gate is set open. If now the young writers will uouchsafe to enter, they may finde in this language both large and abvndant camps [fields] of uarietie, wherein they may gather innumerable sortes of most beavtifull flowers, figures, and phrases, not only to supply the imperfection of mee, but also to garnish all kinds of their owne verses with a more cleane and compendiovs order of meeter than heretofore hath beene accustomed[l]." Phaier has omitted, misrepresented, and paraphrased many passages; but his performance in every respect is evidently superior to Twyne's continuation. The measure is the fourteen-footed Alexandrine of Sternhold and Hopkins. I will give a short specimen from the siege of Troy, in the second book. Venus addresses her son Eneas:

[d] See supr. p. 240. His father was John Twyne of Bolington in Hampshire, an eminent antiquary, author of the Commentary *De Rebus Albionicis*, &c. Lond. 1590. It is addressed to, and published by, with an epistle, his said son Thomas. Laurence, a fellow of All Souls and a civilian, and John Twyne, both Thomas's brothers, have copies of verses prefixed to several cotemporary books, about the reign of queen Elizabeth. Thomas wrote and translated many tracts, which it would be superfluous and tedious to enumerate here. To his Breviarie of Britaine, a translation from the Latin of Humphrey Lhuyd, in 1573, are prefixed recommendatory verses, by Brown prebendary, and Grant the learned schoolmaster, of Westminster, Llodowyke Lloyd, a poet in the Paradise of Daintie Devises, and his two brothers, aforesaid, Laurence and John.

Our translator, Thomas Twyne, died in 1613, aged 70, and was buried in the chancel of saint Anne's church at Lewes, where his epitaph of fourteen verses still, I believe, remains on a brass plate affixed to the eastern wall.

Large antiquarian and historical manuscript collections, by the father John Twyne, are now in Corpus Christi library at Oxford. In his *Collectanea Varia* (ibid. vol. iii. fol. 2.) he says he had written the lives of T. Robethon, T. Lupset, Rad. Barnes, T. Eliot, R. Sampson, T. Wriothesle, Gul. Paget, G. Day, Joh. Christopherson, N. Wooton. He is in Leland's *Encomia*, p. 83.

[e] Coloph. ut supr.

[f] In quarto, bl. lett. For Abraham Veale.

[g] Now ruined. But to this day called *Lord's Place*.

[h] For Thomas Creed.

[i] All in quarto, bl. lett. In the edition of 1607, printed at London by Thomas Creede, it is said to "be newly set forth *for the delight of such as are studious in poetrie*."

[k] In 1562, are entered with Nicholas England "the fyrste and ix parte of Virgill." Registr. Station. A. fol. 85 a. I suppose Phaier's *first nine* books of the Eneid. And, in 1561-2, with W. Copland, the "booke of Virgill in 4to." Ibid. fol. 73 b. See Registr. C. fol. 8 a. sub ann. 1595.

[l] See "Maister Phaer's Conclusion to his interpretation of the Aeneidos of Virgil, by him conuerted into English verse."

Thou to thy parents hest take heede, dreade not, my minde obey:
In yonder place, where stones from stones, and bildings huge to sway,
Thou seest, and mixt with dust and smoke thicke stremes of reekings rise,
Himselfe the god Neptûne that side doth furne in wonders[m] wise;
With forke threetinde the wall vproots, foundations allto shakes,
And quite from vnder soile the towne, with groundworks all vprakes.
On yonder side with Furies most, dame Iuno fiercely stands,
The gates she keeps, and from the ships the Greeks, her friendly bands,
In armour girt she calles.
Lo! there againe where Pallas sits, on fortes and castle-towres,
With Gorgons eyes, in lightning cloudes inclosed grim she lowres.
The father-god himselfe to Greeks their mights and courage steres,
Himselfe against the Troyan blood both gods and armour reres.
Betake thee to thy flight, my sonne, thy labours ende procure.
I will thee neuer faile, but thee to resting-place assure.
She said, and through the darke night-shade herselfe she drew from sight:
Appeare the grisly faces then, Troyes en'mies vgly dight.

The popular ear, from its familiarity, was tuned to this measure. It was now used in most works of length and gravity, but seems to have been consecrated to translation. Whatever absolute and original dignity it may boast, at present it is almost ridiculous, from an unavoidable association of ideas, and because it necessarily recalls the tone of the versification of the puritans. I suspect it might have acquired a degree of importance and reverence, from the imaginary merit of its being the established poetic vehicle of scripture, and its adoption into the celebration of divine service.

I take this opportunity of observing, that I have seen an old ballad called GADS-HILL by *Faire*, that is probably our translator Phaier. In the Registers of the Stationers, among seven *Ballettes* licensed to William Bedell and Richard Lante, one is entitled "The Robery at Gads hill," under the year 1558[n]. I know not how far it might contribute to illustrate Shakspeare's HENRY THE FOURTH. The title is promising.

After the associated labours of Phaier and Twyne, it is hard to say what could induce* Richard Stanyhurst, a native of Dublin, to trans-

[m] wondrous.

[n] Registr. A. fol. 32 b. See Clavell's Recantation, a poem in quarto, Lond. 1634. Clavell was a robber, and here recites his own adventures on the highway. His first depredations are on Gad's-hill. See fol. 1.

* [His apparent inducement was to try his strength against Phaer; at whose translation though he frequently carps, yet he gives him credit for having effected his task "with surpassing excellence." Ded. to the Lord Baron of Dunsanye. Nash alludes to this when he writes: "But fortune respecting Master Stanihursts praise, would that Phaer shoulde fall that hee might rise, whose heroicall poetry infired, I should say inspired, with an hexameter furie recalled to life whatever hissed barbarisme hath bin buried this hundred yeare, and revived by his ragged quill such carterlie varietie as no hedge plowman in a countrie but would have held as the extremitie of clownerie," &c. Epist. before Greene's Menaphon. 1589.—PARK.]

late the first four books of Virgil's Eneid into English hexameters, which he printed at London in 1583, and dedicated to his brother Peter Plunket*, the lorde baron of Dunsanay in Ireland[o]. Stanyhurst at this time was living at Leyden, having left England for some time on account of the change of religion. In the choice of his measure, he is more unfortunate than his predecessors, and in other respects succeeded worse. It may be remarked, that Meres, in his WIT'S TREASURIE, printed in 1598, among the learned translators, mentions only "Phaier, for Virgil's Aeneads[p]." And William Webbe, in his DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETS printed in 1586[q], entirely omits our author, and places Phaier at the head of all the English translators[r]. Thomas Nashe, in

* [Quere whether this was not his brother-in-law; since he and the dedicator appear to have married two sisters. The father of Stanyhurst was recorder of Dublin, and himself was educated under Peter Whyte, some time dean of Waterford. He married Janetta the daughter of Sir Charles Barnwell, knt. who died in childbirth at Knightsbridge near London 1579. His poetical conceits convey this information, and contain a description of his mistress at the Hague 1582, and he writes himself "Sacellanus serenissimorum principum," which we may interpret chaplain to the Archduke of Austria. Vid. Cens. Liter. iv. 364.—PARK.]

[o] In octavo. Licensed to Binneman, Jan. 24. 1582. "By a copie printed at Leiden." Registr. Station. B. fol. 192 b. At the end of the Virgil are the four first of David's psalms Englished in Latin measures, p. 82. Then follow "Certayne Poetical Conceits (in Latyn and English) Lond. 1583." Afterwards are printed Epitaphs written by our author, both in Latin and English. The first, in Latin, is on James earl of Ormond, who died at Ely-house, Octob. 18, 1546. There is another on his father, James Stanyhurst, Recorder of Dublin, who died, aged 51, Dec. 27, 1573. With translations from More's Epigrams. Stanyhurst has a copy of recommendatory verses prefixed to Verstegan's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, Antwerp, 1605, 4to.

[Two other epitaphs by Stanihurst are in English: one upon the Baron of Louth, who was traitorously murdered about 1577; another upon the death of Gerald Fitzgerald Baron of Offalye, who died June 30, 1580, with verses by the latter entitled "A penitent sonnet," which constitutes him a noble author. Ritson seems to think, from an entry in the Stationers' books, that the volume was first printed at Leyden; yet such an edition was unknown to Ames or Herbert, (Bibl. Poetica, p. 351.) —PARK.]

[p] Fol. 289. p. 2.

[q] For John Charlewood. But there is a former edition for Walley 1585, 4to. I know not to which translation of Virgil, Puttenham in the Arte of English Poesie refers, where he says, "And as one who translating certaine bookes of Virgil's ÆNEIDOS into English meetre, said that Æneas was fayne *to trudge out of Troy*, which terme became better to be spoken of a beggar, or of a rogue or a lackey," &c. Lib. iii. ch. xxiii. p. 229.

[Puttenham evidently refers to the version of Stanyhurst, which (as Mr. Southey has observed before his poetic Specimens) "could excite nothing but wonder, ridicule, and disgust." Nashe has aptly characterized the tenor of this translation by the term "Thrasonical huffe-snuffe," a term indeed derived from the translator himself. "So terrible," he adds, "was his stile to all milde eares, as would have affrighted our able poets from intermeddling hereafter with that quarreling kinde of verse, had not swecte Master Fraunce, by his excellent translation of Master Thomas Watsons sugred Amyntas animated their dulled spirits to such highwitted endevors". Epist. ubi supra. Bishop Hall had also slurred these uncouth fooleries in his Satires, and exclaimed:

> Fie on the forged mint that did create
> New coin of words, never articulate.

One of our modern poets has supplied the following remarks: "As Chaucer has been called the well of English undefiled, so might Stanihurst be denominated the common sewer of the language. It seems impossible that a man could have written in such a style without intending to burlesque what he was about, and yet it is certain that Stanihurst intended to write heroic poetry. His version is exceedingly rare, and deserves to be reprinted for its incomparable oddity." Southey's Omniana, i. 193.—PARK.]

[r] Fol. 9.

his APOLOGY OF PIERCE PENNILESSE, printed in 1593, observes, that "Stanyhurst the otherwise learned, trod a foul, lumbring, boisterous, wallowing measure in his translation of Virgil.—He had neuer been praised by Gabriel Harvey[s] for his labour, if therein he had not been so famously absurd[t]." Harvey, Spenser's friend, was one of the chief patrons, if not the inventor, of the English hexameter, here used by Stanyhurst. I will give a specimen in the first four lines of the second book:

> With tentiue listning each wight was setled in harkning;
> Then father Æneas chronicled from loftie bed hautie:
> You bid me, O princesse, to scarifie a festerd old sore,
> How that the Troians were prest by the Grecian armie.[u]

With all this foolish pedantry, Stanyhurst was certainly a scholar. But in this translation he calls Chorebus, one of the Trojan chiefs, a *bedlamite;* he says that old Priam girded on his sword, *Morglay*, the name of a sword in the Gothic romances, that Dido would have been glad to have been brought to bed even of a cockney, a *Dandiprat hop-thumb*, and that Jupiter, in kissing his daughter, *bust his pretty prating parrot.* He was admitted at University College, in 1563, where he wrote a system of logic in his eighteenth year[w]. Having taken one degree, he became successively a student at Furnival's and Lincoln's Inn. He has left many theological, philosophical, and historical books. In one of his EPITAPHS called COMMVNE DEFUNCTORUM, he mentions Julietta, Shakspeare's Juliet, among the celebrated heroines[x]. The

[s] Gabriel Harvey, in his Foure Letters and certaine Sonnets, says, "I cordially recommend to the deare louers of the Muses, and namely to the professed sonnes of the same, Edmond Spencer, Richard Stanihurst, Abraham Fraunce, Thomas Watson, Samuell Daniel, Thomas Nashe, and the rest, whom I affectionately thancke for their studious endeuours commendably employed in enriching and polishing their natiue tongue," &c. Lett. iii. p. 29. Lond. 1592. 4to.

[In the same publication he exclaims: "If I never deserve any better remembraunce, let me be epitaphed the *Inventour* of the *English hexameter!* whome learned Mr. Stanihurst imitated in his Virgill, and excellent Sir P. Sidney disdained not to follow in his Arcadia, and elsewhere." Ascham in 1564 had well observed that "*carmen hexametrum* doth rather trotte and hoble than runne smoothly in our English tong." Scholemaster, p. 60. Yet Stanihurst strangely professes in his dedication to take upon him "to execute some part of Maister Aschams will, who had recommended *carmen iambicum* while he dispraised *carmen hexametrum.*"—PARK.]

[t] Signat. B.

[u] Fol. 21.

[w] "Harmonia sive Catena Dialectica in Porphyrianas constitutiones," a commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge. Lond. 1570. fol. Campion, then of St. John's college, afterwards the Jesuit, to whom it was communicated in manuscript, says of the author, "Mirifice lætatus sum, esse adolescentem in academia nostra, tali familia, eruditione, probitate, cujus extrema pueritia cum multis laudabili maturitate viris certare possit." Epistol. edit. Ingoldstat. 1602. fol. 50. Four or five of Campion's Epistles are addressed to Stanyhurst.

[x] Meres mentions Stanyhurst and Gabriel Harvey, as "Jambical poets." Ubi supr. fol. 282. p. 2. Stanyhurst translated some epigrams of sir Thomas More. They are at the end of his Virgil. [It may be questioned whether Julietta could have any allusion to Shakspeare's Juliet; since Stanyhurst's verses were printed in 1585, and the earliest computation which has been made in order to fix the true date of Romeo and Juliet, does not carry the conjecture higher than 1591. It was not printed till 1597. The story of Rhomeo and Julietta in Painter's Palace of Pleasure in the tragical history of Romeus and

title, and some of the lines, deserve to be cited, as they show the poetical squabbles about the English hexameter. "An Epitaph against rhyme, entituled COMMVNE DEFUNCTORUM, such as our vnlearned Rithmours accustomably make vpon the death of euerie Tom Tyler, as if it were a last for euerie one his foote, in which the quantities of syllables are not to be heeded."

A Sara for goodnesse, a great Bellona for budgenesse,
For myldnesse Anna, for chastitye godlye Susanna.
Hester in a good shift, a Iudith stoute at a dead lift:
Also IULIETTA, with Dido rich Cleopatra:
With sundrie namelesse, and women many more blamelesse, &c.[y]

His Latin DESCRIPTIO HIBERNIÆ, translated into English, appears in the first volume of Hollinshed's Chronicles, printed in 1583. He is styled by Camden, "Eruditissimus ille nobilis Richardus Stanihurstus[z]." He is said to have been caressed for his literature and politeness by many foreign princes[a]. He died at Brussels in 1618[b].

Abraham Fleming, brother to Samuel[c], published a version of the BUCOLICS of Virgil, in 1575, with notes, and a dedication to Peter Osborne esquire. This is the title, "The BUKOLIKES of P. Virgilius Maro, with alphabeticall Annotations, &c. Drawne into plaine and

Juliet, by Arthur Brooke, might have formed the sources of conjectural allusion. —PARK.]

[y] At the end of his Virgil. Signat. H iij. He mentions the friends Damon and Pythias in the same piece.

[z] In *Hibernia. Com. West Meath.*

[a] In the title of his *Hebdomada Mariana* he styles himself "Serenissimorum principum Sacellanus." That is, Albert archduke of Austria and his princess Isabell. Antw. 1609. 8vo.

[b] Coxeter says a miscellany was printed in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign "by R. S. that is, R. Stanyhurst." I presume he may probably mean, a collection called "The Phœnix Nest, Built vp with most rare and refined workes of noble men, woorthy knights, gallant gentlemen, Masters of Art, and braue schollars. Full of varietie, excellent inuention, and singvlar delight, &c. Sett forth by R. S. of the Inner Temple gentleman. Imprinted at London by John Jackson, 1593." 4to. But I take this R. S. to be Richard Stapylton, who has a copy of verses prefixed to Greene's *Mamillia*, printed in 1593. bl. lett. By the way, in this miscellany there is a piece by "W. S. Gent." p. 77. Perhaps by William Shakspeare. But I rather think by William Smyth, whose "Cloris, or the Complaynt of the Passion of the despised Sheppard," was licensed to E. Bolifaunt. Oct. 5, 1596. Registr. Station. C. fol. 14 a. The initials W. S. are subscribed to "Corin's dreame of his faire Chloris," in England's Helicon. (Signat. H. edit. 1614.) And prefixed to the tragedy of Locrine, edit. 1595. Also "A booke called Amours by J. (or G.) D. with certen other Sonnetts by W. S." is entered to Eleazar Edgar, Jan. 3, 1599. Registr. C. fol. 55 a. The initials W. S. are subscribed to a copy of verses prefixed to N. Breton's Wil of Wit, &c. 1606. 4to.

[Smith's "Chloris, or the complaint of the passionate despised Shepheard," was printed by Bollifant in 1596, and contains the poem of "Corin's dreame," reprinted in England's Helicon. The publication consists of fifty sonnets, and is inscribed to the "most excellent and learned shepheard Collin Cloute;" i. e. Spenser, who appears to have been instrumental in promoting their publication, and to have become a voluntary patron of the author. A copy of verses by W. S. is prefixed to Grange's Golden Aphroditis, 1577. See Cens. Lit. v. 114.—PARK.]

[c] They were both born in London. Thinne apud Hollinsh. vol. ii. 1590. Samuel wrote an elegant Latin Life of queen Mary, never printed. He has a Latin recommendatory poem prefixed to Edward Grant's *Spicilegium* of the Greek tonge, a Dialogue, dedicated to Lord Burleigh, and printed at London in 1575. 8vo.

familiar Englishe verse by Abr. Fleming student, &c. London by John Charlewood, &c. 1575." His plan was to give a plain and literal translation, verse for verse. These are the five first lines of the tenth Eclogue:—

O Arethusa, graunt this labour be my last indeede!
A few songes vnto Gallo, but let them Lycoris reede:
Needes must I singe to Gallo mine, what man would songes deny?
So when thou ronnest vnder Sicane seas, where froth doth fry,
Let not that bytter Doris of the salte streame mingle make.

Fourteen years afterwards, in 1589, the same author published a new version both of the BUCOLICS and GEORGICS of Virgil, with notes, which he dedicated to John Whitgift archbishop of Canterbury[d]. This is commonly said and supposed to be in blank verse, but it is in the regular Alexandrine without rhyme. It is entitled, "The BUKOLIKES of P. Virgilius Maro, &c. otherwise called his pastoralls or Shepherds Meetings. Together with his GEORGICS*, or Ruralls, &c. All newly translated into English verse by A. F. At London by T. O. for T. Woodcocke, &c. 1589." I exhibit the five first verses of the fourth Eclogue:

O Muses of Sicilia ile, let 's greater matters singe!
Shrubs, groves, and bushes lowe, delight and please not every man:
If we do singe of woodes, the woods be worthy of a consul.
Now is the last age come, whereof Sybilla's verse foretold;
And now the Virgin come againe, and Saturnes kingdom come.

The fourth Georgic thus begins:

O my Mecenas, now will I dispatch forthwith to shew
The heauenly gifts, or benefits, of airie honie sweet.
Look on this piece of worke likewise, as thou hast on the rest.

Abraham Fleming supervised, corrected, and enlarged the second edition of Hollinshed's Chronicle in 1585[e]. He translated Aelian's VARIOUS HISTORY into English in 1576, which he dedicated to Goodman dean of Westminster, "Ælian's Registre of Hystories by Abraham Fleming[f]." He published also *Certaine select epistles of Cicero into English*, in 1576[g]. And, in the same year, he imparted to our countrymen a fuller idea of the elegance of the ancient epistle by his "PANOPLIE OF EPISTLES from Tully, Isocrates, Pliny, and others, printed at

[d] The Bucolics and Georgics, I think these, are entered, 1600. Registr. Stat. See also under 1595, ibid.

* ["The Georgiks of Pub. Virg. Maro; otherwise called his Italian Husbandrie. Grammaticallie translated into English meter in so plaine and familiar sort, as a learner may be taught thereby to his profit and contentment." In a short address to the reader, the Translator hints a future intention "to make this interpretation of his version run in round rime, as it standeth now upon bare metre:" but this was not performed.—PARK.]

[e] His brother Samuel assisted in compiling the Index, a very laborious work, and made other improvements.

[f] In quarto. [g] Lond. in quarto.

London 1576[h]." He translated Synesius's Greek PANEGYRIC ON BALDNESS, which had been brought into vogue by Erasmus's MORIÆ ENCOMIUM[i]. Among some other pieces, he englished many celebrated books written in Latin about the fifteenth century and at the restoration of learning, which was a frequent practice, after it became fashionable to compose in English, and our writers had begun to find the force and use of their own tongue[k]. Sir William Cordall, the queen's solicitor-general, was his chief patron[l].

William Webbe, who is styled a graduate, translated the GEORGICS into English verse, as he himself informs us in the DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETRIE, lately quoted, and printed in 1586[m]. And in the same discourse, which was written in defence of the new fashion of English hexameters, he has given us his own version of two of Virgil's BUCOLICS, written in that unnatural and impracticable mode of versification[n]. I must not forget here, that the same Webbe ranks Abraham Fleming, as a translator, after Barnabie Googe the translator of Palingenius's ZODIAC, not without a compliment to the poetry and the learning of his brother Samuel, whose excellent *Inventions*, he adds, had not yet been made public.

Abraham Fraunce*, in 1591, translated Virgil's ALEXIS into English

[h] Quarto. For Ralph Newbery.

[i] Lond. 1579. 12mo. At the end, is his Fable of Hermes.

[k] See supr. p. 218. Among his original pieces are, "A memorial of the charitable almes deedes of William Lambe, gentleman of the chapel under Henry 8th, and citizen of London, Lond. 1580. 8vo.—The Battel between the Virtues and Vices, Lond. 1582. 8vo.—The Diamant of Devotion in six parts, Lond. 1586. 12mo.—The Cundyt of Comfort, for Denham, 1579." He prefixed a recommendatory Latin poem in iambics to the Voyage of Dennis Settle, a retainer of the earl of Cumberland, and the companion of Martin Frobisher, Lond. 1577. 12mo. Another, in English, to Kendal's Flowres of Epigrammes, Lond. 1577. 12mo. Another to John Barret's *Alveare*, or quadruple Lexicon of English, Latin, Greek, and French. Dedicated to Lord Burleigh, Lond. 1580. fol. edit. 2. [See Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. 835.] Another to W. Whetstone's Rock of Regard. I take this opportunity of observing that the works of one John Fleming, an ancient English poet, are in Dublin-college library, of which I have no farther notice, than that they are numbered 304. See Registr. Station. B. fol. 160 a. 171 a. 168 a.

[l] His Panoplie is dedicated to Cordall. See Life of Sir Thomas Pope, p. 226. edit. 2.

[m] For the sake of juxtaposition, I observe here, that Virgil's Bucolics and fourth Georgic were translated by one Mr. Brimsly, and licensed to Man, Sept. 3, 1619. Registr. Station. C. fol. 305 a. And the "seconde parte of Virgil's Æneids in English, translated by sir Thomas Wroth knight," Apr. 4, 1620. Ibid. fol. 313 b.

[This was entitled "The destruction of Troy." Sir Thomas published in the same year "A Century of Epigrams, with a motto on the Creed, called the abortive of an idle houre." See Ath. Oxon. ii. 258; and Lysons's Environs, ii. 316.—PARK.]

[n] In 1594, Richard Jones published "Pan his Pipe, conteyninge Three Pastorall Eglogs in Englyshe hexamiter with other delightfull verses." Licensed Jan. 3. Registr. Station. B. fol. 316 b.

* [Abraham Fraunce was entered of Gray's Inn after being eight years at Cambridge, and had the honour of being intimate with Sir P. Sidney, from whose production he drew the illustrative examples of his rare little volume entitled "The Arcadian Rhetorike." A very curious MS. in the Bodleian Library (MS. Rawl. Poet. 85.) contains the "Recreations of his leisure hours;" being, as Mr. P. Bliss obligingly informs me, the first copy of a work he afterwards published, *Insignium armorum emblematum*, &c. The symbols are finely finished with a pen; and in a concluding address to Sir P.

hexameters, verse for verse, which he calls *The lamentation of Corydon for the love of Alexis*[o]. It must be owned, that the selection of this particular Eclogue from all the ten for an English version, is somewhat extraordinary. But in the reign of queen Elizabeth, I could point out whole sets of sonnets written with this sort of attachment, for which perhaps it will be but an inadequate apology, that they are free from direct impurity of expression and open immodesty of sentiment. Such at least is our observance of external propriety, and so strong the principles of a general decorum, that a writer of the present age who was to print love-verses in this style, would be severely reproached, and universally proscribed. I will instance only in the AFFECTIONATE SHEPHERD* of Richard Barnefielde, printed in 1595. Here, through the course of twenty sonnets, not inelegant, and which were exceedingly popular, the poet bewails his unsuccessful love for a beautiful youth, by the name of Ganymede, in a strain of the most tender passion†, yet with professions of the chastest affection[p]. Many descrip-

Sidney, he proposes, if these meet his approbation, to continue them. He ends with —— "Iterum vive, atque iterum, vale, Mæcenas ornatissime. A. F."—PARK.]

[o] At the end of *the countesse of Pembroke's Ivy-church*, in the same measure, Lond. 8vo. He wrote also in the same verse, *The lamentation of Amyntas for the death of Phillis*. Lond. 1587. 4to. He translated into English hexameters the beginning of Heliodorus's Ethiopics. Lond. 1591. 8vo.

* ["Containing the Complaint of Daphnis for the love of Ganymede." Printed by John Dunton, 4to. The volume comprises The teares of an affectionate shepheard, sicke for love. The second dayes lamentation of the affectionate Shepheard. The Shepheards content, or the happiness of a harmless life. The complaint of Chastitie: and Hellens rape, or a light lanthorne for light ladies; written in English hexameters.—PARK.]

† [In the same strain, and to a similar object, the greater part of Shakspeare's Sonnets appear to be addressed. Mr. Chalmers indeed, in his Apology, has persuaded himself that the bard of Avon intended his for Queen Elizabeth; but so far as I can gather, he has failed to persuade any other reader of the same.—PARK.]

[p] At London, for H. Lownes, 1596. 16mo. Another edition appeared the same year, with his Cynthia, and Legend of Cassandra. For the same, 1596. 16mo. In the preface of this second edition he apologises for his Sonnets, "I will vnshaddow my conceit: being nothing else but an imitation of Virgill in the second Eclogue of Alexis." But I find, "Cynthia with certayne Sonnettes and the Legend of Cassandra," entered to H. Lownes Jan. 18, 1594. Registr. Station. B. fol. 317 a.

["Cynthia with certaine sonnets and the Legend of Cassandra" appeared in 1591, and was printed for H. Lownes. In the preface Barnefield hopes the reader will bear with his rude conceit of Cynthia "if for no other cause, yet for that it is the *first imitation* of the verse of that excellent poet Maister Spencer, in his Fayrie Queene:" to whom he again alludes in his 20th Sonnet, as "great Colin, the chief of Shepheards:" while he designates Drayton under the name of "*gentle* Rowland, his professed friend." In 1598 were published by Richard Barnefield, graduate in Oxford, The Encomium of Lady Pecunia, or the Praise of Money. The complaint of Poetrie for the death of Liberalitie. The combat betweene Conscience and Covetousnesse in the minde of man: and poems in divers humors. These pieces it seems he was encouraged to offer to the courtesy of his readers through the gentle acceptance of his Cynthia. One of his sonnets thus addresses itself to his friend Maister R. L. the author probably of Diello.

If musique and sweet poetrie agree,
As they must needs (the sister and the brother),
Then must the love be great 'twixt thee and mee,
Because thou lov'st the one, and I the other.

tions and incidents which have a like complexion may be found in the futile novels of Lodge and Lilly.

Fraunce is also the writer of a book, with the affected and unmeaning title of the "ARCADIAN RHETORIKE, or the preceptes of Rhetoricke made plaine by examples, Greeke, Latyne, Englisshe, Italyan, Frenche, and Spanishe." It was printed in 1588, and is valuable for its English examples[q].

In consequence of the versions of Virgil's Bucolics, a piece appeared in 1584, called "A Comoedie of Titerus and Galathea[r]." I suppose this to be Lilly's play called GALLATHEA, played before the queen at Greenwich on New Year's day by the choristers of saint Paul's.

It will perhaps be sufficient barely to mention Spenser's CULEX, which is a vague and arbitrary paraphrase of a poem not properly belonging to Virgil. From the testimony of many early Latin writers it may be justly concluded, that Virgil wrote an elegant poem with this title. Nor is it improbable that in the CULEX at present attributed to Virgil, some very few of the original phrases, and even verses, may remain, under the accumulated incrustation of critics, imitators, interpolators, and paraphrasts, which corrupts what it conceals. But the texture, the character, and substance of the genuine poem is almost entirely lost. The CEIRIS, or the fable of Nisus and Scylla, which follows, although never mentioned by any writer of antiquity, has much fairer pretensions to genuineness. At least, the CEIRIS, allowing for uncommon depravations of time and transcription, appears in its present state to be a poem of the Augustan age, and is perhaps the identical piece dedicated to the Messala whose patronage it solicits. It has that rotundity of versification, which seems to have been studied after the Roman poetry emerged from barbarism. It has a general simplicity, and often a native strength, of colouring; nor is it tinctured, except by the casual innovation of grammarians, with those sophistications both of sentiment and expression, which afterwards of course took place among the Roman poets, and which would have betrayed a recent forgery. It seems to be the work of a young poet: but its digressions and descriptions, which are often too prolix, are not only the marks of a young poet, but of early poetry. It is interspersed with many lines, now in the Eclogues, Georgics, and Eneid. Here is an argument which seems to assign it to Virgil. A cotemporary poet would not have ventured to steal from poems so well known. It was natural, at least allowable, for Virgil to steal from a performance of his youth, on which he did not set any great value, and which he did

Dowland to thee is dear, whose heavenly touch
Upon the lute doth ravish human sense;
Spenser to me, whose deepe conceit is such,
As passing all conceit, needs no defence, &c.—PARK.]

[q] Entered to T. Gubbyn and T. Newman, Jun. 11, 1588. Registr. Station. B. fol. 229 b.

[r] Entered April 1, to Cawood. Ibid. fol. 203 b. Lilly's Galatea, however, appears to be entered as a new copy to T. Man, October 1, 1591. Ibid. fol. 280 b.

not scruple to rob of a few ornaments, deserving a better place. This consideration excludes Cornelius Gallus, to whom Fontanini, with much acute criticism, has ascribed the CEIRIS. Nor, for the reason given, would Virgil have stolen from Gallus. The writer has at least the art of Virgil, in either suppressing, or throwing into shade, the trite and uninteresting incidents of the common fabulous history of Scylla, which were incapable of decoration, or had been preoccupied by other poets. The dialogue between the young princess Scylla, who is deeply in love, and her nurse, has much of the pathos of Virgil. There are some traces which discover an imitation of Lucretius: but on the whole, the structure of the verses, and the predominant cast and manner of the composition, exactly resemble the ARGONAUTICA of Catullus, or the EPITHALAMIUM OF PELEUS AND THETIS. I will instance in the following passage, in which every thing is distinctly and circumstantially touched, and in an affected pomp of numbers. He is alluding to the stole of Minerva, interwoven with the battle of the giants, and exhibited at Athens in the magnificent Panathenaic festival. The classical reader will perceive one or two interpolations, and lament that this rich piece of embroidery has suffered a little from being unskilfully darned by another and a more modern artificer.

Sed magno intexens, si fas est dicere, peplo,
Qualis Erechtheis olim portatur Athenis,
Debita cum castæ solvuntur vota Minervæ,
Tardaque confecto redeunt quinquennia lustro,
Cum levis alterno Zephyrus concrebuit Euro,
Et prono gravidum provexit pondere cursum.
Felix ille dies, felix et dicitur annus:
Felices qui talem annum videre, diemque!
Ergo Palladiæ texuntur in ordine pugnæ:
Magna Gigantæis ornantur pepla tropæis,
Horrida sanguineo pinguntur prælia cocco.
Additur aurata dejectus cuspide Typho,
Qui prius Ossæis consternens æthera saxis,
Emathio celsum duplicabat vertice Olympum.
Tale deæ velum solemni in tempore portant.[s]

The same stately march of hexameters is observable in Tibullus's tedious panegyric on Messala: a poem, which, if it should not be believed to be of Tibullus's hand, may at least from this reasoning be adjudged to his age. We are sure that Catullus could not have been the author of the CEIRIS, as Messala, to whom it is inscribed, was born but a very few years before the death of Catullus. One of the chief circumstances of the story is a purple lock of hair, which grew on the head of Nisus king of Megara, and on the preservation of which the

[s] Ver. 21. seq.

safety of that city, now besieged by Minos king of Crete, entirely depended. Scylla, Nisus's daughter, falls in love with Minos, whom she sees from the walls of Megara: she finds means to cut off this sacred ringlet, the city is taken, and she is married to Minos. I am of opinion that Tibullus, in the following passage, alludes to the CEIRIS, then newly published, and which he points out by this leading and fundamental fiction of Nisus's purple lock.

Pieridas, pueri, doctos et amate poetas;
Aurea nec superent munera Pieridas!
CARMINE PURPUREA est Nisi coma: carmina ni sint,
Ex humero Pelopis non nituisset ebur.[t]

Tibullus here, in recommending the study of the poets to the Roman youth, illustrates the power of poetry; and, for this purpose, with much address he selects a familiar instance from a piece recently written, perhaps by one of his friends.

Spenser seems to have shown a particular regard to these two little poems, supposed to be the work of Virgil's younger years. Of the CULEX he has left a paraphrase, under the title of VIRGIL'S GNAT, dedicated to lord Leicester, who died in 1588. It was printed without a title page at the end of the "TEARES OF THE MUSES, by Ed. Sp. London, imprinted for William Ponsonbie dwelling in Paules churchyard at the sign of the bishops head, 1591[u]." From the CEIRIS he has copied a long passage, which forms the first part of the legend of Britomart in the third book of the FAIRY QUEEN.

Although the story of MEDEA existed in Guido de Columna, and perhaps other modern writers in Latin, yet we seem to have had a version of Valerius Flaccus in 1565: for in that year, I know not if in verse or prose, was entered to Purfoote, "The story of Jason, how he gotte the golden flece, and howe he did begyle Media [Medea], oute of Laten into Englisshe by Nycholas Whyte[w]." Of the translator Whyte, I know nothing more.

Of Ovid's METAMORPHOSIS, the four first books were translated by Arthur Golding in 1565[x]. "The fyrst fower bookes of the Metamorphosis owte of Latin into English meter by Arthur Golding, gentleman, &c. Imprinted at London by William Seres 1565[y]." But soon afterwards he printed the whole, or, "The xv. Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso entytuled METAMORPHOSIS, translated out of Latin into English meetre, by Arthur Golding Gentleman. A worke uery pleasant and delectable. Lond. 1575." William Seres was the printer, as before[z]. This work

[t] Eleg. lib. i. iv. 62.

[u] In quarto. White lett. Containing twenty-four leaves.

[w] Registr. Station. A. fol. 134 a.

[x] Lond. bl. lett. 4to.

[y] It is entered "A boke entituled Ovidii Metamorphoses." Registr. Station. A. fol. 117 b.

[z] Bl. lett. 4to. It is supposed that there were earlier editions, viz. 1567, and 1576 The last is mentioned in Coxeter's papers, who saw it in Dr. Rawlinson's collection.

became a favorite, and was reprinted in 1587, 1603, and 1612[a]. The dedication, an epistle in verse, is to Robert earl of Leicester, and dated at Berwick, April 20, 1567. In the metrical Preface to the Reader, which immediately follows, he apologises for having named so many fictitious and heathen gods. This apology seems to be intended for the weaker puritans[b]. His style is poetical and spirited, and his versification clear; his manner ornamental and diffuse, yet with a sufficient observance of the original. On the whole, I think him a better poet and a better translator than Phaier. This will appear from a few of the first lines of the second book, which his readers took for a description of an enchanted castle.

The princely pallace of the Sun stood gorgeous to behold,
On stately pillars builded high, of yellow burnisht gold;
Beset with sparkling carbuncles, that like to fire did shine,
The roofe was framed curiously, of yuorie pure and fine.
The two-doore-leves of siluer clere, a radiant light did cast:
But yet the cunning workemanship of thinges therein far past
The stuffe whereof the doores were made: for there a perfect plat
Had Vulcane drawne of all the world, both of the sourges that
Embrace the earth with winding waves, and of the stedfast ground,
And of the heauen itself also, that both encloseth round.
And first and foremost of the sea, the gods thereof did stand,
Loude-sounding Tryton, with his shrill and writhen trumpe in hand,
Unstable Protew, changing aye his figure and his hue,
From shape to shape a thousand sights, as list him to renue.—
In purple robe, and royall throne of emerauds freshe and greene,
Did Phœbus sit, and on each hand stood wayting well beseene,
Dayes, Months, Yeeres, Ages, Seasons, Times, and eke the equall Houres;
There stoode the SPRINGTIME, with a crowne of fresh and fragrant floures:
There wayted SUMMER naked starke, all saue a wheaten hat:
And AUTUMNE smerde with treading grapes late at the pressing-vat:
And lastly, quaking for the colde, stood WINTER all forlorne,
With rugged head as white as doue, and garments al to torne;
Forladen[c] with the isycles, that dangled vp and downe,
Upon his gray and hoarie beard, and snowie frozen crowne.
The Sunne thus sitting in the midst, did cast his piercing eye, &c.

But I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing a few more lines,

[a] All in bl. lett. 4to. That of 1603 by W. W. of 1612 by Thomas Purfoot.

[b] Afterwards he says of his author,

And now I have him made so well acquainted with our toong,
As that he may in English verse as in his owne be soong,
Wherein although for plesant stile, I cannot make account, &c.

[c] overladen.

from the transformation of Athamas and Ino, in the fourth book. Tisiphone addresses Juno[d]:

The hatefull hag Tisiphone, with hoarie ruffled heare[e],
Remouing from her face the snakes, that loosely dangled theare,
Said thus, &c.

He proceeds,

The furious fiend Tisiphone, doth cloth her out of hand,
In garment streaming gory blood, and taketh in her hand
A burning cresset[f] steept in blood, and girdeth her about
With wreathed snakes, and so goes forth, and at her going out,
Feare, terror, griefe, and pensiuenesse, for company she tooke,
And also madnesse with his flaight and gastly-staring looke.
Within the house of Athamas no sooner foote she set,
But that the postes began to quake, and doores looke blacke as iet.
The sunne withdrewe him: Athamas and eke his wife were cast
With ougly sightes in such a feare, that out of doores agast
They would have fled. There stood the fiend, and stopt their passage out;
And splaying[g] foorth her filthy armes beknit with snakes about,
Did tosse and waue her hatefull head. The swarme of scaled snakes
Did make an yrksome noyce to heare, as she her tresses shakes.
About her shoulders some did craule, some trayling downe her brest,
Did hisse, and spit out poison greene, and spirt with tongues infest.
Then from amid her haire two snakes, with venymd hand she drew,
Of which she one at Athamas, and one at Ino threw.
The snakes did craule about their brests, inspiring in their heart
Most grieuous motions of the minde: the body had no smart
Of any wound: it was the minde that felt the cruell stinges.
A poyson made in syrup-wise she also with her brings,
The filthy fome of Cerberus, the casting of the snake
Echidna, bred among the fennes, about the Stygian lake.
Desire of gadding forth abroad, Forgetfullness of minde,
Delight in mischiefe, Woodnesse[o], Tears, and Purpose whole inclinde
To cruell murther: all the which she did together grinde.
And mingling them with new-shed blood, she boyled them in brasse,
And stird them with a hemlock stalke. Now while that Athamas
And Ino stood, and quakt for feare, this poyson ranke and fell
She turned into both their brests, and made their hearts to swell.
Then whisking often round about her head her balefull brand,
She made it soone, by gathering winde, to kindle in her hand.
Thus, as it were in tryumph-wise, accomplishing her hest,
To duskie Pluto's emptie realme she gets her home to rest,
And putteth off the snarled snakes that girded-in her brest.

[d] Fol. 50 a. edit. 1603.
[e] hair.
[f] a torch. The word is used by Milton.
[g] displaying.
[o] madness.

We have here almost as horrid a mixture as the ingredients in Macbeth's caldron. In these lines there is much enthusiasm, and the character of original composition. The abruptnesses of the text are judiciously retained, and perhaps improved. The translator seems to have felt Ovid's imagery, and this perhaps is an imagery in which Ovid excels.

Golding's version of the METAMORPHOSIS kept its ground, till Sandys's English Ovid appeared in 1632. I know not who was the author of what is called a *ballet*, perhaps a translation from the Metamorphosis, licensed to John Charlewood, in 1569, "The vnfortunate ende of Iphis sonne vnto Teucer kynge of Troye[h]." Nor must I omit "The tragicall and lamentable Historie of two faythfull mates Ceyx kynge of Thrachine, and Alcione his wife, drawen into English meeter by William Hubbard, 1569[i]." In stanzas*.

Golding was of a gentleman's family, a native of London, and lived with secretary Cecil at his house in the Strand[k]. Among his patrons, as we may collect from his dedications, were also sir Walter Mildmay, William lord Cobham, Henry earl of Huntingdon, lord Leicester, sir Christopher Hatton, lord Oxford, and Robert earl of Essex. He was connected with sir Philip Sydney: for he finished an English translation of Philip Mornay's treatise in French on the Truth of Christianity, which had been begun by Sydney, and was published in 1587[l]. He enlarged our knowledge of the treasures of antiquity by publishing English translations of Justin's History in 1564[m], of Cæsar's Commentaries in 1565[n], of Seneca's BENEFITS in 1577[o], and of the GEOGRAPHY of Pomponius Mela, and the POLYHISTORY of Solinus, in 1587, and 1590[p]. He has left versions of many modern Latin writers,

[h] Registr. Station. A. fol. 186 a. See Malone's Suppl. Shaksp. i. 60 seq.

[i] Impr. at London, by W. Howe for R. Johnes. Bl. lett. 12mo. In eight leaves.

* [As these stanzas are somewhat singular in their structure, and the work itself is rarely to be seen, I subjoin a single specimen. Alcione is the person described:—

Thre times she then about to speake,
  Thre times she washt hir face with teares.
Thre times she off from teares did breake,
  And thus complained in his eares,
"What fault of myne, O husbande deare, doth thee compell,
That thou wilt dwell no longer heere, but go to spell?"

To 'go to spell,' is an expression employed for going to consult the oracle.—PARK.]

[k] His dedication to the four first books of Ovid is from Cecil-house, 1564. See his Dedication to his English version of Peter Aretine's War of Italy with the Goths, Lond. 1563. 12mo. To this he has prefixed a long preface on the causes of the irruption of the Goths into Italy. He appears to have also lived in the parish of All Saints *ad murum*, London-wall, in 1577. Epist. prefixed to his Seneca. His Postils of Chytræus are dedicated from Pauls Belchamp to sir W. Mildmay, March 10, 1570.

[l] In quarto. It was afterwards corrected and printed by Thomas Wilcox, 1604.

[m] Lond. 4to. Again 1578. There is the Psalter in English, printed with Henry Middleton, by Arthur Golding. Lond. 1571. 4to.

[n] The Dedication to Cecil is dated from Pauls Belchamp, 12 Octob. Lond. 12mo. Again, 1590. There was a translation by Tiptoft earl of Worcester, printed by Rastall. No date. I suppose about 1530.

[o] Lond. 4to. To sir Christopher Hatton.

[p] Lond. 4to.

which then had their use, and suited the condition and opinions of the times; and which are now forgotten, by the introduction of better books, and the general change of the system of knowledge. I think his only original work is an account of an Earthquake in 1580. Of his original poetry I recollect nothing more, than an encomiastic copy of verses prefixed to Baret's ALVEARE published in 1580. It may be regretted, that he gave so much of his time to translation. In GEORGE GASCOIGNE'S PRINCELY PLEASURES OF KENILWORTH-CASTLE, an entertainment in the year 1575*, he seems to have been a writer of some of the verses:—"The deuise of the Ladie of the Lake also was master Hunnes—The verses, as I think, were penned, some by master Hunnes, some by master Ferrers, and some by master Goldingham[q]." The want of exactness through haste or carelessness, in writing or pronouncing names, even by cotemporaries, is a common fault, especially in our old writers; and I suspect Golding is intended in the last name[r]. He is ranked among the celebrated translators by Webbe and Meres†.

The learned Ascham wishes that some of these translators had used blank verse instead of rhyme. But by blank verse‡, he seems to mean the English hexameter or some other Latin measure. He says, "Indeed Chauser, Thomas Norton of Bristow, my Lord of Surry, M. Wiat, Thomas Phaier, and other gentlemen, in translating Ouide, Palingenius, and Seneca, haue gone as farre to their great praise as the coppy they followed could cary them. But if such good wittes, and forward diligence, had been directed to followe the best examples, and not haue beene caryed by tyme and custome to content themselves with that barbarous and rude Ryming, amongest theyr other woorthye prayses which they haue iustly deserued, this had not been the least, to be counted among men of learning and skill, more like vnto the Grecians than the Gothians in handling of theyr verse[s]." The sentiments of another cotemporary critic on this subject were somewhat different. "In

* [In which year it was printed; and afterwards inserted at the end of Gascoigne's Works in 1587. Mr. Nichols has given the whole a place in his entertaining collection of the Progresses and Processions of Queen Elizabeth.—PARK.]

[q] Signat. B. ij.

[r] But I must observe, that one Henry Goldingham is mentioned as a gesticulator, and one who was to perform Arion on a dolphin's back, in some spectacle before queen Elizabeth. Merry Passages and Jeasts, MSS. Harl. 6395. One B. Goldingham is an actor and a poet, in 1579, in the pageant before queen Elizabeth at Norwich. Hollinsh. Chron. iii. f. 1298. col. 1. [Goldingham wrote a poem inscribed to Queen Elizabeth, entitled "The Garden Plot," extant in No. 6902 of the Harl. MSS. More of his poetry, with a masque of his devising, may be found in a tract entitled, "The joyfull receiving of the Queene's Majestie into her Highness citie of Norwich," &c. 1578. 4to. He seems likewise to have had a hand in the Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth Castle.—RITSON.]

† [Arthur Hall likewise eulogises the excellent and laudable labour of Golding, for making Ovid speak English in no worse terms than the author's own gifts gave him grace to write in Latin. Ded. before the ten books of Homer's Iliades, 1581.—PARK.]

‡ [Daniel, in his "Apology for Ryme," 1603, seems to mean *blank verse* when he speaks of *single numbers*.—PARK.]

[s] Fol. 52 a. 53 b. edit. 1589. 4to.

queene Maries time florished aboue any other doctour Phaier, one that was learned, and excellently well translated into English verse heroicall, certaine bookes of Virgil's Æneidos. Since him followed maister Arthur Golding, who with no less commendation turned into English meetre the Metamorphosis of Ouide, and that other doctour who made the supplement to those bookes of Virgil's Æneidos, which maister Phaier left vndoone." Again, he commends "Phaier and Golding, for a learned and well-connected verse, specially in translation cleare, and uery faithfully answering their authours intent[t]."

I learn from Coxeter's notes, that the FASTI were translated into English verse before the year 1570. If so, the many little pieces now current on the subject of LUCRETIA, although her legend is in Chaucer, might immediately originate from this source. In 1568, occurs a *Ballett* called "the grevious complaynt of Lucrece[u]." And afterwards, in the year 1569, is licensed to James Robertes, "A ballet of the death of Lucryssia[w]." There is also a ballad of the legend of Lucrece, printed in 1576. These publications might give rise to Shakspeare's RAPE OF LUCRECE, which appeared in 1594. At this period of our poetry, we find the same subject occupying the attention of the public for many years, and successively presented in new and various forms by different poets. Lucretia was the grand example of conjugal fidelity throughout the Gothic ages[x].

The fable of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, in the fourth book of the METAMORPHOSIS, was translated by Thomas Peend, or De la Peend, in 1565[y]. I have seen it only among Antony Wood's books in the Ash-

[t] Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie, Lond. 1589. 4to. lib. i. ch. 30. fol. 49, 51.

[u] Registr. Station. A. fol. 174 a. To John Alde. The story might however have been taken from Livy: as was "The Tragedy of Appius and Virginia," in verse. This, reprinted in 1575, is entered to R. Jones, in 1567. Ibid. fol. 163 a. And there is "The Terannye of Judge Apius," a ballad, in 1569. Ibid. fol. 184 b.

[w] Registr. A. fol. 192 b.

[x] It is remarkable, that the sign of Berthelette, the king's printer in Fleet-street, who flourished about 1540, was the Lucretia, or as he writes it, *Lucretia Romana.*

There is another Lucretia belonging to our old poetic story. Laneham, in his Narrative of the queen's visit at Kenilworth-castle in 1575, mentions among the favorite story-books "Lucres and Eurialus." p. 34. This is, "A boke of ij lovers Euryalus and Lucressie [Lucretia] pleasaunte and dilectable," entered to T. Norton, in 1569. Registr. Station. A. fol. 189 a. Again, under the title of "A booke entituled the excellent historye of Euryalus and Lucretia," to T. Creede, Oct. 19, 1596. Registr. C. fol. 14 b. This story was first written in Latin prose, and partly from a real event, about the year 1440, by Æneas Sylvius, then imperial poet and secretary, afterwards pope Pius the Second. It may be seen in *Epistolarum Laconicarum et Selectarum Farragines duæ*, collected by Gilbertus Cognatus, and printed at Basil, 1554. 12mo. (See Farrag. ii. p. 386.) In the course of the narrative, Lucretia is compared by her lover to Polyxena, Venus, and Æmilia. The last is the Emilia of Boccace's Theseid, or Palamon and Arcite, p. 481.

[y] It is licensed to Colwell that year, with the title of the "pleasaunte fable of Ovide intituled Salmacis and Hermaphroditus." Registr. Station. A. fol. 135 a. [The printed title bears: "The pleasant fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis, by T. Peend, gent. with a morall in English verse. Anno Domini 1565, mense Decembris." 8vo. It begins:

Dame Venus once by Mercurye
Comprest, a chylde did beare,
For beuty farre excellyng all
That erst before hym weare.—PARK.]

molean Museum. An Epistle is prefixed, addressed to Nicholas Saint Leger esquire, from the writer's *studie* in Chancery-lane opposite Serjeant's-inn. At the end of which, is an explanation of certain poetical words occurring in the poem. In the preface he tells us, that he had translated great part of the METAMORPHOSIS; but that he abandoned his design, on hearing that another, undoubtedly Golding, was engaged in the same undertaking. Peend has a recommendatory poem prefixed to Studley's version of Seneca's AGAMEMNON, in 1566. In 1562, was licensed "the boke of Perymus and Thesbye," copied perhaps in the MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM. I suppose a translation from Ovid's fable of Pyramus and Thisbe[z].

The fable of Narcissus had been translated, and printed separately in 1560, by a nameless author, "The fable of Ovid treting of Narcissus translated out of Latin into English mytre, with a moral thereunto, very plesante to rede, Lond. 1560[a]." The translator's name was luckily sup-

[z] In quarto. Lond. for T. Hackett. Bl. lett.

[a] Registr. Station. A. fol. 92 a. To William Griffiths. I know not whether the following were regular versions of Ovid, or poems formed from his works now circulating in English. Such as, "the Ballet of Pygmalion," to R. Jones, in 1568. Ibid. fol. 176 a. Afterwards reprinted and a favourite story. There is the "Ballet of Pygmalion," in 1568. Ibid. fol. 176 a.—"A ballet intituled the Golden Apple," to W. Pickering, in 1568. Ibid. fol. 175 a.—"A ballet intituled, Hercules and his Ende," to W. Griffiths, in 1563. Ibid. fol. 102 b. There is also, which yet may be referred to another source, "A ballet intituled the History of Troilus, *whose troth had well been tryed*," to Purfoote, in 1565. Ibid. fol. 134 b. This occurs again in 1581, and 1608. The same may be said of the "History of the tow [two] mooste noble prynces of the worlde Astionax and Polixene [Astyanax] of Troy," to T. Hackett, in 1565. Ibid. fol. 139 a. Again, in 1567, "the ballet of Acrisious," that is, Acrisius the father of Danae. Ibid. fol. 177 b. Also, "A ballet of the mesyrable state of king Medas," or Midas, in 1569. Ibid. fol. 185 b. These are a few and early instances out of many. Of the Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image, by Marston, printed 1598, and alluded to by Shakspeare [Meas. for Meas iii. 2.], more will be said hereafter.

There is likewise, which may be referred hither, a "booke intitled Procris and Cephalus divided into four parts," licensed Oct. 22, 1598, to J. Wolfe, perhaps a play, and probably ridiculed in the Midsummer Night's Dream, under the title *Shefalus and Procrus*. Registr. Station. B. fol. 302 a. [Procris and Cephalus by A. Chute, is mentioned with his poem of Shore's Wife in Nashe's "Have with you to Saffron Walden," 1596, where he alludes to a number of Paphlagonian things more.—PARK.]

There is also, at least originating from the English Ovid, a pastoral play, presented by the queen's choir-boys, Peele's Arraignement of Paris, in 1584. And I have seen a little novel on that subject, with the same compliment to the queen, by Dickenson, in 1593. By the way, some passages are transferred from that novel into another written by Dickenson, "Arisbas, Euphues amidst his slumbers, or Cupid's Iourney to hell, &c. By J. D. Lond. For T. Creede, 1594. 4to." One of them, where Pomona falls in love with a beautiful boy named Hyalus, is as follows. Signat. E 3. "She, desirous to winne him with ouer-cloying kindnesse, fed him with apples, gaue him plumes, presented him peares. Having made this entrance into her future solace, she would vse oft his company, kisse him, coll him, check him, chucke him, walke with him, weepe for him, in the fields, neere the fountaines, sit with him, sue to him, omitting no kindes of dalliance to woe him," &c. I have selected this passage, because I think it was recollected by Shakspeare in the Midsummer Night's Dream, where he describes the caresses bestowed by the queen of the fairies on her *loved* boy, act v. sc. 1.

Come sit thee down upon this flowery bed
While I thy amiable cheeks do coy,
And stick musk roses in thy sleek smooth head.
I have a venturous fairy that shall seek
The squirrel's hoard, &c.

See also, act ii. sc. 1. In the Arraigne-

pressed; but at the close of the work are his initials, "Finis. T. H.*" Annexed to the fable is a moralisation of twice the length in the octave stanza. Almost every narrative was anciently supposed or made to be allegorical, and to contain a moral meaning. I have enlarged on this subject in the DISSERTATION ON THE GESTA ROMANORUM. In the reign of Elizabeth, a popular ballad had no sooner been circulated, than it was converted into a practical instruction, and followed by its MORALISATION. The old registers of the Stationers afford numerous instances of this custom, which was encouraged by the increase of puritanism[b]. Hence in Randolph's MUSE'S LOOKING-GLASS, where two puritans are made spectators of a play, a player, to reconcile them in some degree to a theatre, promises to *moralise* the plot: and one of them answers,

That MORALIZING
I do approve: it may be for instruction[c].

ment of Paris, just mentioned, we have the same subject and language:—

Playes with Amyntas lusty boye, and
coyes him in the dales.

To return. There is, to omit later instances, "A proper ballet dialogue-wise between Troylus and Cressida," Jun. 23, in 1581. Registr. Station. B. fol. 180 b. "Endimion and Phebe," a *booke*, to John Busbye, April 12, 1595. Ibid. fol. 131 b. A ballad, "a mirror meete for wanton and insolent dames by example of Medusa kinge of Phorcius his daughter." Feb. 13, 1577. Ibid. fol. 145 b. "The History of Glaucus and Scylla," to R. Jones, Sept. 22, 1589. Ibid. fol. 248 b. Narcissus and Phaeton were turned into plays before 1610. See Heywood's Apolog. Actors. Lilly's Sappho and Phao, Endimion, and Midas, are almost too well known to be enumerated here. The two last, with his Galathea, were licensed to T. Man, Oct. 1, 1590. [But see supr. p. 329.] Of Penelopes Webbe, unless Greene's, I can say nothing, licensed to E. Aggas, Jun. 26, 1587. Ibid. fol. 219 b. Among Harrington's Epigrams, is one entitled, "Ouid's Confession translated into English for General Norreyes, 1593." Epigr. 85. lib. iii. Of this I know no more. The subject of this note might be much further illustrated.

* [These initials are very confidently applied by Ritson to Thomas Howell, whose "poetic poesies" were set forth in 1568, and have been noticed at p. 164 supra.—PARK.]

[b] As, "*Maukin was a Coventry mayde*," moralised in 1563. Registr. A. fol. 102 a. With a thousand others. I have seen other moralisations of Ovid's stories by the puritans. One by W. K. or William Kethe, a Scotch divine, no unready rhymer, mentioned above, p. 253. In our singing-psalms, the psalms 70, 104, 122, 125, 134, are signatured with W.K. or William Kethe. These initials have been hitherto undecyphered. At the end of Knox's Appellation to the Scotch bishops, printed at Geneva in 1558, is psalm 93, turned into metre by W. Kethe. 12mo. He wrote, about the same time, *A ballad on the fall of the whore of Babylon*, called "Tye the mare Tomboy." See supr. p. 149. note [e]. And Strype, Ann. Ref. vol. ii. B. i. ch. 11. pag. 102. edit. 1725. Another is by J. K. or John Kepyer, mentioned above as another coadjutor of Sternhold and Hopkins (see supr. p. 164.), and who occurs in "The Arbor of Amitie, wherein is comprised plesaunt poems and pretie-poesies, set foorth by Thomas Howell gentleman, anno 1568." Imprinted at London, J. H. Denham, 12mo. Bl. lett. Dedicated to ladie Anne Talbot. Among the recommendatory copies is one signed, "John Keeper, student." See also "J. K. to his friend H." fol. 27 a.; and "H. to K." ibid. Again, fol. 33 b. 34 a. and 38, 39, &c.

[Another ballad by Wyllyam Kethe occurs among several metrical relics in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. It is thus entituled:

Of misrules contending with God's worde
by name,
And then, of one's judgment that heard
of the same.

Other pieces preserved in the same collection, transmit the names of John Pit, or Pyttes, Nicholas Balthorpe, Thomas Emley, Lewis Evans, L. Stopes, and Thomas Gilbart, as ballad-rhymers of the same prosaic school.—PARK.]

[c] Act i. sc. 2. edit. Oxf. 1638. 4to. Again,

Ovid's IBIS was translated, and illustrated with annotations, by Thomas Underdowne, born, and I suppose educated, at Oxford. It was printed at London in 1569[d], with a dedication to Thomas Sackville, lord Buckhurst*, the author of GORBODUC, and entitled, "Ouid his inuective against Ibis Translated into meeter, whereunto is added by the translator a short draught of all the stories and tales contayned therein uery pleasant to read. Imprinted at London by T. East and H. Middleton, Anno Domini 1569." The notes are large and historical. There was a second edition by Binneman in 1577[e]. This is the first stanza.

Whole fiftie yeares be gone and past
Since I alyue haue been,
Yet of my Muse ere now there hath
No armed verse be seene.

The same author opened a new field of romance, and which seems partly to have suggested sir Philip Sydney's ARCADIA, in translating into English prose the ten books of Heliodorus's Ethiopic history, in 1577[f]. This work, the beginning of which was afterwards versified by Abraham Fraunce in 1591, is dedicated to Edward earl of Oxford. The knights and dames of chivalry, sir Tristram and Bel Isoulde, now began to give place to new lovers and intrigues: and our author published the *Excellent historie of Theseus and Ariadne*, most probably suggested by Ovid, which was printed at London in 1566[g].

The ELEGIES of Ovid, which convey the obscenities of the brothel in elegant language, but are seldom tinctured with the sentiments of a serious and melancholy love, were translated by Christopher Marlowe below mentioned, and printed at Middleburgh without date. This book was ordered to be burnt at Stationers' hall, in 1599, by command of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London[h].

Mrs. Flowerdew says, "Pray, sir, continue the MORALIZING." act iii. sc. 1.

[d] See Registr. Station. A. fol. 177 b.

* [To this distinguished nobleman the translator professes to have inscribed his book, for the "good affection" his honour had to his "deare father, Steuen Underdowne. And bycause (he adds) the sense is not easy otherwise to be understanded, I have drawne a briefe draught of al the storyes and tales contayned therein, which are so many as I dare affirme, in the like volume a man may not read anywhere: so that I doubt not, the reading hereof will be very pleasant to your Honor, and perhaps profytable also."—PARK.]

[e] Both are in octavo. Salmacis and Hermaphroditus was translated by F. Beaumont, 1602. He also translated part of Ovid's Remedy of Love; as did sir T. Overbury the whole soon afterwards, Lond. 1620. 8vo. But I believe there is a former edition, no date, 8vo.

[f] Bl. lett. Lond. 4to. A second edition appeared in 1587. But in 1568–9, there is an entry to Francis Coldocke to print "a boke entit. the end of the x[th] boke" of Heliodorus's Ethiopics. Registr. Station. A. fol. 178 b.

[g] In octavo. Bl. lett.

[h] Registr. Station. C. fol. 316 a. b. There were two impressions. [I believe there were five if not six different impressions, in despite of ecclesiastical interdiction. The first of these had appeared in 1596, as Harington's Metamorphosis of Ajax sufficiently ascertains. A duplicate version of Eleg. xv. lib. i. is ascribed to B. J. probably Ben Jonson, and if so, must have been his earliest printed production. —PARK.]

Ovid's REMEDY OF LOVE had an anonymous translator in 1599[i]. But this version was printed the next year under the title of "Ovidius Naso his REMEDIE OF LOVE, translated and entituled to the youth of England, by F. L. London 1600[k]."

The HEROICAL EPISTLES of Ovid, with Sabinus's Answers, were *set out and translated* by George Turberville, a celebrated writer of poems in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and of whom more will be said in his proper place[l]. This version was printed in 1567, and followed by two editions[m]. It is dedicated to Thomas Howard viscount Byndon[n]. Six of the epistles are rendered in blank verse; the rest in four-lined stanzas. The printer is John Charlewood, who appears to have been printer to the family of Howard, and probably was retained as a domestic for that liberal purpose in Arundel-house, the seat of elegance and literature till Cromwell's usurpation[o]. Turberville was a polite scholar, and some of the passages are not unhappily turned. From Penelope to Ulysses.

To thee that lingrest all too long
Thy wife, Vlysses, sends:
'Gaine write not, but by quicke returne
For absence make amendes.——
O, that the surging seas had drencht
That hatefull letcher tho',
When he to Lacedæmon came
Inbarkt, and wrought our woe!

I add here, that Mantuan, who had acquired the rank of a classic, was also versified by Turberville in 1594[p].

Coxeter says, that he had seen one of Ovid's Epistles translated by Robert earl of Essex. This I have never seen; and, if it could be re-

[i] Dec. 25. Registr. Station. C. fol. 55 a. To Brown and Jagger. Under the same year occur, *Ovydes Epistles in Englyshe*, and *Ovydes Metamorphoses in Englyshe*. Ibid. fol. 57 a. There seems to have been some difficulty in procuring a licence for the "Comedie of Sappho," Apr. 6, 1583. Registr. B. fol. 198 b.

[k] In quarto.

[l] "The Heroycall Epistles of the learned poet Publius Naso in English verse, set out and translated by George Turberville gentleman, with Aulus Sabinus answere to certain of the same." Lond. for Henry Denham, 1567. 12mo.

[m] In 1569 and 1600. All at Lond. Bl. lett.

[n] I find entered to Henry Denham, in 1565-6, a *boke* called "The fyrste epestle of Ovide." Registr. Station. A. fol. 148 b. Again, the same year to the same, "An epestle of Ovide beynge the iiij[th] epestle." Ibid. fol. 149 a. In the same year, to the same, the rest of Ovid's Epistles. Ibid. fol. 152 a. There is "A booke entit. Oenone to Paris, wherin is deciphered the extremitie of Love," &c. To R. Jones, May 17, 1591. Registr. B. fol. 307 b.

[o] In the *Defensative against the poyson of supposed prophesies*, written by Henry Howard, afterwards earl of Northampton and lord privy-seal, and printed (4to.) in 1583, the printer, John Charlewood, styles himself printer to Philip earl of Arundel; and in many others of his books he calls himself printer to lord Arundel. Otherwise, he lived in Barbican, at the sign of the Half Eagle and Key.

[p] The four first Eclogues of Mantuan, I suppose in English, were entered to Binneman in 1566. Registr. Station. A. fol. 151 b. and "the rest of the egloggs of Mantuan," to the same in 1566. Ibid. fol. 154 b.

covered, I trust it would only be valued as a curiosity. A few of his sonnets are in the Ashmolean Museum, which have no marks of poetic genius. He is a vigorous and elegant writer of prose. But if Essex was no poet, few noblemen of his age were more courted by poets. From Spenser to the lowest rhymer he was the subject of numerous sonnets, or popular ballads. I will not except Sydney. I could produce evidence to prove, that he scarce ever went out of England, or even left London, on the most frivolous enterprise, without a pastoral in his praise, or a panegyric in metre, which were sold and sung in the streets. Having interested himself in the fashionable poetry of the times, he was placed high in the ideal Arcadia now just established: and among other instances which might be brought, on his return from Portugal in 1589, he was complimented with a poem, called, "An Egloge gratulatorie entituled to the right honourable and renowned shepherd of Albions Arcadie Robert earl of Essex and for his returne lately into England[q]." This is a light in which lord Essex is seldom viewed. I know not if the queen's fatal partiality, or his own inherent attractions, his love of literature, his heroism, integrity, and generosity, qualities which abundantly overbalance his presumption, his vanity, and impetuosity, had the greater share in dictating these praises. If adulation were any where justifiable, it must be when paid to the man who endeavoured to save Spenser from starving in the streets of Dublin, and who buried him in Westminster-abbey with becoming solemnity. Spenser was persecuted by Burleigh, because he was patronised by Essex.

Thomas Churchyard, who will occur again, rendered the three first of the TRISTIA, which he dedicated to sir Christopher Hatton, and printed at London in 1580[r].

Among Coxeter's papers is mentioned the *ballet* of Helen's epistle to Paris, from Ovid, in 1570, by B. G. I suspect this B. G. to be the author of a poem called "A booke intituled a new tragicall historye of too lovers," as it is entered in the register of the Stationers, where it is licensed to Alexander Lacy, under the year 1563[s]. Ames recites this

[q] Licensed to R. Jones, Aug. 1, 1589. Registr. Station. B. fol. 246 b.

[r] In quarto. An entry appears in 1577 and 1591. Registr. Station.

["The three first books of Ovid *de Tristibus* translated into English. Impr. at London by Thos. Marsh, 1580, cum privilegio.

Pr. My little booke (I blame thee not)
To stately towne shall goe;
O cruell chaunce, that where thou goest,
Thy maister may not so!"—
PARK.]

[s] Registr. A. fol. 102. It was reprinted, in 1568, for Griffiths, ibid. fol. 171 b. Again, the same year, for R. Jones, "The ballet intituled the story of ij faythfull lovers." Ibid. fol. 177 b. Again, for R. Tottell, in 1564, "A tragicall historye that happened betweene ij Englishe lovers." Ibid. fol. 118 a. I know not if this be "The famooste and notable history of two faythfull lovers named Alfayns and Archelaus in myter," for Colwell, in 1565. Ibid. fol. 133 a. There is also "A proper historye of ij Duche lovers," for Purfoote, in 1567. Ibid. fol. 163 a. Also "The moste famous history of ij Spaneshe lovers," to R. Jones, in 1569. Ibid. fol. 192 b. A poem, called *The tragical history* of Didaco and Violenta, was printed in 1576.

piece as written by Ber. Gar. perhaps Bernard Garter[t]; unless Gar, which I do not think, be the full name. The title of BALLET was often applied to poems of considerable length. Thus in the register of the Stationers, Sackville's LEGEND OF BUCKINGHAM, a part of the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES, is recited, under the year 1557, among a great number of ballads, some of which seem to be properly so styled, and entitled, "The murninge of Edward duke of Buckynham." Unless we suppose this to be a popular epitome of Sackville's poem, then just published[u]. A romance, or history, versified, so as to form a book or pamphlet, was sometimes called a ballad; as "A ballett entituled an history of Alexander Campaspe and Apelles, and of the faythfull fryndeshippe betwcene theym, printed for Colwell, in 1565[w]." This was from the grand romance of Alexander[x]. Sometimes a Ballad is a work in prose. I cannot say whether, "A ballet intitled the incorraggen all kynde of men to the reedyfyinge and buyldynge Poules steeple againe," printed in 1564[y], was a pathetic ditty, or a pious homily, or both. A play or interlude was sometimes called a ballet, as, "A Ballet intituled AN ENTERLUDE, The cruel detter by Wayer," printed for Colwell, in 1565[z]. Religious subjects were frequently called by this vague and indiscriminating name. In 1561, was published "A new ballet of iiij commandements[a];" that is, four of the Ten Commandments in metre. Again, among many others of the same kind, as puritanism gained ground, "A ballet intituled the xvijth chapter of the iiijth [second] boke of Kynges[b]." And I remember to have seen, of the same period, a Ballet of the first chapter of Genesis. And John Hall, above mentioned, wrote or compiled in 1564, "The COURTE OF VERTUE*, contaynynge many holy or spretuall songes,

[t] Hist. Print. 532. 551.

[u] I will exhibit the mode of entry more at large. "To John Kynge THESE BOOKES FOLLOWYNGE, Called A *Nosegaye, The scole howse of women*, and also *a Sacke full of Newes*." Then another paragraph begins, "To Mr. John Wallis, and Mrs. Toye, these BALLETS FOLOWYNGE, that ys to saye,——." Then follow about forty pieces, among which is this of the Duke of Buckingham. Registr. A. fol. 22 a. But in these records, Book and Ballet are often promiscuously used. [Ritson draws a line of discrimination in the entries or the registers at Stationers' Hall, and says, that B. always stand for *book*, and b or ƀ for *ballad*. Of the latter description is the murninge of *Edward* duke of Buckingham, as may be seen in Evans's collection. Sackville's poem relates to the decapitation of *Henry* duke of Buckingham. —PARK.]

[w] Registr. Station. A. fol. 137 b.

[x] There is, printed in 1565, "A ballet intituled Apelles and Pygmalyne, to the tune of the fyrst Apelles." Ibid. fol. 140 b. And, under the year 1565, "A ballet of kynge Polliceute [f. Polyeuctes] to the tune of Appelles." Ibid. fol. 133 b. Also "The Songe of Appelles," in the same year. Ibid. fol. 138 a. By the way, Lilly's Campaspe, first printed in 1591, might originate from these pieces.

[y] Ibid. fol. 116 a. [z] Ibid. fol. 138 a.

[a] Ibid. fol. 75 b. [b] Ibid. fol. 166 a.

* [In 1557 was licensed to Henry Sutton, "The Courte of Venus." See Herbert's Ames, p. 846. To this licentious publication, of which my friend Mr. Douce possesses a fragment, John Hall designed his Courte of Vertue as a moral and religious antidote. In his metrical prologue it is thus described and stigmatized, as the study of loose readers.

A booke also of songes they have,
And VENUS' COURT they doe it name:
No fylthy mynde a songe can crave,
But therin he may finde the same:
And in such songes is all their game.

Nashe also in his "Anatomie of Absur-

sonettes, psalmes, balletts, and shorte sentences, as well of holy scriptures, as others[c]."

It is extraordinary, that Horace's ODES should not have been translated within the period of which we are speaking[d]. In the year 1566, Thomas Drant published, what he called, "A MEDICINABLE MORALL, that is, the two bookes of Horace his satyres Englished, according to the prescription of saint Hierome, &c.[e] London, for Thomas Marshe, 1566[f]." It is dedicated to "my Lady Bacon and my Lady Cecill fauourers of learning and vertue." The following year appeared, "Horace his Arte of Poetrie, Pistles, and Satyrs Englished, and to the earle of Ormounte by Thomas Drant addressed[g]. Imprinted at London in Fletestrete nere to S. Dunstones churche, by Thomas Marshe, 1567[h]." This version is very paraphrastic, and sometimes parodical.

ditie," 1589, passed a censure on Venus' Court. As the Courte of Vertue by Hall is a book of uncommon rarity, I subjoin a short specimen. It is taken from a ditty named 'Blame not my lute.'

Blame not my lute, though it doe sounde
The *rebuke*[1] of your wicked sinne,
But rather seke, as ye are bound,
To know what *case* that ye are in:
And though this song doe sinne confute,
And sharply wyckednes rebuke:
Blame not my lute.

If my lute blame the covetyse,
The glottons and the drunkards vyle,
The proud disdayne of worldly wyse,
And howe falshood doth truth exyle;
Though vyce and sinne be nowe in place,
In stead of vertue and of grace:
Blame not my lute.

Though wrong in justice' place be set
Committing great iniquitie:
Though hipocrites be counted great
That mainteine styll idolatrie:
Though some set more by thynges of nought
Then by the Lorde, that all hath wrought:
Blame not my lute.

Blame not my lute, I you desyre,
But blame the cause that we thus playe:
For burnyng heate blame not the fyre,
But hym that blow'th the cole alway.
Blame ye the cause, blame ye not us,
That we men's faultes have touched thus:
Blame not my lute.—PARK.]

[c] For T. Marshe. Ibid. fol. 118 b. [See supr. p. 158.]

[d] I believe they were first translated by sir Thomas Hawkins, knight, in 1625.

[e] That is, *Quod malum est muta, quod bonum est prode*, from his Epistle to Rufinus.

[f] At the end of this translation are, "The waylings of the prophet Hieremiah done into English verse. Also Epigrammes. T. Drant, *Antidoti salutaris amator*. Perused and allowed accordyng to the queenes maiesties iniunctions." Of the Epigrams, four are in English, and seven in Latin. This book is said to be authorised by the bishop of London. Registr. Station. A. fol. 140 b. I know not whether or no the Epigrams were not printed separate; for in 1567, is licensed to T. Marshe, "A boke intituled Epygrams and Sentences spirituall by Draunte." Ibid. fol. 165 a. The argument of the Jeremiah, which he compared with the Hebrew and the Septuagint, begins,

Jerusalem is iustlie plagude,
And left disconsolate,
The queene of townes the prince of realmes,
Deuested from her state.

In 1586, Mar. 11, are entered to J. Wolfe, "Lamentation of Jeremye in prose and meeter in English, with Tremellius's Annotations to the prose." Registr. Station. B. fol. 216 a. See Donne's Poems, p. 306. seq. edit. 1633. 4to.

[g] With a Greek motto.

[h] In quarto. Bl. lett. In the front of the Dedication he styles himself "Maister of Arte, and Student in Diuinitye." There is a licence in 1566-7, to Henry Weekes for "Orace epestles in Englisshe." Registr. Station. A. fol. 155 a. And there is an entry of the Epistles in 1591. Registr. B. I find also entered to Colwell, "The fyrste twoo satars and peysels of Orace Engleshed by Lewis Evans schoolemaister," in 1564. Registr. A. fol. 121 a. This piece is not catalogued among Evans's works in Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 178, Nor in Tanner, Bibl. p. 270.

[1] A quibble probably on *rebeck*.

In the address to the reader prefixed, our translator says of his Horace, "I haue translated him sumtymes at randun. And nowe at this last time welnye worde for worde, and lyne for lyne. And it is maruaile that I, being in all myne other speaches so playne and perceauable, should here desyer or not shun to be harde, so farre forth as I can kepe the lernynge and sayinges of the author." What follows is too curious not to be transcribed, as it is a picture of the popular learning, and a ridicule of the idle narratives of the reign of queen Elizabeth. "But I feare me a number do so thincke of thys booke, as I was aunswered by a prynter not long agone: Though sayth he, sir, your boke be wyse and ful of learnyng, yet peradventure it wyl not be saleable: Signifying indeede, that flim flames, and gue gawes, be they neuer so sleight and slender, are sooner rapte vp thenne are those which be lettered and clarkly makings. And no doubt the cause that bookes of learnynge seme so hard is, because such and so greate a scull of amarouse [amorous] pamphlets haue so preoccupyed the eyes and eares of men, that a multytude beleue ther is none other style or phrase ells worthe gramercy[1]. No bookes so ryfe or so frindly red, as, be

[1] We have this passage in a poem called Pasquill's Madnesse, Lond. 1600. 4to. fol. 36.

And tell prose writers, stories are so stale,
That pennie ballads make a better sale.

And in Burton's Melancholy, fol. 122. edit. 1624. "If they reade a booke at any time, 'tis an English Chronicle, sir Huon of Bourdeaux, or Amadis de Gaule, a playe booke, or some pamphlett of newes." Hollinshed's and Stowe's Cronicles became at length the only fashionable reading. In The Guls Hornbook, it is said, "The top [the leads] of saint Paules containes more names than Stowe's Cronicle." Lond. 1609. 4to. p. 21. Bl. lett. That the ladies now began to read novels we find from this passage: "Let them learne plaine workes of all kinde, so they take heed of too open seaming. Insteade of songes and musicke, let them learne cookerie and laundrie; and instead of reading sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, let them reade the *Groundes of good Huswifery*. I like not a female poetesse at any hand.—There is a pretty way of breeding young maides in an Exchange-shop, or Saint Martines le Grand. But many of them gett such a foolish trick with carrying their band-box to gentlemens chambers," &c. TOM OF ALL TRADES, or *the plaine Path way to Preferment*, &c. By Thomas Powell, Lond. 1631. 4to. p. 47, 48.

Female writers of poetry seem to have now been growing common: for, in his Arte of English Poesie, Puttenham says, "Darke worde, or doubtfull speach, are not so narrowly to be looked vpon in a large poeme, nor specially in the pretie poesies and deuises of Ladies and Gentlewomen-makers, [poetesses,] whom we would not haue too precise poets, least with their shrewd wits, when they were married, they might become a little too fantasticall wiues." Lib. iii. ch. xxi. p. 209. Decker, in the Guls Horn-book, written in 1609, in the chapter *How a gallant should behave himself in a play-house*, mentions the necessity of hoarding up a quantity of *play-scraps*, to be ready for the attacks of the "*Arcadian* and *Euphuised* gentlewomen." Ch. vi. p. 27. seq. Edward Hake, in *A Touchstone for this time present*, speaking of the education of young ladies, says, that the girl is "eyther altogither kept from exercises of good learning, and knowledge of good letters, or else she is so nouseled in amorous bookes, vaine stories, and fonde trifeling fancies," &c. Lond. by Thomas Hacket, 1574, 12mo. Signat. C 4. He adds, after many severe censures on the impiety of dancing, that "the substaunce which is consumed in twoo yeares space vppon the apparaill of one meane gentlemans daughter, or vppon the daughter or wife of one citizen, woulde bee sufficient to finde a poore student in the vniuersitye by the space of foure or five yeares at the least." Ibid. Signat. D 2. But if girls are bred to learning, he says, "It is for no other ende, but to make them companions of carpet knights, and giglots for amorous louers." Ibid. Signat. C 4. Gabriel Harvey, in his elegy *De Aulica*, or character of the Maid of Honour, says, among many other requisite accomplishments,

these bokes.—But if the settyng out of the wanton tricks of a payre of louers, as for example let them be cauled sir Chaunticleare and dame Partilote, to tell howe their firste combination of loue began, howe their eyes floted, and howe they anchered, their beames mingled one with the others bewtye. Then, of their perplexed thowghts, their throwes, their fancies, their dryrie driftes, now interrupted now vnperfyted, their loue days, their sugred words, and their sugred ioyes. Afterward, howe enuyous fortune, through this chop or that chaunce, turned their bless to bale, seuerynge two such bewtiful faces and dewtiful hearts. Last, at partynge, to ad-to an oration or twane, interchangeably had betwixt the two wobegone persons, the one thicke powderd with manly passionat pangs, the other watered with womanish teares. Then to shryne them vp to god Cupid, and make martirres of them both, and therwyth an ende of the matter." Afterwards, reverting to the peculiar difficulty of his own attempt, he adds, "Neyther any man which can iudge, can iudge it one and the like laboure to translate Horace, and to make and translate a loue booke, a shril tragedye, or a smoth and platleuyled poesye. Thys can I trulye say of myne owne experyence, that I can soner translate twelve verses out of the Greeke Homer than sixe oute of Horace." Horace's satirical writings, and even his Odes, are undoubtedly more difficult to translate than the narrations of epic poetry, which depend more on things than words: nor is it to be expected, that his satires and epistles should be happily rendered into English at this infancy of style and taste, when his delicate turns could not be expressed, his humour and his urbanity justly relished, and his good sense and observations on life understood. Drant seems to have succeeded best in the exquisite Epistle to Tibullus, which I will therefore give entire.

To Albius Tibullus, a deuisor[k].

Tybullus, frend and gentle iudge
Of all that I do clatter[l],
What dost thou all this while abroade,
How might I learne the matter?
Dost thou inuente such worthy workes
As Cassius' poemes passe?
Or doste thou closelie creeping lurcke
Amid the wholsom grasse?
Addicted to philosophie,
Contemning not a whitte

Saltet item, pingatque eadem, DOCTUMQUE POEMA
Pangat, nec Musas nesciat illa meas.

See his *Gratulationes Valdinenses*, Lond. Binneman, 1578. 4to. Lib. iv. p. 21. He adds, that she should have in her library, Chaucer, lord Surrey, and Gascoigne, together with some medical books. Ibid. p. 22.

[k] An inventor, a poet.

[l] He means to express the loose and rough versification of the *Sermones*.

That 's[m] seemlie for an honest man,
And for a man of witte[n].
Not thou a bodie without breast!
The goddes made thee t' excell
In shape, the gods haue lent thee goodes,
And arte to vse them well.
What better thing vnto her childe
Can wish the mother kinde;
Than wisedome, and, in fyled frame[p],
To vtter owte his minde;
To haue fayre fauoure, fame enoughe,
And perfect staye, and health;
Things trim at will, and not to feele
The emptie ebb of wealth?
Twixt hope to haue, and care to kepe,
Twixt feare and wrathe, awaye
Consumes the time: eche daye that cummes,
Thinke it the latter daye.
The hower that cummes unlooked for
Shall cum more welcum aye.
Thou shalt Me fynde fat and well fed,
As pubble[q] as may be;
And, when thou wilt, a merie mate,
To laughe and chat with thee[r].

Drant undertook this version in the character of a grave divine, and as a teacher of morality. He was educated at saint John's college in Cambridge, where he was graduated in theology, in the year 1569[s]. The same year he was appointed prebendary of Chichester and of saint Pauls. The following year he was installed archdeacon of Lewes in the cathedral of Chichester. These preferments he probably procured by the interest of Grindall archbishop of York, of whom he was a domestic chaplain[t]. He was a tolerable Latin poet. He translated the ECCLESIASTES into Latin hexameters, which he dedicated to sir Thomas Henneage, a common and a liberal patron of these times, and printed at London in 1572[u]. At the beginning and end of this work, are six smaller pieces in Latin verse. Among these are the first sixteen lines of a paraphrase on the book of JOB. He has two miscellanies of Latin poetry extant, the one entitled SYLVA, dedicated to queen Eli-

[m] That which is.

[n] Knowledge, wisdom. *Sapiente.*

[p] Having a comely person. Or, to speak with elegance.

[q] I have never seen this word, which is perhaps provincial. The sense is obvious. ["It is so," says Ritson, "and the word is still used in the bishopric of Durham with the signification of *plump*."—PARK.]

[r] Signat. C. iiij.

[s] Catal. Grad. Cant. MS.

[t] MS. Tan.

[u] For Thomas Daye. In quarto. The title is, "In Solomonis regis *Ecclesiastem*, seu de Vanitate mundi Concionem, paraphrasis poetica. Lond. per Joan. Dayum 1572." There is an entry to Richard Fielde of the "Ecclesiastes in Englishe verse." Nov. 11, 1596. Registr. Station. C. fol. 15 a. And by Thomas Granger to W. Jones, Apr. 30, 1620. Ibid. fol. 313 b.

zabeth, and the other POEMATA VARIA ET EXTERNA. The last was printed at Paris, from which circumstance we may conclude that he travelled[w]. In the SYLVA, he mentions his new version of David's psalms, I suppose in English verse[x]. In the same collection, he says he had begun to translate the Iliad, but had gone no further than the fourth book[y]. He mentions also his version of the Greek EPIGRAMS of Gregory Nazianzen[z]. But we are at a loss to discover, whether the latter were English or Latin versions. The indefatigably inquisitive bishop Tanner has collected our translator's sermons, six in number, which are more to be valued for their type than their doctrine, and at present are of little more use, than to fill the catalogue of the typographical antiquary[a]. Two of them were preached at saint Mary's hospital[b]. Drant's latest publication is dated in 1572.

[w] Drant has two Latin poems prefixed to Nevill's Kettus, 1575. 4to. Another, to John Seton's Logic with Peter Carter's annotations, Lond. 1574. 12mo. and to the other editions. [Seton was of saint John's in Cambridge, chaplain to bishop Gardiner for seven years, and highly esteemed by him; made D.D. in 1544. installed prebendary of Winchester, Mar. 19, 1553. rector of Henton in Hampshire, being then forty-two years old, and B.D. See A. Wood, MS. C. 237. He is extolled by Leland for his distinguished excellence both in the classics and philosophy. He published much Latin poetry. See Strype's Eliz. p. 242. Carter was also of St. John's in Cambridge.] Another, with one in English, to John Sadler's English version of Vegetius's Tactics, done at the request of sir Edmund Brudenell, and addressed to the earl of Bedford, Lond. 1572. 4to. He has a Latin epitaph, or elegy, on the death of doctor Cuthbert Scot, designed bishop of Chester, but deposed by queen Elizabeth for popery, who died a fugitive at Louvaine, Lond. 1565. He probably wrote this piece abroad. There is licensed to T. Marsh, in 1565, "An Epigrame of the death of Cuthbert Skotte by Roger Sherlock, and replyed agaynste by Thomas Drant." Registr. Station. A. fol. 134 b. A Latin copy of verses, *De seipso*, is prefixed to his Horace.

[Drant's reply to Sherlock's Epigram, or rather *Shaklocke's* Epitaphe upon the death of Cuthbert Skotte, occurs in the British Museum. Two short poems are added by Drant: 1. To the unknowen translator of Shaklockes verses: 2. To Shaklockes Portugale. A copy of Drant's "Præsul et Sylva," in the same Library, has some English dedicatory lines prefixed in manuscript and addressed to queen Elizabeth, whose ears or attention he says he never could attain, though his

—"sences all, and sowl and every spritt,
Fain of her fame, her praysments wold inditt."

At the commencement of note[w], Mr. Warton seems to have made a slight mistake. Two Latin poems before Nevill's Kettus are signatured G. A.; but there is one after the dedicatory Epistle by Drant, and another at the close of the work, with the initials T. D., and these are what he intended probably to assign to the Archdeacon.—PARK.]

[x] Fol. 56.

[y] Fol. 75.

[z] Fol. 50. [Printed by Marshe 1567. 4to.—RITSON.]

[a] Codd. Tanner, Oxon. Two are dedicated to Thomas Heneage, three to sir Francis Knollys. Date of the earliest, 1569. of the latest, 1572. In that preached at court 1569, he tells the ladies, he can give them a better cloathing than any to be found in the queen's wardrobe; and mentions the speedy downfal of their "high plumy heads." Signat. K v. Lond. 1570. 12mo. I find the following note by bishop Tanner: "Thomæ Drantæ Angli Andvordinghamii Præsul. Dedicat. to Archbishop Grindal. Pr. Ded.—*Illuxit ad extremum dies ille.*"—I presume, that under the word *Andvordinghamii* is concealed our author's native place. His father's name was Thomas.

[b] At saint *Maries Spittle*. In the statutes of many of the ancient colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, it is ordered, that the candidates in divinity shall preach a sermon, not only at Paul's-cross, but at saint Mary's Hospital in Bishopsgate-street, "ad Hospitale beatæ Mariæ."

[See Stowe, an. 1476. The Mayor of London and his brethren used to hear the sermon at Easter there. This was one of the places to which the Lady Margaret left xxs. for a dirge and mass. See Royal Wills, p. 360. The annual Spittle Sermon is still preached, and was made to attract much public attention by Dr. Parr on a late occasion.—PARK.]

Historical ballads occur about this period with the initials T. D. These may easily be mistaken for Thomas Drant, but they stand for Thomas Deloney, a famous ballad writer of these times*, mentioned by Kemp, one of the original actors in Shakspeare's plays, in his NINE DAIES WONDER. Kemp's miraculous morris-dance, performed in nine days from London to Norwich, had been misrepresented in the popular ballads, and he thus remonstrates against some of their authors: "I haue made a priuie search what priuate jig-monger of your jolly number had been the author of these abhominable ballets written of me. I was told it was the great ballade maker T. D. or Thomas Deloney, chronicler of the memorable Lives of the SIX YEOMEN OF THE WEST, JACK OF NEWBERY[c], THE GENTLE CRAFT[d], and such like honest men, omitted by Stowe, Hollinshed, Grafton, Hall, Froysart, and the rest of those well-deseruing writers[e]."

I am informed from some manuscript authorities, that in the year 1571, Drant printed an English translation from Tully, which he called, *The chosen eloquent oration of Marcus Tullius Cicero for the poet Archias, selected from his orations, and now first published in English*[f]. I have never seen this version, but I am of opinion that the translator might have made a more happy choice. For in this favourite piece of superficial declamation, the specious orator, when he is led to a formal defence of the value and dignity of poetry, instead of illustrating his subject by insisting on the higher utilities of poetry, its political nature, and its importance to society, enlarges only on the immortality which the art confers, on the poetic faculty being communicated by divine inspiration, on the public honours paid to Homer and Ennius, on the esteem with which poets were regarded by Alexander and Themistocles, on the wonderful phenomenon of an extemporaneous effusion of a great number of verses, and even recurs to the trite and obvious topics of a schoolboy in saying, that poems are a pleasant relief after fatigue of the mind, and that hard rocks and savage beasts have been moved by the power of song. A modern philosopher would have considered such a subject with more penetration, comprehension, and force of reflection. His excuse must be, that he was uttering a popular harangue.

* [And compiler of the "Garland of Good-will," a collection of local tales and historical ditties in verse. Bl. l. 1631.—PARK.]

[c] Entered to T. Myllington, Mar. 7, 1596. Registr. Station. C. fol. 20 b.

[d] I presume he means, an anonymous comedy called "The Shoemakers Holyday, or the Gentle Craft. With the humorous life of sir John Eyre, shoemaker, and Lord Mayor of London." Acted before the queen on New Year's Day by Lord Nottingham's players. I have an edition, Lond. for J. Wright, 1618. Bl. lett. 4to. Prefixed are the *first and second* THREE MAN'S SONGS. But there is an old prose history in quarto called the Gentle Craft, which I suppose is the subject of Harrington's Epigram, "Of a Booke called the Gentle Craft." B. iv. 11. "A Booke called the Gentle Crafte intreating of Shoemakers," is entered to Ralph Blore, Oct. 19, 1597. Registr. Station. C. fol. 25 a. See also ibid. fol. 63 a.

[e] Edit. 1600. 4to. Signat. D 2.

[f] MSS. Coxeter.

SECTION LIX.

Kendal's Martial. Marlowe's versions of Coluthus and Museus. General character of his Tragedies. Testimonies of his cotemporaries. Specimens and estimate of his poetry. His death. First Translation of the Iliad by Arthur Hall. Chapman's Homer. His other works. Version of Clitophon and Leucippe. Origin of the Greek erotic romance. Palingenius translated by Googe. Criticism on the original. Specimen and merits of the translation. Googe's other works. Incidental stricture on the philosophy of the Greeks.

THE EPIGRAMS of Martial were translated in part by Timothy Kendall, born at North Aston in Oxfordshire, successively educated at Eton and at Oxford, and afterwards a student of the law at Staple's-inn. This performance, which cannot properly or strictly be called a translation of Martial, has the following title, "FLOWRES OF EPIGRAMMES out of sundrie the most singular authors selected, etc. By Timothie Kendall late of the vniuersitie of Oxford, now student of Staple Inn. London, 1577[a]." It is dedicated to Robert earl of Leicester. The epigrams translated are from Martial, Pictorius, Borbonius, Politian, Bruno, Textor, Ausonius, the Greek anthology, Beza, sir Thomas More, Henry Stephens, Haddon[b], Parkhurst[c], and others. But by much the greater part is from Martial[d]. It is charitable to hope, that our translator Timothy Kendall wasted no more of his time at Staples-inn in culling these fugitive blossoms. Yet he has annexed to these versions his TRIFLES or juvenile epigrams, which are dated the same year[e].

Meres, in his WITS TREASURY, mentions doctor Johnson, as the

[a] In duodecimo. They are entered at Stationers' Hall, Feb. 25, 1576. Registr. B. fol. 138 a. To John Sheppard.

[b] Walter Haddon's *Poemata*, containing a great number of metrical Latin epitaphs, were collected, and published with his Life, and verses at his death, by Giles Fletcher and others, in 1576. See T. Baker's Letters to bishop Tanner, MS. Bibl. Bodl. And by Hatcher, 1567. 4to.

[Kendall translated his Precepts of Wedlocke from the Latin poems of Haddon: they may be seen in Mr. Ellis's Specimens, vol. ii.—PARK.]

[c] John Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, a great reformer, published, *Ludicra seu Epigrammata juvenilia*, Lond. 1572. 4to. Also, *Epigrammata Seria*, Lond. 1560. 8vo. He died in 1574. See Wilson's Collection of *Epitaphia* on Charles and Henry Brandon, Lond. 1552.

[d] Kendall is mentioned among the English Epigrammatists by Meres, ubi supr. fol. 274.

[e] The first line is,

"Borbon in France bears bell awaie."

That is, Nicholas Borbonius, whose *Nugæ*, or Latin Epigrams, then celebrated, have great elegance. But Joachim du Bellai made this epigram on the Title:

Paule, tuum inscribis NUGARUM nomine librum,
In toto libro nil melius titulo.

Our countryman Owen, who had no notion of Borbonius's elegant simplicity, was still more witty:

Quas tu dixisti NUGAS, non esse putasti;
Non dico NUGAS esse, sed esse puto.

translator of Homer's BATRACHOMUOMACHIY, and Watson of Sophocles's ANTIGONE, but with such ambiguity, that it is difficult to determine from his words whether these versions are in Latin or English[f]. That no reader may be misled, I observe here, that Christopher Johnson, a celebrated head-master of Winchester school, afterwards a physician, translated Homer's FROGS AND MICE into Latin hexameters, which appeared in quarto, at London, in 1580[g]. Thomas Watson, author of a HUNDRED SONNETS, or *the passionate century of Love*, published a Latin ANTIGONE in 1581[h]. The latter publication, however, shows at this time an attention to the Greek tragedies.

Christopher Marlowe, or Marloe, educated in elegant letters at Cambridge, Shakspeare's cotemporary on the stage, often applauded both by queen Elizabeth and king James the First as a judicious player, esteemed for his poetry by Jonson and Drayton, and one of the most distinguished tragic poets of his age, translated Coluthus's RAPE OF HELEN into English rhyme, in the year 1587. I have never seen it; and I owe this information to the manuscript papers of a diligent collector of these fugacious anecdotes[i]. But there is entered to Jones, in 1595, "A booke entituled RAPTUS HELENÆ, Helens Rape, by the Athenian duke Theseus[k]." Coluthus's poem was probably brought into vogue, and suggested to Marlowe's notice, by being paraphrased in Latin verse the preceding year by Thomas Watson, the writer of sonnets just mentioned[l]. Before the year 1598, appeared Marlowe's translation of the LOVES OF HERO AND LEANDER, the elegant prolusion of an unknown sophist of Alexandria, but commonly ascribed to the ancient Musæus. It was left unfinished by Marlowe's death*; but what was called a second part, which is nothing more than a continuation from the Italian, appeared by one Henry Petowe, in 1598[m]. Another

[f] Fol. 289. p 2.

[g] Entered to T. Purfoote, Jan. 4, 1579. With "certen orations of Isocrates." Registr. Station. B. fol. 165 a.

[h] In quarto. Licensed to R. Jones. Jul. 31, 1581. Ibid. fol. 182 b.

[i] MSS. Coxeter.

[k] April 12. Registr. Station. B. fol. 131 b.

[l] Printed at Lond. 1586. 4to.

* [Nashe in his "Lenten Stuffe" 1599, asks whether any body in Yarmouth hath heard of Leander and Hero, of whom divine Musæus sung, and a diviner Muse than him Kit Marlow? p. 42. It is the suggestion of Mr. Malone, that if Marlowe had lived to finished his "Hero and Leander," he might perhaps have contested the palm with Shakspeare in his Venus and Adonis, and Rape of Lucrece, Shaksp. x. p. 72. edit. 1791. Marlowe's translation of Ovid's Elegies is noticed at p. 339. supr. —PARK.]

[m] For Purfoot, 4to. See Petowe's Preface, which has a high panegyric on Marlowe. He says he begun where Marlowe left off. In 1593, Sept. 28, there is an entry to John Wolfe of "A book entitled Hero and Leander, beinge an amorous poem devised by Christopher Marlowe." Registr. Station. B. fol. 300 b. The translation, as the entire work of Marlowe, is mentioned twice in Nashe's Lenten Stuff, printed in 1599. It occurs again in the registers of the Stationers, in 1597, 1598, and 1600. Registr. C. fol. 31 a. 34 a. I learn from Mr. Malone, that Marlowe finished only the two first Sestiads, and about one hundred lines of the third. Chapman did the remainder. Petowe published the *Whipping of Runawaies*, for Burbie, in 1603.

There is an old ballad on *Jephtha judge of Israel*, by William Petowe. In the year 1567, there is an entry to Alexander Lacy, of "A ballett intituled the Songe of Jesphas dowghter at his death." Registr. Station. A. fol. 162 a. Perhaps this

edition was published, with the first book of Lucan, translated also by Marlowe, and in blank verse, in 1600[n]. At length, George Chapman, the translator of Homer, completed, but with a striking inequality*, Marlowe's unfinished version, and printed it at London in quarto, 1606[o]. Tanner takes this piece to be one of Marlowe's plays. It probably suggested to Shakspeare the allusion to Hero and Leander, in the MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, under the player's blunder of Limander and Helen, where the interlude of Thisbe is presented[p]. It has many nervous and polished verses. His tragedies manifest traces of a just dramatic conception, but they abound with tedious and uninteresting scenes, or with such extravagances as proceeded from a want of judgment, and those barbarous ideas of the times, over which it was the peculiar gift of Shakspeare's genius alone to triumph and to predominate[q]. His TRAGEDY OF DIDO QUEEN OF CARTHAGE was completed and published by his friend Thomas Nashe, in 1594[r].

is the old song of which Hamlet in joke throws out some scraps to Polonius, and which has been recovered by Mr. Steevens. Hamlet, act ii. sc. 7. [See also *Jeffa judge of Israel*, in Registr. D. fol. 93. Dec. 14, 1624.] This is one of the pieces which Hamlet calls *pious chansons*, and which taking their rise from the Reformation, abounded in the reign of Elizabeth. Hence, by the way, we see the propriety of reading *pious chansons*, and not *pons chansons*, or ballads sung on *bridges*, with Pope. Rowe arbitrarily substituted *Rubric*, not that the titles of old ballads were ever printed in red. *Rubric* came at length simply to signify *title*, because, in the old manuscripts, it was the custom to write the titles or heads of chapters in red ink. In the Statutes of Winchester and New college, every statute is therefore called a *Rubrica*.

[n] But this version of Lucan is entered, as above, Sept. 28, 1593, to John Wolfe. Ibid. fol. 300 b. Nor does it always appear at the end of Musæus in 1600. There is an edition that year by P. Short.

* [Chettle, in his "Englands Mourning Garment," does not admit of this inequality, when he describes Chapman as

Coryn, full of worth and wit,
That finish'd dead Musæus' gracious song,
With grace as great, and words and verse as fit.

To the joint version of Marlowe and Chapman, Cokain thus alludes in his "Remedy for Love:"

Musæus Englished by *two poets* shun;
It may undo you though it be well done.

Dr. Anderson, however, is of opinion, that the work is worthy of republication. British Poets.—PARK.]

[o] There is another edition in 1616, and 1629. 4to. The edition of 1616, with Chapman's name, and dedicated to Inigo Jones, not two inches long and scarcely one broad, is the most diminutive product of English typography. But it appears a different work from the edition of 1606. The "Ballad of Hero and Leander" is entered to J. White, Jul. 2, 1614. Registr. Station. C. fol. 252 a. Burton, an excellent Grecian, having occasion to quote Musæus, cites Marlowe's version, Melancholy, p. 372. seq. fol. edit. 1624.

[p] Act v. sc. ult.

[q] Nashe in his Elegy prefixed to Marlowe's Dido, mentions five of his plays. Mr. Malone is of opinion, from a similarity of style, that the Tragedy of Locrine, published in 1595, attributed to Shakspeare, was written by Marlowe, Suppl. Shaksp. ii. 190. He conjectures also Marlowe to be the author of the old King John. Ibid. i. 163. and of Titus Andronicus, and of the lines spoken by the players in the interlude in Hamlet. Ibid. i. 371.

[r] In quarto. At London, by the widow Orwin, for Thomas Woodcocke. Played by the children of the chapel. It begins,

"Come gentle Ganimed!"

It has been frequently confounded with John Rightwise's play on the same subject performed at saint Paul's school before Cardinal Wolsey, and afterwards before queen Elizabeth at Cambridge, in 1564.

[I doubt whether any play that had been acted before Cardinal Wolsey, could be performed again before queen Elizabeth, as on such occasions I believe they

Although Jonson mentions Marlowe's MIGHTY MUSE, yet the highest testimony Marlowe has received, is from his cotemporary Drayton; who from his own feelings was well qualified to decide on the merits of a poet. It is in Drayton's Elegy, *To my dearly loved friend Henry Reynolds of Poets and Poesie.*

> Next Marlowe, bathed in the Thespian springes,
> Had in him those braue translunary[s] thinges,
> That the first poets had: his raptvres were
> All air, and fire, which made his verses clear:
> For that fine madness still he did retaine
> Which rightly should possesse a poet's braine[t].

In the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, a sort of critical play, acted at Cambridge in 1606, Marlowe's *buskined* MUSE is celebrated[u]. His cotemporary Decker, Jonson's antagonist, having allotted to Chaucer and *graue* Spenser, the highest seat in the Elysian *grove of Bayes*, has thus arranged Marlowe. "In another companie sat learned Atchlow* and, (tho he had ben a player molded out of their pennes, yet because he had been their louer and register to the Muse) inimitable Bentley†:

never exhibited stale or second-hand goods, but fresh for the *nonce*.—ASHBY.]

I have before mentioned the Latin tragedy of Dido and Eneas, performed at Oxford, in 1583, before the prince Alasco. [See supr. vol. ii. p. 527.] See what Hamlet says to the first Player on this favorite story. In 1564, was entered a "ballet of a lover blamynge his fortune by Dido and Eneas for thayre vntruthe." Registr. Station. A. fol. 116 a. In the Tempest, Gonzalo mentions the "widow Dido." Act iii. sc. 1. On old ballads we read the *Tune of queen Dido.* Perhaps from some ballad on the subject, Shakspeare took his idea of Dido standing with a willow in her hand on the sea-shore, and beckoning Eneas back to Carthage. Merch. Ven. act v. sc. 1. Shakspeare has also strangely falsified Dido's story, in the S. P. of K. Henry the Sixth, act iii. sc. 2. I have before mentioned the interlude of Dido and Eneas at Chester.

[s] Langbaine, who cites these lines without seeming to know their author, by a pleasant mistake has printed this word *sublunary*. Dram. Poets, p. 342.

[t] Lond. edit. 1753. iv. p. 1256. That Marlowe was a favorite with Jonson, appears from the Preface to one Bosworth's poems; who says, that Jonson used to call the *mighty lines* of Marlowe's Musæus fitter for admiration than parallel. Thomas Heywood, who published Marlowe's Jew of Malta, in 1633, wrote the Prologue, spoken at the Cock-pit, in which Marlowe is highly commended both as a player and a poet. It was in this play that Allen, the founder of Dulwich college, acted the Jew with so much applause.

[u] Hawkins's Old Pl. iii. p. 215. Lond. 1607. 4to. But it is entered in 1605, Oct. 16, to J. Wright, where it is said to have been acted at saint John's. Registr. Station. C. fol. 130 b. See other cotemporary testimonies of this author, in Old Plays, (in 12 vol.) Lond. 1780. 12mo. vol. ii. 308.

* [Another edition of this tract, without date, introduces at this place "learned Watson, industrious Kyd, and ingenious Atchlow." Watson has been mentioned as a sonneteer, and Kyd was a writer of tragedy.—PARK.]

† [Nash thus speaks of Bentley, in his "Prince Pennilesse," after noticing Ned Allen and the principal actors:—"If I write any thing in Latine (as I hope one day I shall), not a man of any desert here amongst us, but I will have up:—Tarlton, Knell, *Bentley*, shall be made known to Fraunce, Spayne, and Italie," &c. Heywood, in his Apologie, celebrates "Knell, *Bentley, Mills*, Wilson, and Lanam, as players who by the report of many judicial auditors, performed many parts so absolute, that it were a sin to drowne their works in Lethe." John Bentley is introduced by Ritson in *Bibl. Poetica*, as the author of a few short poems in an ancient MS. belonging to Samuel Lysons, Esq. Robert Mills, a schoolmaster of Stamford, has various verses in one of Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian library, entitled "Miscellanea Poetica," temp. Eliz.—PARK.]

these were likewise carowsing out of the holy well, &c. Whilst Marlowe, Greene, and Peele, had gott under the shadow of a large vyne, laughing to see Nashe, that was but newly come to their colledge, still haunted with the same satyricall spirit that followed him here vpon earth[w]."

Marlowe's wit and sprightliness of conversation had often the unhappy effect of tempting him to sport with sacred subjects; more perhaps from the preposterous ambition of courting the casual applause of profligate and unprincipled companions, than from any systematic disbelief of religion. His scepticism, whatever it might be, was construed by the prejudiced and peevish puritans into absolute atheism; and they took pains to represent the unfortunate catastrophe of his untimely death, as an immediate judgment from heaven upon his execrable impiety[x]. He was in love, and had for his rival, to use the significant words of Wood, "a bawdy serving-man, one rather fitter to be a pimp, than an ingenious *amoretto*, as Marlowe conceived himself to be[y]." The consequence was, that an affray ensued; in which the antagonist having by superior agility gained an opportunity of strongly grasping Marlowe's wrist, plunged his dagger with his own hand into his own head. Of this wound he died rather before the year 1593[z]. One of Marlowe's tragedies is, *The tragical history of the life and death of doctor John Faustus*[a]. A proof of the credulous ignorance which still prevailed, and a specimen of the subjects which then were thought not improper for tragedy. A tale which at the close of the sixteenth century had the possession of the public theatres of our metropolis, now only frightens children at a puppet-show in a country-town. But that

[w] A Knight's Conjuring, Signat. L. 1607. 4to. To this company Henry Chettle is admitted, [See supr. p. 243.] and is saluted in bumpers of Helicon on his arrival.

["In comes Chettle, sweating and blowing, by reason of his fatnes: to welcome whom, because he was of olde acquaintance, all rose up and fell presentlie on their knees, to drink a health to all lovers of Helicon."—PARK.]

[x] See Beard's Theatre of God's Judgments, lib. i. ch. xxiii. And "Account of the blasphemous and damnable opinions of Christ. Marley and 3 others, who came to a sudden and fearfull end of this life." MSS. Harl. 6853. 80. fol. 320.

[For the sake of exposing Mr. Warton's urbane though injudicious apology for the atheism of Marlowe, this paper was printed in Ritson's Observations, and it too glaringly exhibits the diabolical tenets and debauched morals of unhappy Christopher Marlowe.—PARK.]

[y] Ath. Oxon. i. 338. See Meres, Wit's Tr. fol. 287.

[z] Marston seems to allude to this catastrophe, Certaine Satyres, Lond. for Edmond Matts, 1598, 12mo. Sat. ii.

'Tis loose-leg'd Lais, that same common drab,
For whom good Tubro tooke the mortall stab.

By the way, Marlowe, in his Edward the Second, seems to have ridiculed the puritans under the character of the scholar Spencer, who "says a long grace at a table's end, wears a little band, buttons like pins heads, and

—is curate-like in his attire,
Though inwardly licentious enough," &c.

[It is at least probable, that Marlowe dressed his scholar from what he saw wore in or before the year 1593. Small conical buttons &c. were then the prevailing fashion. See the pictures of Lord Southampton, Sir Philip Sydney, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who was "curate-like" in his attire.—ASHBY.]

[a] Entered, I think for the first time, to T. Bushell, Jan. 7, 1600. Registr. Station. C. fol. 67 b. Or rather 1610, Sept. 13, to J. Wright. Ibid. fol. 199 b.

the learned John Faust continued to maintain the character of a conjuror in the sixteenth century even by authority, appears from a "Ballad of the life and death of doctor Faustus the *great congerer*," which in 1588 was licensed to be printed by the learned Aylmer bishop of London[b].

As Marlowe, being now considered as a translator, and otherwise being generally ranked only as a dramatic poet, will not occur again, I take this opportunity of remarking here, that the delicate sonnet called the PASSIONATE SHEPHERD TO HIS LOVE, falsely attributed to Shakspeare, and which occurs in the third act of THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR, followed by the Nymph's Reply, was written by Marlowe[c]. Isaac Walton in his COMPLEAT ANGLER, a book perhaps composed about the year 1640, although not published till 1653, has inserted this sonnet, with the reply, under the character of "that smooth song which was made by Kit Marlowe, now at least fifty years ago; and—an Answer to it which was made by sir Walter Raleigh, in his younger days: old fashioned poetry, but choicely good." In ENGLAND'S HELICON, a miscellany of the year 1600, it is printed with Christopher Marlowe's name, and followed by the Reply, subscribed IGNOTO, Raleigh's constant signature[d]. A page or two afterwards, it is imitated by Raleigh. That Marlowe was admirably qualified for what Mr. Mason, with a happy and judicious propriety, calls PURE POETRY, will appear from the following passage of his forgotten tragedy of EDWARD THE SECOND, written in the year 1590, and first printed in 1598. The highest entertainments, then in fashion, are contrived for the gratification of the infatuated Edward, by his profligate minion Piers Gaveston*.

> I must haue wanton poets, pleasant wits,
> Musicians, that with touching of a string
> May drawe the plyant king which way I please.
> Music and poetry are his delight;
> Therefore I 'll haue Italian masques by night,
> Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shewes.

[b] Registr. Station. B. fol. 241 b.

[c] See Steevens's Shaksp. vol. i. p. 297. edit. 1778.

[d] Signat. P. 4. edit. 1614. [The publisher of "England's Helicon" never conceals the names of his writers where he knows them; where he does not, he subscribes the word Ignoto (Anonymous).—RITSON.]

[*The Nymph's Reply to the passionate Shepherd*, is in England's Helicon. Isaac Walton informs us, that this reply was made by Sir Walter Raleigh in his younger days. Mr. Warton observes, that this Reply is subscribed *Ignoto*, Raleigh's constant signature. Another very able critic (Ritson) contends that this signature was affixed by the publisher to express by it his ignorance of the author's name. Mr. Warton, however, had perhaps good reasons for his opinion though he neglected to adduce them; and it is to be observed, that in Mr. Steevens's copy of the first edition of England's Helicon, the original signature was W. R. the second subscription of *Ignoto* (which has been followed in the subsequent editions) being rather awkwardly pasted over it. Caley's Life of Raleigh.—PARK.]

* [It seems somewhat remarkable, that Marlowe, in describing the pleasures which Gaveston contrived to debauch the infatuated Edward, should exactly employ those which were exhibited before the sage Elizabeth. But to her they were only occasional and temporary relaxations. —ASHBY.]

And in the day, when he shall walke abroad,
Like sylvan Nymphs my pages shall be clad,
My men like Satyrs, grazing on the lawnes,
Shall with their goat-feet dance the antic hay.
Sometimes a Louely Boy, in Dian's shape[e],
With haire that gildes the water as it glides,
Crownets of pearle about his naked armes,
And in his sportfull handes an oliue-tree,
* * * * * * *
Shall bathe him in a spring: and there hard by,
One, lyke Acteon, peeping through the groue,
Shall by the angry goddess be transform'd.——
Such thinges as these best please his maiestie.

It must be allowed that these lines are in Marlowe's best manner. His chief fault in description is an indulgence of the florid style, and an accumulation of conceits, yet resulting from a warm and brilliant fancy. As in the following description of a river.

I walkt along a streame, for purenesse rare,
Brighter than sunshine: for it did acqvaint
The dullest sight with all the glorious pray,
That in the pebble-paved chanell lay.
No molten chrystall, but a richer mine;
Euen natvre's rarest alchemie ran there,
Diamonds resolu'd, and svbstance more diuine;
Throvgh whose bright-gliding current might appeare
A thousand naked Nymphes, whose yuorie shine
Enameling the bankes, made them more deare[f]
Than euer was that gloriovs pallace-gate,
Where the day-shining Sunne in trivmph sate[g].
Vpon this brim, the eglantine, and rose,
The tamariske, oliue, and the almond-tree,
(As kind companions) in one vnion growes,
Folding their twining armes: as ofte we see
Turtle-taught louers either other close,
Lending to dullnesse feeling sympathie:
And as a costly vallance[h] o'er a bed,
So did their garland-tops the brooke oerspred.
Their leaues that differed both in shape and showe,
(Though all were greene, yet difference such in greene
Like to the checkered bend of Iris' bowe)
Prided, the running maine as it had beene, &c.[i]

[e] That is, acting the part of Diana.

[f] precious.

[g] The description of the palace of the sun was a favorite passage in Golding's Ovid.

[h] canopy. Shakspeare means a rich bed-canopy in Second Part of Henr. IV. act iii. sc. 1.

Under the canopies of costly state.

[i] See England's Parnassus, Lond. 1600. 12mo. fol. 465.

Philips, Milton's nephew, in a work which I think discovers many touches of Milton's hand, calls Marlowe, "A second Shakespeare, not only because he rose like him from an actor* to be a maker of plays, though inferiour both in fame and merit; but also, because in his begun poem of Hero and Leander, he seems to have a resemblance of that CLEAR UNSOPHISTICATED wit, which is natural to that incomparable poet[k]." Criticisms of this kind were not common, after the national taste had been just corrupted by the false and capricious refinements of the court of Charles the Second.

Ten books of Homer's ILIAD were translated from a metrical French version into English by A. H. or Arthur Hall esquire, of Grantham, and a member of parliament[l], and printed at London by Ralph Newberie, in 1581[m]. This translation has no other merit than that of being the first appearance of a part of the Iliad in an English dress. I do not find that he used any known French version†. He sometimes consulted the Latin interpretation, where his French copy failed. It is done in the Alexandrine of Sternhold. In the Dedication to sir Thomas Cecil, he compliments the distinguished translators of his age, Phaier, Golding, Jasper Heywood, and Googe; together with the worthy workes of lord Buckhurst, "and the pretie pythie Conceits of M. George Gascoygne." He adds, that he began this work about 1563, under the advice and encouragement of "Mr. Robert Askame[n], a familiar acquaintance of Homer."

But a complete and regular version of Homer was reserved for George Chapman. He began with printing the Shield of Achilles, in 1596[o]. This was followed by seven books of the ILIAD the same year[p]. Fifteen books were printed in 1600[q]. At length appeared without date, an entire translation of the ILIAD[r] under the following title: "The

* [Mr. Malone does not believe that Marlowe ever was an actor, since he finds no higher authority for it than the Theatrum of Philips, which is inaccurate in many circumstances. Marlowe, he thinks, was born about 1566, as he took the degree of B.A. at Cambridge in 1583. See Note to Verses on Shakspeare.—PARK.]

[k] *Theatr. Poetar. Mod.* P. p. 24. edit. 1680.

[l] See a process against Hall, in 1580, for writing a pamphlet printed by Binneman, related by Ames, p. 325.

[Hall was expelled by the Commons for this libel upon them. A copy of the judgment against him may be seen in Harl. Miscell. v. 265. In the Lansdowne MSS. vol. 31. are his complaint of the rigour of the lower house of parliament, and his submission before the lords. The dedication to Homer speaks of the vexations he experienced from his ungoverned youth. He appears to have been a domestic student with sir Thomas Cecil afterwards earl of Exeter, and was probably brought in by that family as a member for Grantham.—PARK.]

[m] In quarto. Bl. lett. November 25, 1580, H. Binneman is licensed to print tenne bookes of the Iliades of Homer." Registr. Station. B. fol. 175 a.

† [The translatour's copy of his original (Les dix premiers livres de l'Iliade d'Homere, prince de poets: tradictz en vers François par M. Hugues Salel, 1555) is in the British Museum.—RITSON.]

[n] He means the learned Roger Ascham. It begins,

"I thee beseech, O goddess milde, the
hatefull hate to plaine."

[o] Lond. 4to. [p] Lond. 4to.

[q] In a thin folio.

[r] He says in his Commentary on the first book, that he had wholly translated again his first and second books; but that he did not even correct the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth; and that he be-

ILIADS OF HOMER Prince of Poets. Neuer before in any language truely translated. With a comment uppon some of his chief places: Done according to the Greeke by George Chapman. At London, printed for Nathaniell Butter[s]." It is dedicated in English heroics to Prince Henry. This circumstance proves that the book was printed at least after the year 1603, in which James the First acceded to the throne[t]. Then follows an anagram on the name of his *gracious Mecenas* prince Henry, and a sonnet to the *sole empresse of beautie* queen Anne. In a metrical address to the reader he remarks, but with little truth, that the English language, abounding in consonant monosyllables, is eminently adapted to rhythmical poetry. The doctrine that an allegorical sense was hid under the narratives of epic poetry had not yet ceased; and he here promises a poem on the mysteries he had newly discovered in Homer. In the Preface, he declares that the last twelve books were translated in fifteen weeks: yet with the advice of his learned and valued friends, *Master* Robert Hews[u], and *Master* Harriots. It is certain that the whole performance betrays the negligence of haste. He pays his acknowledgments to his "most ancient, learned, and right noble friend, Master Richard Stapilton[w], the first most desertfull mouer in the frame of our Homer." He endeavours to obviate a popular objection, perhaps not totally groundless, that he consulted the prose Latin version more than the Greek original. He says, sensibly enough, "it is the part of euery knowing and iudicious interpreter, not to follow the number and order of words, but the materiall things themselues, and sentences to weigh diligently; and to clothe and adorne them with words, and such a stile and forme of oration, as are most apt for the language into which they are conuerted." The danger lies, in too lavish an application of this sort of clothing, that it may not disguise what it should only adorn. I do not say that this is Chapman's fault: but he has by no means represented the dignity or the simplicity of Homer. He is sometimes paraphrastic and redundant, but more frequently retrenches or impoverishes what he could not feel and express. In the mean time, he labours with the inconvenience of an awkward, inharmonious, and unheroic measure, imposed by custom, but disgustful to modern ears. Yet he is not always without strength or spirit. He has enriched our language with many compound epithets, so much

lieved his version of the twelve last to be the best. Butter's edit. ut. infr. fol. 14. Meres, who wrote in 1598, mentions "Chapman's inchoate Homer." fol. 285. p. 2. Ubi supr.

[s] It is an engraved title-page by William Hole, with figures of Achilles and Hector, &c. In folio.

[t] I suppose, by an entry in the register of the Stationers, in 1611, April 8. Registr. C. fol. 207 a.

[u] This Robert Hues, or Husius, was a scholar, a good geographer and mathematician, and published a tract in Latin on the Globes, Lond. 1593. 8vo. with other pieces in that way. There was also a Robert Hughes who wrote a Dictionary of the English and Persic. See Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 571. Hist. Antiquit. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 288 b.

[w] Already mentioned as the publisher of a poetical miscellany in 1593. Supr. p. 325, note [b]. "The spirituall poems or hymnes of R. S." are entered to J. Busbie, Oct. 17, 1595. Registr. Station. C. fol. 3 b.

in the manner of Homer, such as the *silver-footed* Thetis, the *silver-throned* Juno, the *triple-feathered* helme, the *high-walled* Thebes, the *faire-haired* boy, the *silver-flowing* floods, the *hugely-peopled* towns, the Grecians *navy-bound*, the *strong-winged* lance, and many more which might be collected. Dryden reports, that Waller never could read Chapman's Homer without a degree of transport. Pope is of opinion, that Chapman covers his defects "by a daring fiery spirit that animates his translation, which is something like what one might imagine Homer himself to have writ before he arrived to years of discretion." But his fire is too frequently darkened by that sort of fustian which now disfigured the diction of our tragedy.

He thus translates the comparison of Diomed to the autumnal star, at the beginning of the fifth book. The lines are in his best manner.

From his bright helme and shield did burne a most unwearied fire,
Like rich Autumnus' golden lampe, whose brightnesse men admire
Past all the other host of starres, when with his chearefull face
Fresh-washt in loftie ocean waues, he doth the skie enchase[x].

The sublime imagery of Neptune's procession to assist the Grecians is thus rendered.

The woods, and all the great hils neare, trembled beneath the weight
Of his immortall mouing feet: three steps he only tooke,
Before he far-off Ægе reach'd: but, with the fourth, it shooke
With his dread entrie. In the depth of those seas, did he hold
His bright and glorious pallace, built of neuer-rusting gold:
And there arriu'd, he put in coach his brazen-footed steeds
All golden-maned, and paced with wings[y], and all in golden weeds
Himselfe he clothed. The golden scourge, most elegantly done[z],
He tooke, and mounted to his seate, and then the god begun
To drive his chariot through the waues. From whirlpools euery way
The whales exulted under him, and knewe their king: the sea
For ioy did open, and his horse[a] so swift and lightly flew,
The vnder axeltree of brasse no drop of water drew.[b]

My copy once belonged to Pope; in which he has noted many of Chapman's absolute interpolations, extending sometimes to the length of a paragraph of twelve lines*. A diligent observer will easily discern, that Pope was no careless reader of his rude predecessor. Pope complains that Chapman took advantage of an unmeasurable length of line. But in reality Pope's lines are longer than Chapman's. If Chapman

[x] Fol. 63.
[y] having wings on their feet.
[z] wrought, finished.
[a] for horses.
[b] Fol. 169 seq.
* [Chapman's own copy of his Translation of Homer, corrected by him throughout for a future edition, was purchased for 5*s.* from the shop of Edwards by Mr. Steevens, and at the sale of his books in 1800, was transferred to the invaluable library of Mr. Heber.—PARK.]

affected the reputation of rendering line for line, the specious expedient of choosing a protracted measure which concatenated two lines together, undoubtedly favoured his usual propensity to periphrasis.

Chapman's commentary is only incidental, contains but a small degree of critical excursion, and is for the most part a pedantic compilation from Spondanus. He has the boldness severely to censure Scaliger's impertinence. It is remarkable that he has taken no illustrations from Eustathius, except through the citations of other commentators. But of Eustathius there was no Latin interpretation.

This volume is closed with sixteen Sonnets by the author, addressed to the chief nobility[c]. It was now a common practice, by these unpoetical and empty panegyrics, to attempt to conciliate the attention, and secure the protection, of the great, without which it was supposed to be impossible for any poem to struggle into celebrity. Habits of submission, and the notions of subordination, now prevailed in a high degree; and men looked up to peers, on whose smiles or frowns they believed all sublunary good and evil to depend, with a reverential awe. Henry Lock subjoined to his metrical paraphrase of Ecclesiastes, and his *Sundry Christian Passions contayned in two hundred Sonnets*, both printed together for Field, in 1597, a set of secular sonnets to the nobility, among which are lord Buckhurst and Anne the amiable countess of Warwick[d]. And, not to multiply more instances, Spenser, in compliance with a disgraceful custom, or rather in obedience to the established tyranny of patronage, prefixed to the FAIRY QUEENE fifteen of these adulatory pieces, which in every respect are to be numbered among the meanest of his compositions[e].

In the year 1614, Chapman printed his version of the ODYSSEY, which he dedicated to king James's favorite, Carr earl of Somerset. This was soon followed by the BATRACHOMUOMACHY, and the HYMNS, and EPIGRAMS. But I find long before Chapman's time, "A Ballett betweene the myce and the frogges[f]," licensed to Thomas East the printer, in

[c] To the Duke of Lenox, the lord chancellor, Lord Salisbury lord treasurer, earl of Suffolk, earl of Northampton, earl of Arundel, earl of Pembroke, earl of Montgomery, lord Lisle, countess of Montgomery, lady Wroth, countess of Bedford, earl of Southampton, earl of Sussex, lord Walden, and sir Thomas Howard. Lady Mary Wroth, here mentioned, wife of sir Robert Wroth, was much courted by the wits of this age. She wrote a romance called Urania, in imitation of sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia. See Jonson's Epigr. 103. 105.

[d] In quarto.

[e] This practice is touched by a satirist of those times, in Pasquill's Mad Cappe, Lond. Printed by J. V. 1600. 4to. fol. 2. Speaking of every great man,

He shall have ballads written in his praise,
Bookes dedicate vnto his patronage;
Wittes working for his pleasure many waies:
Petegrues sought to mend his parentage.

[f] Registr. Station. A. fol. 177 b. Mr. Steevens informs us of an anonymous interlude, called THERSYTES *his humours and conceits*, in 1598. See Shaksp. vol. ix. p. 166. See ibid. p. 331. And the versions of Homer perhaps produced a ballad, in 1586, "The Lamentation of Hecuba and the Ladies of Troye." Aug. 1, to. E. White. Registr. Station. B. fol. 209 a. Again to W. Matthews, Feb. 22, 1593, "The Lamentation of Troye for the death of Hector." Ibid. fol. 305 a.

1568. And there is a ballad, "A moste strange weddinge of the frogge and the mouse," in 1580[g].

He is also supposed to have translated Hesiod. But this notion seems to have arisen from these lines of Drayton, which also contain a general and a very honourable commendation of Chapman's skill as a translator[h].

> Others againe there liued in my days,
> That haue of us deserued no less prayse
> For their TRANSLATIONS, than the daintiest wit
> That on Parnassus thinks he high'st doth sit,
> And for a chair may mongst the Muses call
> As the most curious Maker of them all:
> As reuerend Chapman, who hath brought to vs
> Musæus, Homer, and Hesiodvs,
> Out of the Greeke: and by his skill hath rear'd
> Them to that height, and to our tonguc endear'd,
> That were those poets at this day aliue
> To see their books thus with vs to suruiue,
> They 'd think, hauing neglected them so long,
> They had been written in the English tongue.[i]

I believe Chapman only translated about fourteen lines from the beginning of the second book of Hesiod's WORKS AND DAYS, "as well as I could in haste," which are inserted in his commentary on the thirteenth Iliad for an occasional illustration[k]. Here is a proof on what slight grounds assertions of this sort are often founded, and, for want of examination, transmitted to posterity[l].

[g] Licensed to E. White, Nov. 21, 1580. Registr. Station B. fol. 174 b.

[h] See also Bolton's opinion of Chapman, supr. p. 230.

[i] Elegy to Reynolds, ut supr.

[k] Fol. 185 seq.

[l] Since this was written, I have discovered that "Hesiod's Georgics translated by George Chapman," were licensed to Miles Patrich, May 14, 1618. But I doubt if the book was printed. Registr. Station. C. fol. 290 b.

[It was printed with the following title in 1618, "The Georgicks of Hesiod, by George Chapman, translated elaborately out of the Greek. Containing [the] doctrine of Husbandrie, Moralitie, and Pietie: with a perpetuall Calendar of good and bad dates; not superstitious but necessarie (as farre as naturall causes compell) for all men to observe, and difference in following their affaires. *Nec caret umbra Deo.* Printed by H. L. for Miles Patrich." 4to. Commendatory verses are prefixed by Drayton and Ben Jonson: with a dedication to sir Francis Bacon, lord chancellor, who had been a student of Gray's Inn, to which the following passage punningly alludes: "All judgements of this season prefer to the wisedome of all other nations the most wise, learned and circularly spoken Grecians: according to that of the poet—

Graiis ingenium; Graiis dedit ore rotundo Musa loqui.

And why may not this Romane elogie of the *Graians* extend in praisefull intention to *Graies-Inne* wits and orators?" Those who admire Cooke's version of the Works and Days, may yet be pleased to see the close of Chapman's.

> That man a happy angell waits upon,
> Makes rich and blessed, that through all his daies
> Is knowingly emploid. In all his waies
> Betwixt him and the gods, goes still unblam'd:
> All their forewarnings and suggestions fram'd

As an original writer, Chapman belongs to the class of dramatic poets, and will not therefore be considered again at the period in which he is placed by the biographers[m]. His translations, therefore, which were begun before the year 1600, require that we should here acquaint the reader with some particulars of his life. He wrote eighteen plays, which, although now forgotten, must have contributed in no inconsiderable degree to enrich and advance the English stage*. He was born in 1557, perhaps in Kent. He passed about two years at Trinity college in Oxford, with a contempt of philosophy, but in a close attention to the Greek and Roman classics[n]. Leaving the university about 1576, he seems to have been led to London in the character of a poet; where he soon commenced a friendship with Spenser, Shakspeare, Marlowe, and Daniel, and attracted the notice of secretary Walsingham. He probably acquired some appointment in the court of king James the First; where untimely death, and unexpected disgrace, quickly deprived him of his liberal patrons Prince Henry and Carr. Jonson was commonly too proud, either to assist, or to be assisted; yet he engaged with Chapman and Marston in writing the comedy of EASTWARD HOE, which was performed by the children of the revels in 1605[o]. But this association gave Jonson an opportunity of throwing out many satirical parodies on Shakspeare with more security†. All the three authors, however, were in danger of being pilloried for some reflections on the Scotch nation, which were too seriously understood by James the First.

To their obedience; being directly view'd;
All good endeavour'd, and all ill eschew'd.
PARK.]

[m] But this is said not without some degree of restriction. For Chapman wrote "Ovid's Banquet of Sauce, A Coronet for his mistress Philosophy and his amorous Zodiac. Lond. 1595. 4to." To which is added, "The Amorous Contention of Phillis and Flora," a translation by Chapman from a Latin poem, written, as he says, by a friar in the year 1400. There is also his Perseus and Andromeda, dedicated in a prolix metrical Epistle to Carr earl of Somerset and Frances his countess. Lond. 1614. 4to. Chapman wrote a vindication of this piece, both in prose and verse, called, *A free and offenceless Justification of a late published and misinterpreted poem entitled* ANDROMEDA LIBERATA. Lond. 1614. 4to.

Among Chapman's pieces recited by Wood, the following does not appear. "A booke called Petrarkes seauen penitentiall psalmes in verse, paraphrastically translated, with other poems philosophicall, and a hymne to Christ upon the crosse, written by Geo. Chapman." To Matthew Selman, Jan. 13, 1611. Registr Station. C. fol. 215 a.

* [In the Epigrams of Freeman, 1614, Chapman was thus quaintly complimented for having surpassed his cotemporary playwrights, and more nearly approached to the style of the writers of ancient comedy.

Our comedians thou outstrippest quite,
And all the hearers more than all delightest;
With unaffected stile and sweetest straine
Thy inambitious pen keeps on her pace,
And commeth near'st the ancient commicke vaine.
And were Thalia to be sòld and bought,
No *Chapman* but thy selfe were to be sought.—PARK.]

[n] From the information of Mr. Wise, late Radcliffe's librarian, and keeper of the Archives, at Oxford.

[o] The first of Chapman's plays, I mean with his name, which appears in the Stationers' Registers, is the tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron. Entered to T. Thorp, Jun. 5, 1608. Registr. C. fol. 168 b.

† [Warton has here adopted the current slander of his day. It has been reserved for a distinguished critic of our own times, to clear the *friend* of Shakspeare from this unmerited and foul reproach. See Jonson's Works by William Gifford, esq.—PRICE.]

When the societies of Lincoln's-inn and the Middle Temple, in 1613, had resolved to exhibit a splendid masque at Whitehall in honour of the nuptials of the Palsgrave and the princess Elizabeth, Chapman was employed for the poetry, and Inigo Jones for the machinery. It is not clear, whether Dryden's resolution to burn annually one copy of Chapman's best tragedy BUSSY D'AMBOISE, to the memory of Jonson, was a censure or a compliment[p]. He says, however, that this play pleased only in the representation, like a star which glitters only while it shoots. The manes of Jonson perhaps required some reconciliatory rites: for Jonson being delivered from Shakspeare, began unexpectedly to be disturbed at the rising reputation of a new theatric rival. Wood says, that Chapman was "a person of most reverend aspect, religious and temperate, QUALITIES RARELY MEETING IN A POET[q]!" The truth is, he does not seem to have mingled in the dissipations and indiscretions which then marked his profession *. He died at the age of seventy-seven, in 1634, and was buried on the south side of saint Giles's church in the Fields†. His friend Inigo Jones planned and erected a monument to his memory, in the style of the new architecture, which was unluckily destroyed with the old church[r]. There was an intimate friendship between our author and this celebrated restorer of Grecian palaces. Chapman's MUSAEUS, not that begun by Marlowe, but published in 1616, has a dedication to Jones; in which he is addressed as the most skilful and ingenious architect that England had yet seen.

As a poetical novel of Greece, it will not be improper to mention here, the CLITOPHON AND LEUCIPPE of Achilles Tatius, under the title of "The most delectable and plesant Historye of Clitophon and Leucippe from the Greek of Achilles Statius, &c. by W. B. Lond. 1577[s]." The president Montesquieu, whose refined taste was equal to

[p] Preface to Spanish Fryer.

[q] Ath. Oxon. i. 592.

* [Davies of Hereford in his Scourge of Folly termed Chapman the "father of our English poets," and the "treasurer of their company." And, indeed, said Oldys, his head was a poetical treasury or chronicle of whatsoever was memorable among the poets of his time, which made him latterly much resorted to by the young gentry of good parts and education. But he was choice of his company, shy of loose, shallow and vain associates, and preserved in his own conduct the true dignity of poetry, which he compared to the flower of the sun, that disdains to open its leaves to the eye of a smoking taper.—MSS. on Langb. in Mus. Brit.—PARK.]

† [From the following complaint in Habington's Castara, which was printed in 1635, it would seem that the poet's remains did not obtain sepulture within the church.

'Tis true that Chapman's reverend ashes must
Lye rudely mingled with the vulgar dust,
'Cause carefull heyres the wealthy only haue
To build a glorious trouble o'er the graue.
Yet doe I not despaire, some one may be
So seriously devout to poesie,
As to translate his reliques, and find roome
In the warme church to build him up a toombe. p. 59.—PARK.]

[r] Wood has preserved part of the epitaph: "Georgius Chapmannus, poeta Homericus, philosophus verus (etsi christianus poeta) plusquam celebris," &c. Ubi supr.

[s] In quarto, T. Creede.

[Both the original and translation of this novel are in *prose*.—RITSON. It appeared again by A. H. in 1632. Herbert says, "I find nothing entered for T. Creed, before 1593, in the hall-book. He was not made free till 7 Oct. 1578." There is

his political wisdom, is of opinion, that a certain notion of tranquillity in the fields of Greece, gave rise to the description of soft and amorous sentiments in the Greek romance of the middle age; but that gallantry sprung from the tales of Gothic chivalry. "Une certaine idée de tranquillité dans les campagnes de la Grèce fit décrire les sentimens de l'amour. On peut voir les Romans de Grecs du moyen age. L'idée des Paladins, protecteurs de la vertu et de la beauté des femmes, conduisit à celle de la galanterie[t]." I have mentioned a version of Heliodorus.

As Barnaby Googe's ZODIAC of Palingenius was a favourite performance, and is constantly classed and compared with the poetical translations of this period, by the cotemporary critics, I make no apology for giving it a place at the close of this review[u]. It was printed so early as the year 1565*, with the following title[w]: "The ZODIAKE OF

reason to suspect Mr. Warton has rambled into some confusion here.—PARK. But if Warton were thus ignorant, as is assumed both here and elsewhere by Mr. Ritson, if he did not know that this novel was written in prose, why should he state "it will not be *improper* to mention here," &c.? Where would be the *impropriety* of introducing a metrical version into a register of translations in verse? But without the qualifying expression, the mention of Heliodorus at the close of the paragraph ought to have removed every doubt; for even Mr. Ritson could not have denied Warton an acquaintance with the Æthiopics, and the school-boy knowledge of its being written in prose.—PRICE.]

[t] Esprit des Loix, liv. xxvii. ch. 22.

[u] I know not if translations of Plautus and Terence are to be mentioned here with propriety. I observe however in the notes, that Plautus's *Menæchmi*, copied by Shakspeare, appeared in English by W. W. or William Warner, author of Albion's England. Lond. 1594. Tanner says that he translated but not printed all Plautus. MSS. Tann. Oxon. Rastall printed *Terens in English*, that is, the *Andria*. There is also, "*Andria* the first Comedye of Terence," by Maurice Kyffin, Lond. 1588. 4to. By the way, this Kyffin, a Welshman, published a poem called "The Blessedness of Brytaine, or a celebration of the queenes holyday." Lond. 1588. 4to. For John Wolfe. The *Eunuchus* was entered at Stationers' Hall, to W. Leche, in 1597; and the *Andria* and *Eunuchus* in 1600. Registr. C. fol. 20 a. Richard Bernard published Terence in English, Cambr. 1598. 4to. A fourth edition was printed at London, "Opera ac industria R. B. in Axholmiensi insula Lincolnesherii Epwortheatis." By John Legatt, 1614. 4to.

Three or four versions of Cato, and one of Æsop's Fables, are entered in the register of the Stationers, between 1557 and 1571. Registr. A.

* [Portions of this work were previously printed, as the titles may serve to show: "The firste *thre* bokes of the most Christian poet Marcellus Palingenius, called the Zodyake of Lyfe; newly translated out of Latin into English by Barnabe Googe." Imp. at London by John Tisdale for R. Newbery. An. Do. 1560, 12mo. "The firste *syxe* bokes of the moste Christian poet Marcellus Palingenius, called the Zodiake of Life," &c. Imp. as before An. 1561. To these editions was appended a Table, afterwards omitted, "brefelye declaryng the signification and meanyng of all such poeticall wordes as are conteined wythin the boke, for the better understanding thereof." The earliest of these editions has a metrical preface, in which Melpomene is made to say to Googe,

—Stand by, *yong man*, dispatch
And take thy pen in hand:
Wryte thou the Civill warres and broyle
in auncient Latines land;
Reduce to English sense (she said) the
lofty Lucans verse;
The cruell chaunce and dolefull end of
Cesar's state rehearse.

Urania recommends him to describe "the whirling spheares;" but Calliope interferes, and directs him to the *Zodiacus Vitæ* of Palingenius. Her sisters approve this advice, and Barnaby proceeds to his task. Before the edition of 1561 a new metrical introduction appeared, in which he says that the divine eloquence of Chaucer

Hath past the poets all that came
Of auncient Brutus lyne.

And if Homer, Virgil and Ovid had found their way hither in the Augustan age of Googe,

LIFE, written by the godly and learned poet Marcellus Pallingenius Stellatus, wherein are conteyned twelue bookes disclosing the haynous crymes and wicked vices of our corrupt nature: And plainlye declaring the pleasaunt and perfit pathway vnto eternall life, besides a number of digressions both pleasaunt and profitable. Newly translated into Englishe verse by Barnabee Googe. *Probitas laudatur et alget.* Imprinted at London by Henry Denham for Rafe Newberye dwelling in Fleet-streate. Anno 1565. Aprilis 18[x]." Bishop Tanner, deceived by Wood's papers, supposes that this first edition, which he had evidently never seen, and which is indeed uncommonly rare, contained only the first seven books. In the epistle dedicatory to secretary sir William Cecill, he mentions his "simple trauayles lately dedicated vnto your honor." These are his set of miscellaneous poems printed in 1563, or, "Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonnetes*, newly written by Barnabe Googe, 1563, 15 Marche, for Raffe Newbery dwelling in Flete-strete a little aboue the Conduit in the late shop of Thomas Berthelet[y]." He apologises for attempting this work, three books of which, as he had understood too late, were "both eloquentely and excellently Englished by Maister Smith, clark vnto the most honorable of the queenes maiesties counsell. Whose doings as in other matters I haue with admiration be-

All these might well be sure
Theyr matches here to fynde,
So muche doth England florishe now
With men of muses' kynde.

In the following year Googe produced his own poems and inserted a poetical and pleasing address to his translation of Pallingen.—PARK.]

[w] A receipt for Ralph Newbery's license is entered for printing "A boke called Pallingenius," I suppose the original, 1560. Registr. Station. A. fol. 48 a.

[x] In 12mo. Bl. lett. Not paged. The last signature is Y y iiij. The colophon, "Imprinted at London by Henry Denham," &c. On the second leaf after the title, is an armorial coat with six copartments, and at the top the initials B. G. Then follow Latin commendatory verses, by Gilbert Duke, Christopher Carlile doctor in divinity, James Itzwert, George Chatterton fellow of Christ college in Cambridge, and David Bell, with some anonymous. Doctor Christopher Carlile was of Cambridge, and a learned orientalist, about 1550. He published many tracts in divinity. He was a writer of Greek and Latin verses. He has some in both languages on the death of Bucer in 1551. See Bucer's English Works, Basil. fol. 1577. f. 903. And in the collection on the death of the two Brandons, 1551, 4to. ut supr. Others, before his Reply to Richard Smyth, a papistic divine, Lond. 1582. 4to. He prefixed four Latin copies to Drant's Ecclesiastes above-mentioned, Lond. 1572. 4to. Two, to one of doctor John Jones's books on Baths, Lond. 1572, 4to. A Sapphic ode to Sadler's version of Vegetius, Lond. 1572. 4to. A Latin copy to Chaloner's *De Rep. Anglorum*, Lond. 1579. 4to. A Latin hexastic to Batman's Doom, Lond. 1581. 4to. Two of his Latin poems *in Papam*, are (MS. Bale.) in MSS. Cotton. Tit. D. x. f. 77. He translated the Psalms into English prose, with learned notes. Finished Jun. 24, 1573. Among MSS. More, 206. Colomesius has published a fragment of a Latin Epistle from him to Castalio, dat. kal. Maii, 1562. *Cl. Viror. Epist. singul.* Lond. 1694. 12mo.

* [L. Blundeston, in an address to the reader dated May 27, 1562, takes credit to himself for having conducted these poems to the printer, and desires to be credited for wishing well to desert:

Give Googe therefore his own deserved fame,
Give Blundeston leave to wysh wel to his name.

The eclogues are eight in number, the epitaphs four, and the sonnets, which are unrestricted to any uniformity of verse, are very numerous. Several of these are addressed to Alexander Nowell, and Nevyl.—PARK.]

[y] In 12mo. Bl. lett. See Registr. Station. A. fol. 88 b.

helde," &c.[z]. Googe was first a retainer to Cecill, and afterwards, in 1563, a gentleman-pensioner to the queen[a]. In his address to the *vertuous and frendley reader*, he thus, but with the zeal of a puritan, defends divine poetry: "The diuine and notable Prophecies of Esay, the Lamentation of Jeremie, the Songs and Ballades of Solomon, the Psalter of Dauid, and the Booke of Hiob[b], were written by the first auctours in perfect and pleasaunt hexameter verses. So that the deuine and canonicall volumes were garnished and set forth with sweete according tunes and heauenly soundes of pleasaunt metre. Yet wyll not the gracelesse company of our pernicious hypocrites allow, that the Psalmes of Dauid should be translated into Englishe metre. Marry, saye they, bycause they were only receiued to be *chaunted* in the church, and not to be song in euery coblers shop. O monstrous and malicious infidels! —do you abhorre to heare [God's] glory and prayse sounding in the mouth of a poore christian artificer?" &c. He adds, that since Chaucer, "there hath flourished in England so fine and filed phrases, and so good and pleasant poets, as may counteruayle the doings of Virgill, Ouid, Horace, Iuuenal, Martial," &c. There was a second edition in 1588*, in which the former prefatory matters of every kind are omitted[c]. This edition is dedicated to lord Buckhurst[d].

From the title of this work, ZODIACUS VITÆ, written in Latin hexameters by Marcello Palingeni, an Italian, about the year 1531, the reader at least expects some astronomical allusions. But it has not the most distant connection with the stars; except that the poet is once transported to the moon, not to measure her diameter, but for a moral purpose; and that he once takes occasion, in his general survey of the world, and in reference to his title, to introduce a philosophic explanation of the zodiacal system[e]. The author meaning to divide his poem into

[z] It is doubtful whether he means sir Thomas Smith, the secretary. Nor does it appear, whether this translation was in verse or prose. Sir Thomas Smith, however, has left some English poetry. While a prisoner in the Tower in 1549, he translated eleven of David's Psalms into English metre, and composed three English metrical prayers, with three English copies of verses besides. These are now in the British Museum, MSS. Reg. 17. A. xvii. I ought to have mentioned this before.

[a] Strype's Parker, p. 144.

[b] Job.

* [Thus largely entitled: "The Zodiake of Life, written by the excellent and Christian poet Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus. Wherein are conteined twelve severall labours, pointing out most liuely, the whole compasse of the world, the reformation of manners, the miseries of mankinde, the path way to vertue and vice, the eternitie of the soule, the course of the heavens, the misteries of nature, and diuers other circumstances of great learning, and no lesse iudgement. Translated out of Latine into English by Barnabie Googe, and by him newly recognished. *Probitas*, &c. Hereunto is annexed (for the reader's advantage) a large Table, as well of woords as of matters mentioned in this whole worke. Imp. at London by Robert Robinson dwelling in Fetter Lane neere Holborne 1588." In this edition appears a translation of the Author's original preface addressed to Hercules II. Duke of Ferrar. The dedication is addressed to his former patron, Lord Burghley (not Buckhurst); and in this he declares, that although the number of faults in his rude translation made it impossible for him to amend it in all points, yet in overpassing many jarring discords, he had set the whole in as good tune as he could. He expresses an intention hereafter to attempt some matter worthy of the noble personage to whom he inscribes this.—PARK.]

[c] Bl. lett. 4to.

[d] At the end is a short copy of verses by Abraham Fleming. See supr. p. 326.

[e] B. xi. Aquarius.

twelve books, chose to distinguish each with a name of the celestial signs; just as Herodotus, but with less affectation and inconsistency, marked the nine books or divisions of his history with the names of the nine Muses. Yet so strange and pedantic a title is not totally without a conceit, as the author was born at Stellada, or Stellata, a province of Ferrara, and from whence he calls himself Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus[f].

This poem is a general satire on life, yet without peevishness or malevolence; and with more of the solemnity of the censor than the petulance of the satirist*. Much of the morality is couched under allegorical personages and adventures. The Latinity is tolerably pure, but there is a mediocrity in the versification. Palingenius's transitions often discover more quickness of imagination, and fertility of reflection, than solidity of judgment. Having started a topic, he pursues it through all its possible affinities, and deviates into the most distant and unnecessary digressions. Yet there is a facility in his manner, which is not always unpleasing; nor is the general conduct of the work void of art and method. He moralizes with a boldness and a liberality of sentiment, which were then unusual; and his maxims and strictures are sometimes tinctured with a spirit of libertinism, which, without exposing the opinions, must have offended the gravity, of the more orthodox ecclesiastics. He fancies that a confident philosopher, who rashly presumes to scrutinize the remote mysteries of nature, is shown in heaven like an ape, for the public diversion of the gods. A thought evidently borrowed by Pope[g]. Although he submits his performance to the sentence of the church, he treats the authority of the popes, and the voluptuous lives of the monks, with the severest acrimony. It was the last circumstance that chiefly contributed to give this poem almost the rank of a classic in the reformed countries, and probably produced an early English translation. After his death, he was pronounced a heretic; and his body was taken up, and committed to the flames: a measure which only contributed to spread his book, and disseminate his doctrines.

Googe seems chiefly to have excelled in rendering the descriptive and flowery passages of this moral ZODIAC. He thus describes the Spring:—

The earth againe doth florishe greene,
The trees repaire their springe;

[f] It should have been Stellatensis.

* [Googe says in his dedication to Cecil, "I have many times much mused wyth myselfe how he (Palingenius) durst take upon him so boldely to controll the corrupte and unchristian lives of the whole colledge of contemptuous Cardinals, the ungracious overseeings of bloud thirsty bishops, the panch plying practises of pelting priours, the manifold madnesse of mischievous monkes, wyth the filthy fraternitie of flattering friers." From such a specimen it might be expected that alliteration had been studiously pursued in Googe's version, but this does not appear.—PARK.]

[g] See Essay on Pope, p. 94.

[The turn of the sentiment differs. Palingenius laughed at Man: Pope intended at least to praise Newton; but perhaps the imitation of the thought occasioned an ambiguity.—ASHBY.]

With pleasaunt notes the nightingale
Beginneth new to sing.
With flowers fresh their heads bedeckt,
The Fairies dance in fielde:
And wanton songes in mossye dennes
The Drids and Satirs yielde.
The wynged Cupide fast doth cast
His dartes of gold yframed, &c.[h]

There is some poetic imagination in SAGITTARIUS, or the ninth book, where a divine mystagogue opens to the poet's eyes an unknown region of infernal kings and inhabitants. But this is an imitation of Dante. As a specimen of the translation, and of the author's fancy, I will transcribe some of this imagery.

Now open wyde your springs, and playne
Your caues abrode displaye,
You sisters of Parnassus hyll
Beset about with baye!
And vnto me, for neede it is,
A hundred tongues in verse
Sende oute, that I these ayrie kings
And people may rehearse.———
Here fyrst, whereas in chariot red
Aurora fayre doth ryse,
And bright from out the ocean seas
Appeares to mortal eyes,
And chaseth hence the hellish night
With blushing beauty fayre,
A mighty King I might discerne,
Placde hie in lofty chayre:
Hys haire with fyry garland deckt
Puft vp in fiendish wise;
Wyth browes full broade, and threatning loke,
And fyry-flaming eyes.
Two monstrous hornes and large he had,
And nostrils wide in sight;
Al black himself, (for bodies black
To euery euyll spright,
And ugly shape, hath nature dealt,)
Yet white his teeth did showe;
And white his grenning tuskes stode,
Large winges on him did growe,
Framde like the wings of flindermice;
His fete of largest sise,

[h] B. ii. Taurus. Signat. B iij.

In fashion as the wilde-duck beares,
Or goose that creaking cries:
His tayle such one as lions haue:
All naked sate he there,
But bodies couered round about
Wyth lothsome shagged haire,
A number great about him stoode, &c.[l]

After viewing the wonders of heaven, his guide Timalphes, the son of Jupiter and Arete, shows him the moon, whose gates are half of gold and half of silver. They enter a city of the moon.

The loftie walles of diamonde strong
Were raysed high and framde;
The bulwarks built of carbuncle
That all as fyer yflamde.———
And wondred at the number great
That through the city so,
Al clad in whyte, by thousands thick,
Amyd the streates did go.
Their heads beset with garlands fayre:
In hand the lillies white
They ioyfull beare[k].——

Then follows a mixture of classical and christian history and mythology. This poem has many symptoms of the wildness and wanderings of Italian fiction.

It must be confessed, that there is a perspicuity and a freedom in Googe's versification. But this metre of Sternhold and Hopkins impoverished three parts of the poetry of queen Elizabeth's reign. A hermit is thus described, who afterwards proves to be sir EPICURE, in a part of the poem which has been copied by sir David Lyndesey.

His hoary beard with siluer heares
His middle fully rought[l];
His skin was white, and ioyfull face:
Of diuers colours wrought,
A flowry garland gay he ware
About his semely heare, &c.[m]

The seventh book, in which the poet lobks down upon the world, with its various occupations, follies, and vices, is opened with these nervous and elegant stanzas.

My Muse, aloft! raise vp thyself,
And vse a better flite:

[l] B. ix. Signat. H H iiij.
[k] Ibid. Signat. G G iiij.
[l] reached.
[m] Lib. iii. E j.

Mount vp on hie, and think it scorn
Of base affayres to write.
More great renoune, and glory more,
In hautye matter lyes:
View thou the gods, and take thy course
Aboue the starrye skies:
Where spring-tyme lasts for euermore,
Where peace doth neuer quayle;
Where Sunne doth shyne continuallye,
Where light doth neuer fayle.
Clowd-causer southwinde none there is,
No boystrous Boreas blowes;
But mylder breathes the western breeze
Where sweet ambrosia growes.
Take thou this way, and yet sometimes
Downe falling fast from hye,
Nowe vp, nowe downe, with sundry sort
Of gates[n] aloft go flye.
And as some hawty place he seekes
That couets farre to see,
So vp to Joue, past[o] starres to clyme,
Is nedefull nowe for thee.
There shalt thou, from the towry top
Of crystall-colour'd skie,
The plot of all the world beholde
With viewe of perfit eye.[p]

One cannot but remark, that the conduct and machinery of the old visionary poems is commonly the same. A rural scene, generally a wilderness, is supposed. An imaginary being of consummate wisdom, a hermit, a goddess, or an angel, appears; and having purged the poet's eye with a few drops of some celestial elixir, conducts him to the top of an inaccessible mountain, which commands an unbounded plain filled with all nations. A cavern opens, and displays the torments of the damned: he next is introduced into heaven, by way of the moon, the only planet which was thought big enough for a poetical visit. Although suddenly deserted by his mystic intelligencer, he finds himself weary and desolate, on the sea-shore, in an impassable forest, or a flowery meadow.

The following is the passage which Pope has copied from Palingenius: and as Pope was a great reader of the old English poets, it is most probable that he took it immediately from our translator, or found it by his direction[q].

[n] going.
[o] beyond.
[p] Signat. N j.
[q] Pope's lines are almost too well known to be transcribed:—

Superior beings, when of late they saw
A mortal man unfold all nature's law,
Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape,
And show'd a Newton as we show an ape.

An Ape, quoth she, and iesting-stock
Is Man, to god in skye,
As oft as he doth trust his wit
Too much, presuming hie,
Dares searche the thinges of nature hid,
Her secrets for to speake;
When as in very deed his minde
Is dull, and all to weake.[r]

These are the lines of the original.

Simia cælicolum risusque jocusque deorum est,
Tunc Homo, cum temere ingenio confidit, et audet
Abdita naturæ scrutari, arcanaque rerum;
Cum revera ejus crassa imbecillaque sit mens.[s]

Googe, supposed to have been a native of Alvingham in Lincolnshire, was a scholar, and was educated both at Christ's college in Cambridge, and New college in Oxford. He is complimented more than once in Turberville's SONNETS[t]. He published other translations in English. I have already cited his version of Naogeorgus's hexametrical poem on ANTICHRIST, or the PAPAL DOMINION*, printed at London in 1570, and dedicated to his chief patron sir William Cecill[u]. The dedication is dated from Staples-inn, where he was a student. At the end of the book, is his version of the same author's SPIRITUAL AGRICULTURE, dedicated to queen Elizabeth[w]. Thomas Naogeorgus, a German, whose real name is Kirchmaier, was one of the many moral or rather theological Latin poets produced by the reformation[x]. Googe also translated and enlarged Conrade Heresbach's treatise on agriculture, gardening, orchards, cattle, and domestic fowls[y]. This version

[r] B. vi. Signat. Q iij. [s] B. vi. v. 186.

[t] See fol. 8 b. 11 a. 124 a. edit. 1571. [And again at fol. 115. Jasper Heywood also in his metrical preface to Thyestes, speaks of the grateful name that Googe had got; and Robinson, in his Reward of Wickednesse 1574, benches him by the side of Skelton, Lydgate, Wager and Heywood.—PARK.]

* [Googe's title runs thus: "The popish kingdome, or reigne of Antichrist, written in Latine verse by Thomas Naogeorgus, and Englyshed by Barnabe Googe." Imprinted by Henry Denham for R. Watkins, 1570. 4to. But it is not dated from any place, nor is there any dedication or address to sir William Cecil. The translator professes to have undertaken his work on purpose to dedicate it to his most gratious and redoubted soveraigne lady, Q. Elizabeth: and subjoins another book, entitled "The Spiritual Husbandrie," by the same author, which he long before translated. The original preface is dated Basil, Feb. 20, 1553. Both of these contain much curious matter.—PARK.]

[u] I suspect there is a former edition for W. Pickering, Lond. 1566. 4to.

[w] In quarto.

[x] Kirchmaier signifies the same in German as his assumed Greek name ΝΑΟΓΕΟΡΓΟΣ, a labourer in the church. He wrote besides, five books of Satires, and two tragedies in Latin. He died in 1578. See "Thomæ Naogeorgii *Regnum Papisticum*, cui adjecta sunt quædam alia ejusdem argumenti. Basil. 1553." 8vo. Ibid. 1559. One of his Latin tragedies called *Hamanus*, is printed among Oporinus's *Dramata Sacra*, or plays from the Old Testament, in 1547, many of which are Latin versions from the vernacular German. See Oporin. Dram. S. vol. ii. p. 107.

[y] In quarto, for Richard Watkins. In the Preface to the first edition, he says, "For my safety in the vniuersitie, I craue the aid and appeal to the defence of the famous Christ-college in Cambridge whereof I was ons an vnprofitable member, and [of] the ancient mother of learned men the New-college in Oxford."

was printed in 1577, and dedicated from Kingston to sir William Fitzwilliams[z]. Among Crynes's curious books in the Bodleian at Oxford[a], is Googe's translation from the Spanish of Lopez de Mendoza's PROVERBES, dedicated to Cecill, which I have never seen elsewhere, printed at London by R. Watkins in 1579[b]. In this book the old Spanish paraphrast mentions Boccace's THESEID[c].

But it was not only to these later and degenerate classics, and to modern tracts, that Googe's industry was confined. He also translated into English what he called Aristotle's TABLE OF THE TEN CATEGORIES[d], that capital example of ingenious but useless subtlety, of method which cannot be applied to practice, and of that affectation of unnecessary deduction and frivolous investigation, which characterises the philosophy of the Greeks, and which is conspicuous not only in the demonstrations of Euclid, but in the Socratic disputations recorded by Xenophon. The solid simplicity of common sense would have been much less subject to circumlocution, embarrassment, and ambiguity. We do not want to be told by a chain of proofs, that two and two make four. This specific character of the schools of the Greeks, is perhaps to be traced backwards to the loquacity, the love of paradox, and the fondness for argumentative discourse, so peculiar to their nation. Even the good sense of Epictetus was not proof against this captious phrenzy. What patience can endure the solemn quibbles, which mark the stoical conferences of that philosopher preserved by Arrian? It is to this spirit, not solely from a principle of invidious malignity, that Tully alludes, where he calls the Greeks, "Homines contentionis quam veritatis cupidiores[e]." And in an another part of the same work he says, that it is a principal and even a national fault of this people, "Quocunque in loco, quoscunque inter homines visum est, de rebus aut DIFFICILLIMIS aut non NECESSARIIS, ARGUTISSIME DISPUTARE[f]." The natural liveliness of the Athenians, heightened by the free politics of a democracy, seems to have tinctured their conversation with this sort of declamatory disputation, which they frequently practised under an earnest pretence of discovering the truth, but in reality to indulge their native disposition to debate, to display their abundance of words, and their address of argument, to amuse, surprise, and perplex. Some of Plato's dialogues, professing a profundity of speculation, have much of this talkative humour.

Besides these versions of the Greek and Roman poets, and of the ancient writers in prose, incidentally mentioned in this review, it will be sufficient to observe here in general, that almost all the Greek and Roman classics appeared in English before the year 1600. The effect and influence of these translations on our poetry will be considered in a future section.

[z] Feb. 1, 1577. There were other editions, 1578, 1594. Lond. 4to.
[a] Cod. Crynes, 886. [b] Sm. 8vo. [c] Fol. 71 a. [d] MSS. Coxeter.
[e] *De Oratore*, lib. i. § xi.
[f] Ibid. lib. ii. § iv.

SECTION LX.

Translation of Italian Novels. Of Boccace. Paynter's Palace of Pleasure. Other versions of the same sort. Early metrical versions of Boccace's Theodore and Honoria, and Cymon and Iphigenia. Romeus and Juliet. Bandello translated. Romances from Bretagne. Plot of Shakspeare's Tempest. Miscellaneous Collections of translated novels before the year 1600. *Pantheon. Novels arbitrarily licensed or suppressed. Reformation of the English press.*

But the ardour of translation was not now circumscribed within the bounds of the classics, whether poets, historians, orators, or critics, of Greece and Rome.

I have before observed, that with our frequent tours through Italy, and our affectation of Italian manners, about the middle of the sixteenth century, the Italian poets became fashionable, and that this circumstance, for a time at least, gave a new turn to our poetry. The Italian poets, however, were but in few hands; and a practice of a more popular and general nature, yet still resulting from our communications with Italy, now began to prevail, which produced still greater revolutions. This was the translation of Italian books, chiefly on fictitious and narrative subjects, into English.

The learned Ascham thought this novelty in our literature too important to be passed over without observation, in his reflections on the course of an ingenuous education. It will be much to our purpose to transcribe what he has said on this subject; although I think his arguments are more like the reasonings of a rigid puritan, than of a man of liberal views and true penetration; and that he endeavours to account for the origin, and to state the consequences, of these translations, more in the spirit of an early calvinistic preacher, than as a sensible critic or a polite scholar. "These be the inchauntments of Circe, brought out of Italie to marre mens manners in England: much, by example of ill life, but more by precepts of fonde bookes, of late translated oute of Italian into English, solde in euery shop in London, commended by honest titles, the sooner to corrupt honest manners, dedicated ouer boldly to vertuous and honorable personages, the easelyer to beguile simple and honest wittes. It is pitty, that those which haue authoritie and charge to allow and disallow works to be printed, be no more circumspect herein than they are. Ten Sermons at Paules Crosse doe not so much good for moouing men to true doctrine, as one of these bookes does harme with inticing men to ill living. Yea I say farther, these bookes tend not so much to corrupt honest liuing, as they doe to subuert true religion. More papists be made by your merry bookes of

Italy than by your earnest bookes of Louain[a].—When the busie and open papists could not, by their contentious bookes, turne men in Englande faste inough from troth and right iudgemente in doctrine, then the suttle and secret papists at home procured bawdie bookes to be translated out of the Italian toong, whereby ouermany yong willes and witts, allured to wantonnes, doe now boldly contemne all seuere bookes that sound to honestie and godlines. In our forefathers time, when papistrie, as a standing poole, couered and ouerflowed all England, few bookes were red in our toong, sauyng certayne Bookes of Chiualrie, as they sayd for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in monasteries by idle monkes or wanton chanons: as one for example, MORTE ARTHUR, the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two specyall poyntes, in open mans slaghter and bolde bawdrie: in which booke those be counted the noblest knights that doe kill most men without any quarrell, and commit fowlest aduoulteries by sutlest shifts: as, syr Launcelote with the wife of king Arthure his maister: syr Tristram with the wife of king Marke his vncle: syr Lamerocke with the wife of king Lote that was his owne aunte. This is good stuffe for wise men to laughe at, or honest men to take pleasure at. Yet I knowe when God's Bible was banished the court, and MORTE ARTHUR receaued into the princes chamber. What toyes the dayly reading of such a booke may worke in the will of a yong ientleman, or a yong maide, that liueth welthely and idlely, wise men can iudge, and honest men doe pittie. And yet ten MORTE ARTHURES doe not the tenth part so much harme, as one of these bookes made in Italie, and translated in England. They open, not fond and common ways to vice, but such suttle, cunning, new and diuerse shifts, to carry yong willes to vanitie and yong wittes to mischiefe, to teach old bawdes new schoole pointes, as the simple head of an Englishman is not hable to inuent, nor neuer was heard of in England before, yea when papistrie ouerflowed all. Suffer these bookes to be read, and they shall soon displace all bookes of godly learning. For they, carrying the will to vanitie, and marring good manners, shall easily corrupt the minde with ill opinions, and false judgement in doctrine: first to thinke ill of all true religion, and at last, to thinke nothing of God himselfe, one speciall poynt that is to be learned in Italie and Italian bookes. And that which is most to be lamented, and therefore more nedefull to be looked to, there be more of these vngracious bookes set out in print within these fewe moneths, than have been seene in England many score yeares before. And because our Englishmen made Italians cannot hurt but certaine persons, and in certaine places, therefore these Italian bookes are made English, to bringe mischiefe inough openly and boldly to all states[b], great and meane, yong and old, euery where.—Our English men Italianated haue

[a] Serious books in divinity, written by the papists. The study of controversial theology flourished at the university of Louvain. [b] conditions of life.

more in reuerence the TRIUMPHES of Petrarche[c], than the GENESIS of Moyses. They make more accompt of Tullies Offices, than saint Paules Epistles: of a Tale in Boccace, than the Story of the Bible," &c.[d]

Ascham talks here exactly in the style of Prynne's HISTRIOMASTIX. It must indeed be confessed, that by these books many pernicious obscenities were circulated, and perhaps the doctrine of intrigue more accurately taught and exemplified than before. But every advantage is attended with its inconveniencies and abuses. That to procure translations of Italian tales was a plot of the papists, either for the purpose of facilitating the propagation of their opinions, of polluting the minds of our youth, or of diffusing a spirit of scepticism, I am by no means convinced. But I have nothing to do with the moral effects of these versions. I mean only to show their influence on our literature, more particularly on our poetry, although I reserve the discussion of this point for a future section. At present, my design is to give the reader a full and uniform view of the chief of these translations from the Italian, which appeared in England before the year 1600.

I will begin with Boccace. The reader recollects Boccace's THESEID and TROILUS, many of his Tales, and large passages from Petrarch and Dante, translated by Chaucer. But the golden mine of Italian fiction opened by Chaucer, was soon closed and forgotten. I must however premise, that the Italian language now began to grow so fashionable, that it was explained in lexicons and grammars, written in English, and with a view to the illustration of the three principal Italian poets. So early as 1550, were published, "Principal rules of the Italian grammar, with a dictionarie for the better vnderstanding of Boccase, Petrarche, and Dante, gathered into this tonge by William Thomas[e]." It is dedicated to sir Thomas Chaloner, an accomplished scholar. The third edition of this book is dated in 1567. Scipio Lentulo's Italian grammar was translated into English in 1578, by Henry Grantham[f]. Soon afterwards appeared, in 1583, "CAMPO DI FIOR, or The Flouric Field of four Languages of M. Claudius Desainliens, for the furtherance of the learners of the Latine, French, and English, but chieflie of the Italian tongue[g]." In 1591, Thomas Woodcock printed "Florio's second frutes to be gathered of twelve trees of divers but delightfull tastes to the tongues of Italian and Englishmen. To which is annexed a gardine of recreation yielding 6000 Italian prouerbs[h]." Florio is Shakspeare's

[c] In such universal vogue were the Triumphs of Petrarch, or his *Trionfi d'Amour*, that they were made into a public pageant at the entrance, I think, of Charles the Fifth into Madrid.

[d] Ascham's Schoolemaster, edit. 1589. fol. 25 a. seqq. This book was begun soon after the year 1563. Preface, p. 1.

[e] In quarto, for T. Berthelett. Again 4to. 1561. For T. Powell. Again, 4to. 1567. For H. Wykes. It was written at Padua in 1548. Thomas, a bachelor in civil law at Oxford, and a clergyman, is said to have been rewarded by Edward the Sixth with several preferments. See Strype's Grindal, p. 5.

[f] For T. Vautrollier. 8vo.

[g] For Vautrollier. 12mo.

[h] But his First Frute, or Dialogues in Italian and English, with instruction for the Italian, appeared in 1578; his Italian dictionary, in 1595.

Holophernes in Love's Labour's Lost[l]. And not to extend this catalogue, which I fear is not hitherto complete, any further, The ITALIAN SCHOOLE-MASTER was published in 1591[k]. But to proceed.

Before the year 1570, William Paynter, clerk of the Office of Arms within the Tower of London, and who seems to have been master of the school of Sevenoaks in Kent, printed a very considerable part of Boccace's novels. His first collection is entitled, "The PALACE OF PLEASURE, the first volume, containing sixty novels out of Boccacio, London, 1566." It is dedicated to lord Warwick[l]. A second volume soon appeared, "The PALLACE OF PLEASURE the second volume containing thirty-four novels, London, 1567[m]." This is dedicated to sir George Howard; and dated from his house near the Tower, as is the former volume. It would be superfluous to point out here the uses which Shakspeare made of these volumes, after the full investigation which his ancient allusions and his plots have so lately received. One William Painter, undoubtedly the same, translated William Fulk's ANTIPROGNOSTICON, a treatise written to expose the astrologers of those times[n]. He also prefixed a Latin tetrastic to Fulk's original, printed in 1570[o].

With Painter's PALACE OF PLEASURE, we must not confound "A petite Pallace of Pettie his plesure," although properly claiming a place here, a book of stories from Italian and other writers, translated and collected by William Pettie, a student of Christ-church in Oxford about the year 1576[p]. It is said to contain "manie prettie histories by him set forth in comely colors and most delightfully discoursed." The first edition I have seen was printed in 1598, the year before our author's death, by James Roberts. The first tale is SINORIX AND CAMMA, two lovers of Sienna in Italy, the last ALEXIUS[q]. Among Antony Wood's books in the Ashmolean Museum, is a second edition dated 1608[r]. But Wood, who purchased and carefully preserved this

[l] See act iv. sc. 2.

[k] For Thomas Purfoot. 12mo.

[l] A second edition was printed for H. Binneman, Lond. 1575. 4to.

[m] A second edition was printed by Thomas Marsh, in octavo. Both volumes appeared in 1575. 4to.

[The Palace of Pleasure was reprinted by Mr. Haslewood in 1813. 3 vols. 4to. —PRICE.]

[n] Lond. 1570. 12mo. At the end is an English tract against the astrologers, very probably written by Painter. Edward Dering, a fellow of Christ's college Cambridge, in a copy of recommendatory verses prefixed to the second edition of Googe's Palingenius, attacks Painter, Lucas, and others, the abettors of Fulk's *Antiprognosticon*, and the censurers of astrology. In the ancient registers of the Stationers' company, an Almanac is usually joined with a PROGNOSTICATION. See Registr. A. fol. 59 b. 61 a.

[o] In 1563, is a receipt for a license to William Joiner for printing "The Citye of Cyvelite, translated into Englesshe by William Paynter." Registr. A. ut supr. fol. 86 b. In 1565, there is a receipt for license to W. James to print "serten historyes collected oute of dyvers ryghte good and profitable authors by William Paynter." Ibid. fol. 134 b. The second part of the "Palice of Pleasure," is entered with Nicholas Englonde, in 1565. Ibid. fol. 156 a.

[p] Entered that year, Aug. 5, to Watkins. Registr. Station. B. fol. 134 a.

[q] There is an Epistle to the Reader by R. W. In 1569, there is an entry with Richard James for printing "A ballet intituled Sinorix Canna and Sinnatus." Registr. Station. A. fol. 191 b. In Pettie's tale, Camma is wife to Sinnatus.

[r] There was a third in 1613. By G. Eld. Lond. 4to. Bl. lett.

performance, solely because it was written by his great uncle, is of opinion, that "it is now so far from being excellent or fine, that it is more fit to be read by a school-boy, or rusticall amoretto, than by a gentleman of mode and language[s]." Most of the stories are classical, perhaps supplied by the English Ovid, yet with a variety of innovations, and a mixture of modern manners.

Painter at the end of his second volume, has left us this curious notice. "Bicause sodaynly, contrary to expectation, this Volume is risen to greater heape of leaues, I doe omit for this present time SUNDRY NOUELS of mery devise, reseruing the same to be joyned with the rest of an other part, wherein shall succeede the remnant of Bandello, specially sutch, suffrable, as the learned French man François de Belleforrest hath selected, and the choysest done in the Italian. Some also out of Erizzo, Ser Giouanni Florentino, Parabosco, Cynthio, Straparole, Sansouino, and the best liked out of the Queene of Nauarre, and other Authors. Take these in good part, with those that haue and shall come forth." But there is the greatest reason to believe, that no third volume ever appeared: and it is probable, that Painter by the interest of his booksellers, in compliance with the prevailing mode of publication, and for the accommodation of universal readers, was afterwards persuaded to print his *sundry novels* in the perishable form of separate pamphlets, which cannot now be recovered.

Boccace's FIAMETTA was translated by an Italian, who seems to have borne some office about the court, in 1587, with this title, "AMOROUS FIAMETTA, wherein is sette downe a catalogve of all and singvlar passions of loue and iealousie incident to an enamored yong gentlewoman, with a notable caueat for all women to eschew deceitfull and wicked loue, by an apparent example of a Neapolitan lady, her approued and long miseries, and wyth many sound dehortations from the same. Fyrst written in Italian by master John Boccace, the learned Florentine, and poet lavreat. And now done into English by B. Giouanno del M. Tempt." The same year was also printed, "Thirteene most pleasaunt and delectable questions entituled A DISPORT of diuers noble personages from Boccace. Imprinted at London by A.W. for Thomas Woodcock, 1587[u]."

Several tales of Boccace's DECAMERON were now translated into English rhymes. The celebrated story of the friendship of TITUS AND GESIPPUS was rendered by Edward Lewicke, a name not known in the catalogue of English poets, in 1562[w]. The title is forgotten with the translator. "The most wonderfull and pleasaunt history of Titus and Gisippus, whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect

[s] Ath. Oxon. i. 240. Pattie in conjunction with Bartholomew Young, translated the Civile Conversation of Stephen Guazzo, 1586. 4to.

[t] In quarto, for Thomas Gubbins.

[u] In quarto. There is entered with Richard Smyth, in 1566, "A boke intituled the xiij questions composed in the Italian by John Boccace." Registr. Station. A. fol. 153 a.

[w] See vol. ii. p. 493. note [p].

frendshyp drawen into English metre by Edwarde Lewicke. Anno 1562. For Thomas Hacket[x]."

It is not suspected, that those affecting stories, the CYMON AND IPHIGENIA, and the THEODORE AND HONORIA, of Boccace, so beautifully paraphrased by Dryden, appeared in English verse, early in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

THEODORE AND HONORIA was translated, in 1569, by doctor Christopher Tye, the musician, already mentioned as a voluminous versifier of scripture in the reign of Edward the Sixth. The names of the lovers are disguised, in the following title. "A notable historye of Nastagio and Trauersari, no less pitiefull than pleasaunt, translated out of Italian into English verse by C. T. Imprinted at London in Poules churchyarde, by Thomas Purefoote dwelling at the signe of the Lucrece. Anno 1569[y]." Tye has unluckily applied to this tale the same stanza which he used in translating the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. The knight of hell pursuing the lady, is thus described.

He sawe approche with swiftie foote
The place where he did staye,
A dame, with scattred heares vntrussde,
Bereft of her araye.———.

Besides all this, two mastiffes great
Both fierce and full he sawe,
That fiercely pinchde her by the flanke
With greedie rauening rawe.

And eke a Knight, of colour swarthe,
He sawe behinde her backe,
Came pricking after, flinging forthe
Vpon a courser blacke:

With gastlye thretning countenaunce,
With armyng sworde in hande;
His looke wold make one feare, his eyes
Were like a fiery brande, &c.[z]

About the same time appeared the tale of CYMON AND IPHIGENIA, "A pleasaunt and delightfull History of Galesus, Cymon, and Iphigenia, describing the ficklenesse of fortune in love. Translated out of Italian into Englishe verse by T. C. gentleman. Printed by Nicholas Wyer in saint Martin's parish besides Charing Cross[a]." It is in

[x] In 12mo. Ad calc. "FINIS *quod Edward Lewick.*" [Mr. Collier has shown that Lewicke did not translate from Boccacio, but from Sir T. Elliott's "Governor." Poetical Decameron, vol. ii. p. 84.—PRICE.] There is entered, in 1570, with H. Binneman, "The petifull history of ij lovyng Italians." Registr. Station. A. fol. 204 b.

[y] In 12mo. Bl. lett. In that year Purfoot has license to print "the History of Nostagio." The same book. Registr. Station. A. fol. 183 b. [See supr. p. 170.]

[z] Signat. A. v. [a] In 12mo. Bl. lett.

stanzas*. I know not with what poet of that time the initials T. C. can correspond, except with Thomas Churchyard, or Thomas Campion. The latter is among the poets in ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS printed in 1600, is named by Camden, with Spenser, Sidney, and Drayton; and, among other pieces, published "Songs, bewailing the untimely death of Prince Henry†, set forth to bee sung to the lute or viol by John Coprario‡, in 1613[b]." But he seems rather too late to

* [And commences thus:

An ilande standes in Tritons reigne,
That Cyprus hath to name:
A seate somtime of kingdomes nyne
Renowmde with lastyng fame,
And for the great amenitie
And fertilnes of soyle
Not subject or of value lesse
Than any ocean ile, &c.—PARK.]

† [This rare publication occurs in the Bodleian Library, and is inscribed in a copy of Latin verses to Frederick Count Palatine, the brother-in-law of prince Henry. The songs are seven in number, and seem of sufficient merit to afford a specimen of Campion's lyric verse. The following is addressed to the illustrious Frederic.

How like a golden dreame you met and parted,
That pleasing straight doth vanish:
O, who can ever banish
The thought of one so princely and free-hearted!
But hee was pul'd up in his prime by fate,
And love for him must mourne, though all too late.
Teares to the dead are due, let none forbid
Sad harts to sigh, true griefe cannot be hid.

Yet the most bitter storme to height increased,
By heav'n againe is ceased:
O time, that all things movest,
In griefe and joy thou equall measure lovest.
Such the condition is of humane life,
Care must with pleasure mixe, and peace with strife:
Thoughts with the dayes must change, as tapers waste,
So must our griefes, day breakes when night is past.

Campion also wrote "The Description of a Maske presented before the King at Whitehall on Twelfth Night, in honour of the marriage of Lord Hayes with the daughter of Lord Dennye." 1607. 4to. To this other short poems are adjoined. See MS. Addenda to Gildon, in the Bodleian Library, by T. Coxeter, who further notices, as the productions of Campion, "A relation of the Royal Entertainment given by Lord Knowles at Cawsome-house near Reading, to Q. Anne, in her progress toward Bathe, Apr. 27 & 8th, 1613; whereunto is annexed the description, speeches, and songs of the Lord's Maske presented in the Banquetting-house, on the Mariage-night of Count Palatine and the Ladie Elizabeth," 1613. 4to. "The Description of a Maske presented on St. Stephen's night, at the Mariage of the Earl of Somerset and Lady Frances Howard," 1614. 4to. "Thomæ Campiani Epigrammatum lib. ii. Umbra. Elegiarum liber unus." 1619. 12mo. "A new way of making foure parts in Counterpoint," &c. without date, 4to. Reprinted in 1674, as "The Art of Descant, or composing Musick in Parts," &c. See Playford's Introduction to the Skill of Musick. In Davison's Poetical Rapsodie, 1611, Campion has three love poems, "Of his Mistresse's face: upon her Palenesse: of Corinna's singing:" and "A Hymne in praise of Neptune."

Camden, in his Remains, classes Campion with Spenser, Daniel, Jonson, Drayton, and Shakspeare; but neither Spenser nor Shakspeare had then attained to that eminence above their fellows, which they now undisputedly hold.—PARK.]

‡ [Which Coprario, says Wood, was not a foreigner but an Englishman born, who having spent much of his time in Italy, changed his name from Cooper to Coprario. Fasti Oxon. i. 229.—PARK.]

[b] See also Meres, ubi supr. fol. 280. Under his name at length are "Obseruations on the Art of English Poesie. Lond. by R. Field, 1602." 12mo. Dedicated to lord Buckhurst, whom he calls "the noblest judge of poesie," &c. This piece is to prove that English is capable of all the Roman measures. He gives a specimen of *Liccntiate Iambickes* in English, our present blank verse, p. 12. More of this hereafter. T. C. in our singing-psalms, is affixed to psalm 136. [See supr. p. 149. notes [e] and [f].] I believe he is the author of a Masque presented on St. Stephen's Night, 1604.

have been our translator. Nicholas Wyer the printer of this piece, not mentioned by Ames, perhaps the brother of Robert, was in vogue before or about the year 1570.

It is not at all improbable, that these old translations, now entirely forgotten and obsolete, suggested these stories to Dryden's notice. To Dryden they were not more ancient, than pieces are to us, written soon after the restoration of Charles the Second: and they were then of sufficient antiquity not to be too commonly known, and of such mediocrity as not to preclude a new translation. I think we may trace Dryden in some of the rhymes and expressions[c].

It must not be forgot, that Sachetti published tales before Boccace*. But the publication of Boccace's DECAMERON gave a stability to this mode of composition, which had existed in a rude state before the revival of letters in Italy. Boccace collected the common tales of his country, and procured others of Grecian origin from his friends and preceptors the Constantinopolitan exiles, which he decorated with new circumstances, and delivered in the purest style: some few perhaps are of his own invention. He was soon imitated, yet often unsuccessfully, by many of his countrymen, Poggio, Bandello, the anonymous author of LE CIENTO NOVELLE ANTIKE†, Cinthio, Firenzuola, Malespini, and others. Even Machiavel, who united the liveliest wit with the profoundest reflection, and who composed two comedies while he was compiling a political history of his country, condescended to adorn this fashionable species of writing with his NOVELLA DI BELFEGOR, or the tale of Belphegor.

In Burton's MELANCHOLY, there is a curious account of the diversions in which our ancestors passed their winter-evenings. They were not totally inelegant or irrational. One of them was to read Boccace's novels aloud. "The ordinary recreations which we haue in winter, are cardes, tables and dice, shouel-board, cheese-play, the philosopher's game, small trunkes, balliardes, musicke, maskes, singing, dancing, vle-games[d], catches, purposes, questions; merry tales, of errant knights, kings, queenes, louers, lords, ladies, giants, dwarfes, thieves, fayries, BOCCACE'S NOUELLES, and the rest[e]."

The late ingenious and industrious editors of Shakspeare have re-

[c] In 1569, Thomas Colwell has license to print "A ballet of two faythfull frynds beynge bothe in love with one lady." Registr. Station. A. fol. 193 a. This seems to be Palamon and Arcite. I know not whether I should mention here, Robert Wilmot's tragedy of Tancred and Gismund, acted before queen Elizabeth at the Inner Temple, in 1568, and printed in 1592, as the story, originally from Boccace, is in Paynter's Collection, and in an old English poem. [See vol. ii. p. 418.] There is also an old French poem called *Guichard et Sigismonde*, translated from Boccace into Latin by Leo Aretine, and thence into French verse by Jean Fleury. Paris. Bl. lett. 4to. See Decameron, Giorn. iv. Nov. i.

* [Sacchetti was only eighteen years of age when the first part of the Decameron appeared.—PRICE.]

† [The Ciento Novelle Antike are of much higher antiquity than the tales of Boccace.—RITSON.]

[d] Christmas games. See what is said above of Ule, vol. ii. p. 474. note [a].

[e] P. ii. §. 2. pag. 230. edit. fol. 1624.

vived an ancient metrical paraphrase, by Arthur Brooke, of Bandello's history of Romeo and Juliet. "THE TRAGICALL HYSTORY OF ROMEUS AND JULIET: Contayning in it a rare example of true Constancie, with the subtill Counsels and practises of an old fryer and ther ill event. Imprinted at London in Flecte-streete within Temple Barre at the signe of the hand and starre by Richard Tottill the xix day of November. Ann. Dom. 1562[f]." It is evident from a coincidence of absurdities and an identity of phraseology, that this was Shakspeare's original, and not the meagre outline which appears in Painter. Among the copies delivered by Tottel the printer to the stationers of London, in 1582, is a *booke* called ROMEO AND JULETTA[g]. But I believe there were two different translations in verse. It must be remembered here, that the original writer of this story was Luigi da Porto, a gentleman of Verona, who died in 1529. His narrative appeared at Venice in 1535, under the title of LA GIULIETTA, and was soon afterwards adopted by Bandello. Shakspeare, misled by the English poem, missed the opportunity of introducing a most affecting scene by the natural and obvious conclusion of the story. In Luigi's novel, Juliet awakes from her trance in the tomb before the death of Romeo. From Turberville's poems printed in 1567, we learn, that Arthur Brooke was drowned in his passage to New-haven, and that he was the author of this translation, which was the distinguished proof of his excellent poetical abilities.

> Apollo lent him lute for solace sake,
> To sound his verse by touch of stately string;
> And of the neuer-fading baye did make
> A laurell crowne, about his browes to clinge,
> In proof that he for myter did excell,
> As may be iudge by *Iulyet and her Mate*;
> For ther he shewde his cunning passing well
> When he the tale to English did translate.—
> Aye mee, that time, thou crooked dolphin, where
> Wast thou, Aryon's help and onely stay,
> That safely him from sea to shore didst beare,
> When Brooke was drownd why was thou then away? &c.[h]

The enthusiasts to Shakspeare must wish to see more of Arthur Brooke's poetry, and will be gratified with the dullest anecdotes of an author to whom perhaps we owe the existence of a tragedy at which we have all wept. I can discover nothing more of Arthur Brooke, than that he translated from French into English, *The Agreement of sundrie*

[f] Under which year is entered in the register of the Stationers, "Recevyd of Mr. Tottle for his license for pryntinge of the Tragicall history of the Romeus and Juliett with Sonnettes." Registr. A. fol. 86 a. It is again entered in these Registers to be printed, viz. Feb. 18, 1582, for Tottel; and Aug. 5, 1596, as a *newe ballet*, for Edward White. Registr. C. fol. 12 b.

[g] Registr. B. fol. 193 a. See last Note.

[h] Fol. 143 b. 144 a. *Epitaph on the Death of Maister Arthur Brooke.* edit. 2. 12mo. 1570.

places of Scripture seeming to iarre, which was printed at London in 1563. At the end is a copy of verses written by the editor Thomas Brooke the younger, I suppose his brother; by which it appears, that the author Arthur Brooke was shipwrecked before the year 1563[i]. Juliet soon furnished a female name to a new novel; for in 1577, Hugh Jackson printed "The renowned Historie of Cleomenes and Juliet[k]." Unless this be Brooke's story disguised and altered.

Bishop Tanner, I think, in his correspondence with the learned and accurate Thomas Baker of Cambridge, mentions a prose English version of the NOVELLE of Bandello, who endeavoured to avoid the obscenities of Boccace and the improbabilities of Cinthio, in 1580, by W. W. Had I seen this performance, for which I have searched Tanner's library in vain, I would have informed the inquisitive reader how far it accommodated Shakspeare in the conduct of the Tragedy of ROMEO AND JULIET. As to the translator, I make no doubt that the initials W. W. imply William Warner the author of ALBION'S ENGLAND[l], who was esteemed by his cotemporaries as one of the refiners of our language, and is said in Meres's WIT'S TREASURY, to be one of those by whom "the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously invested in rare ornaments and resplendent habiliments[m]." Warner was also a translator of Plautus; and wrote a novel, or rather a suite of stories, much in the style of the adventures of Heliodorus's Ethiopic romance, dedicated to lord Hunsdon, entitled, "SYRINX, or a seauenfold Historie, handled with varietie of pleasant and profitable, both commicall and tragicall, argument. Newly perused and amended by the first author W. WARNER. At London, printed by Thomas Purfoote, &c. 1597[n]." Warner in his ALBION'S ENGLAND, commonly supposed to be first printed in 1592[o], says, "Written haue I already in Prose, allowed of some, and now offer I Verse, attending indifferent censvres."

In 1598 was published, as it seems, "A fyne Tuscane hystorye called

[i] In octavo. Princ. "Some men heretofore haue attempted."

[k] Oct. 14. Registr. Station. B. fol. 142 b.

[l] But W. W. may mean William Webbe, author of the Discourse of English Poetrie, 1586. I remember an old book with these initials; and which is entered to Richard Jones, in 1586, "A history entituled a strange and petifull nouell, dyscoursynge of a noble lorde and his lady, with their tragicall ende of them and thayre ij children executed by a blacke morryon." Registr. Station. A. fol. 187 b. There is a fine old pathetic ballad, rather too bloody, on this story, I think in Wood's collection of ballads in the Ashmolean Museum.

[m] Fol. 280. edit. 1598.

[n] In quarto. Bl. lett. This is the second edition. The first being full of faults. To the Reader, he says, "One in penning pregnanter, and a schollar better than myselfe, on whose graue the grasse now groweth green, whom otherwise, though otherwise to me guiltie, I name not, hath borrowed out of euerie CALAMUS [of the Syrinx,] of the Storie herein handled, argument and inuention to seuerall bookes by him published. Another of late, hauing (fayning the same a Translation) set foorth an historie of a Duke of Lancaster neuer before authored, hath vouchsafed to incerte therein whole pages verbatim as they are herein extant," &c. The first edition is entered to Purfoot, Sept. 22, 1584. Registr. Station. B. fol. 201 a.

[o] Lond. by T. Orwin. 4to. Bl. lett. But it is entered to Thomas Cadman, Nov. 7, 1586. Registr. B. fol. 212 b. As printed. [The edition of 1592 has in the title-page "the *third* time corrected and augmented." —RITSON.]

ARNALT AND LUCINDA." It is annexed to "The ITALIAN SCHOOLE-MAISTER, conteyninge rules for pronouncynge the Italyan tongue[p]."

Among George Gascoigne's WEEDES printed in 1575, is the tale of Ferdinando Jeronimi*, or "The pleasant fable of Ferdinando Ieronimi and Leonora de Valasco, translated out of the Italian riding tales of Bartello." Much poetry is interwoven into the narrative. Nor, on the mention of Gascoigne, will it be foreign to the present purpose to add here, that in the year 1566 he translated one of Ariosto's comedies called SUPPOSITI, which was acted the same year at Gray's-inn. The title is "SVPPOSES. A comedie written in the Italian tongue by Ariosto, Englished by George Gascoigne of Graies inne esquire, and there presented, 1566[q]." This comedy was first written in prose by Ariosto, and afterwards reduced into rhyme. Gascoigne's translation is in prose. The dialogue is supported with much spirit and ease, and has often the air of a modern conversation. As Gascoigne was the first who exhibited on our stage a story from Euripides, so in this play he is the first that produced an English comedy in prose. By the way, the quaint name of Petruchio, and the incident of the master and servant changing habits and characters, and persuading the Scenese to personate the father, by frightening him with the hazard of his travelling from Sienna to Ferrara against the commands of government, was transferred into the TAMING OF THE SHREW. I doubt not, however, that there was an Italian novel on the subject. From this play also the ridiculous name and character of Doctor Dodipoll seems to have got into our old drama[r]. But to return.

In Shakspeare's MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING, Beatrice suspects she shall be told she had "her good wit out of the HUNDRED MERRY TALES[s]." A translation of LES CENT NOUVELLES NOUVELLES, printed at Paris before the year 1500, and said to have been written by some of the royal family of France†, but a compilation from the Italians, was licensed to be printed by John Waly, in 1557, under the title of "A Hundreth mery tayles," together with *The freere and the boye, stans puer ad mensam, and youthe, charite, and humylite*[t]. It was frequently

[p] Entered to the two Purfootes, Aug. 19. Registr. Station. C. fol. 40 b. [The writer was Claudius Holleband. The Tuscan history is in prose.—PARK.]

* [It was previously printed in Gascoigne's "Hundreth sundrie Flowres bound up in one small Poesie;" and entitled "A pleasant Discourse of the Adventures of Master F. J. (Freeman Jones) conteyning excellent Letters, Sonets, Lays, Ballets, Rondlets, Verlays and Verses." See the Life of Gascoigne, by Mr. Alex. Chalmers, prefixed to his poetical works. —PARK.]

[q] See Gascoigne's Hearbes, fol. 1.

[r] See fol. 4, &c. See also Nashe's Preface to G. Harvey's *Hunt is up*, printed in 1596. "The wisdome of Doctor Dodepole plaied by the children of Paules," is entered to R. Olyffe, Oct. 7, 1600. Registr. Station. C. fol. 65 b.

[s] Act ii. sc. 1. [This is a slight mistake; the passage alluded to stands thus: "*Beat.*—That I was disdainful, and that I had my good wit out of the *hundred merry tales*;—Well, this was Signior Benedick that said so."—PRICE.]

† [According to Ritson, Mr. Warton and Mr. Steevens have both confounded *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* with the queen of Navarre's Tales. Obs. p. 43.—PARK.]

[t] Registr. Station. A. fol. 22 a. See also B. sub ann. 1581. fol. 186 a.

reprinted, is mentioned as popular in Fletcher's NICE VALOUR; and in the LONDON CHAUNTICLERES, so late as 1659, is cried for sale by a ballad-vender, with the SEVEN WISE MEN OF GOTHAM[u], and Scogan's JESTS[w].

In 1587, George Turberville the poet, already mentioned as the translator of Ovid's EPISTLES, published a set of tragical tales* in verse, selected from various Italian novelists. He was a skilful master of the modern languages, and went into Russia in the quality of secretary to Thomas Randolph esquire, envoy to the emperor of Russia[x]. This collection, which is dedicated to his brother Nicholas, is entitled, "TRAGICAL TALES, translated by Turberville in time of his troubles, out of sundrie Italians, with the argument and lenvoy to each tale[y]."

Among Mr. Oldys's books, was the "Life of Sir Meliado a Brittish knight[z]," translated from the Italian, in 1572. By the way, we are not here to suppose that BRITTISH means English. A BRITTISH knight means a knight of Bretagne or Brittany, in France. This is a common mistake, arising from an equivocation which has converted many a French knight into an Englishman. The learned Nicholas Antonio, in his SPANISH LIBRARY, affords a remarkable example of this confusion, and a proof of its frequency, where he is speaking of the Spanish translation of the romance of TIRANTE THE WHITE, in 1480. "Ad fabularum artificem stylum convertimus, Joannem Martorell† Valentiæ

[u] Of these, see supr. p. 74. There is an entry to R. Jones, Jan. 5, 1595, "A Comedie entitled A Knack to knowe a Knave, newlye sett fourth, as it hath sundrye tymes ben plaid by Ned Allen and his companie, with Kemp's Merymentes of the Men of Gotheham." Registr. Station. B. fol. 304 a.

[w] Under a license to T. Colwell, in 1565, "The geystes of Skoggon gathered togeather in this volume." Registr. Station. A. fol. 134 a. [Qu. if *geystes* from *gesta*, *exploits*, are not here meant? for *jests* it seems they really are not.—ASHBY.]

* [Mr. Malone suspects, that he also published some *Comic Tales*, from Sir John Harington's mention of the tale of Geneura, "a pretty comical matter," written in English verse by Mr. George Turbervil. See his Orb. Tur. p. 39. From Turberville's version of Geneura, Dr. Farmer conceived that Shakspeare took his fable for Much Ado about Nothing.—PARK.]

[x] It may be doubted whether the treatise on Hunting reprinted with his Falconrie, in 1611, and called a translation with verses by Gascoigne, is to be ascribed to him. One or both came out first in 1575. The Dedication and Epilogue to the Falconrie, are signed by Turberville. [From a late discovered copy of Whetstone's Remembraunce of the life of *Geo. Gaskoigne*, it appears that *he* was the author of the treatise on Hunting, commonly ascribed to Turberville. See Chalmers's British Poets, vol. ii.—PARK.]

[y] Lond. for Abel Jeffes, 1587. 12mo.

[z] Meliadus del Espinoy, and Meliadus le noir Oeil, are the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth knights of the Round Table, in R. Robinson's Avncient Order, &c. Lond. 1583. 4to. Bl. lett. Chiefly a French translation.

["If there be any such book," said Ritson, "as the 'Life of Sir Meliado,' it is without doubt the romance of 'Meliadus de Leonnois,' a petty king in Great Britain, and one of the knights of the Round Table, whose story was translated out of French into Italian, and printed at Venice in 1558 and 1559, in two volumes, 8vo."—PARK.]

† [Concerning this writer and his production, Ritson entered into the following elaborate discussion. "John or Joanot Martorell, the author of the romance of Tirant le Blanch, in his dedication thereof to Don Ferdinand, prince of Portugal and duke of Viseo, brother of Alphonsus V., and then (in 1460) presumptive heir to the crown, to which his son Emanuel afterwards succeeded, positively declares that the history and acts of the said Tirant were written in the English tongue

regni civem, cujus est liber hujus commatis, TIRANT LE BLANCH inscriptus, atque anno 1480, ut aiunt, Valentiæ in folio editus. MORE HIC ALIORUM TALIUM OTIOSORUM CONSUETO, fingit se hunc librum ex ANGLICA in Lusitanam, deinde Lusitana in Valentinam linguam, anno 1460, transtulisse," &c.[a] That is, "I now turn to a writer of fabulous adventures, John Martorell of the kingdom of Valencia, who wrote a book of this cast, entitled TIRANTE THE WHITE, printed in folio at Valencia in 1480*. This writer, according to a practice common to such idle historians, pretends he translated this book from English into Portuguese, and from thence into the Valencian language." The hero is a gentleman of Bretagne, and the book was first written in the language of that country. I take this opportunity of observing, that these mistakes of England for Brittany tend to confirm my hypothesis, that Bretagne, or Armorica†, was anciently a copious source of romance: an hypothesis, which I have the happiness to find was the

(*en lengua Anglesa*); that he had translated them out of that language into the Portuguese, at the direct instance of the above prince, who thought that as Martorell had been some time in England (*en la illa de Angleterra*) he would know the tongue better than others; that he had since translated the book out of Portuguese into his native dialect, the Valencian: and apologises for the defects of his version, as being in some measure occasioned by the peculiar difficulties of the English language, which he had in many places found it impracticable to translate. It is strange enough that an author, more especially of Martorell's consequence, should have the confidence to impose upon his patron, not only a feigned original, but a feigned command to translate it, and an imaginary translation too. It is not impossible, however, that Martorell might actually pick up some part of his subject during his residence in England. What makes the conjecture the less improbable, is the use he has made of the story of Guy earl of Warwick (*Comte Gillem de Varoych*) which we know to have been then extant in English. The origin of the Garter, the magnificent celebration of the nuptials of the king of England (alluding most likely to those of Richard the Second) with the king of France's daughter, and some few other particulars, he may undoubtedly have got here: though one might be led to think, that he has derived his principal information on these heads from old Froissart, a favourite historian during the continuance of chivalry. But, independent of his own assertions, the venial deceits of a romantic age, there is the strongest and most conclusive evidence, as well intrinsic as extrinsic, that Martorell, whether he wrote first in Portuguese or Valencian, was the original author. As to the work itself, it is a most ingenious and admirable performance, well deserving the praises bestowed on it by Cervantes in Don Quixote, and much beyond any thing of the kind ever produced in England." Obs. on Warton's Hist. p. 48.—PARK.]

[a] Bibl. Hispan. l. x. c. ix. p. 193. num. 490.

* ["Antonio does not assert that the book was *actually printed* at Valencia in that year: he only says, it was *reported* so. The report was false; for it was not printed at Valencia in 1480, but at Barcelona in 1497, and no where else during the fifteenth century. Early in the sixteenth it was translated into Castilian; from thence into Italian, and at a later period into French. The two latter translators were entire strangers to the original, of which there is not perhaps more than one single copy known to be extant."—Ritson's Obs. p. 46.—PARK.]

† ["Armorica," says Ritson, "was by the French called *La petite Bretagne*; by us, Little Britain; merely to distinguish it from the island of Great Britain, by them styled *La grande Bretagne*. The word British," he subjoins, "may, for aught I know, be common to both countries, but I firmly believe the inhabitants of Brittany were never so called by any writer, English or foreign, before Mr. Warton. But let the word British mean what it will, how does it connect with or apply to the quotation from Nicholas Antonio? He says nothing at all about British: he expressly tells us, that Martorell pretended to have translated the romance of Tirante *ex Anglica*, out of English." Obs. p. 44.—PARK.]

opinion of the most learned and ingenious M. La Croze, as I am but just now informed from an entertaining little work, *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Monsieur La Croze*, printed by M. Jordan at Amsterdam, in 1741 [b]. La Croze's words, which he dictated to a friend, are these. "Tous les ROMANS DE CHEVALERIE doivent leur origin à la BRETAGNE, et au pays de Galles [Wales] dont notre Bretagne est sortie. Le Roman D'AMADIS DE GAULE commence par un Garinter roi de la PETITE BRETAGNE, de la *Poquenna Bretonne*, et ce roi fut ayeul maternel d'Amadis. Je ne dis rien ici de LANCELOT DU LAC, et de plusieurs autres qui sont tous BRETONS. Je n'en excepte point le Roman de PERCEFOREST, dont j'ai vu un très-beau manuscrit en velin dans la bibliothèque du roi de France.—Il y a une fort belle Préface sur l'origine de notre BRETAGNE ARMORIQUE.—Si ma santé le comportoit, je m'étendrois davantage et je pourrois fournir un Supplément assez amusant au Traité du docte M. Huet sur L'ORIGINE DES ROMANS [c]."

I know not from what Italian fabler the little romance called the BANISHMENT OF CUPID was taken. It is said to have been translated out of Italian into English by Thomas Hedly, in 1587 [d]. I conceive also "The fearfull fantyses of the Florentyne Cowper" to be a translation from the Italian [e].

Nor do I know with what propriety the romance of AURELIO AND ISABELLA*, the scene of which is laid in Scotland, may be mentioned

[b] Chez François Changuion, 12mo.

[c] Pag. 219. seq. See Crescimben. *Hist. Poes. Vulgar.* l. v. ch. 2, 3, 4. "The Historye of twoe Brittaine louers," that is of Brittany, is entered to Charlewood, Jan. 4, 1580. Registr. Station. B. fol. 176 b. Again, "Philocasander and Elamira the fayre ladye of Brytayne," to Purfoot, Aug. 19, 1598. Registr. C. fol. 40 b. Our king Arthur was sometimes called Arthur of Little Brittayne, and there is a romance with that title, reprinted in 1609.

[That there is a romance with that title, which may have been reprinted in 1609, Ritson professed himself ready to allow. But he persisted that Arthur of Little Britain, the hero of that romance, was a very different person from king Arthur of Great Britain. Obs. p. 46. Arthur of Little Brittaine, I observe, is registered along with other romances in Nash's Anatomie of Absurditie, 1589: but as the title is all that is given, I cannot proceed to adjust the difference of opinion between Mr. Warton and his pertinacious observator. "Philo-chasander and Elanira," a stanza-poem by Henry Petowe, was printed in 1599; an account is given of it in Brit. Bibliogr. i. 214.—PARK.]

[The work here alluded to was a reprint of a romance translated by Lord Berners from the French, and noticed above, p. 64. The Comte de Tressan conceived the original to have been written in the reign of Charles the Sixth, and its resemblance in style and language to Froissart has been conjectured to have secured for it the noble translator's attention. The hero's genealogy will prove, that Warton has confounded an imaginary prince with his illustrious British namesake: "a noble hystory makynge mencyon of the famous dedes of the ryght valyaunt knyght Arthur, sonne and heyre to the noble duke of Brytayne, and of the fayre ladye Florence, daughter and heyre to the myghty Emendus, kynge of the noble realme of Soroloys," &c. See Brit. Bibliographer, vol. iv. p. 231.—PRICE.]

[d] Lond. For Thomas Marshe, 12mo. It is among Sampson Awdeley's copies, as a former grant, 1581. Registr. Station. B. fol. 186 a.

[e] Licensed in 1567. Registr. Station. A. fol. 164 b. There is an edition in 1599. Bl. lett. 8vo. Purfoot.

* [Several editions of this romance are registered by Quadrio: but he has omitted one edition, which I am informed by J. C. Wallen, esq., is in the possession o his friend Mr. Eccles.—PARK.]

here. But it was printed in 1586, in one volume, in Italian, French, and English[f]; and again, in Italian, Spanish, French, and English, in 1588[g]. I was informed by the late Mr. Collins of Chichester, that Shakspeare's TEMPEST, for which no origin is yet assigned, was formed on this favorite romance. But although this information has not proved true on examination, a useful conclusion may be drawn from it, that Shakspeare's story is somewhere to be found in an Italian novel, at least that the story preceded Shakspeare. Mr. Collins had searched this subject with no less fidelity than judgment and industry; but his memory failing in his last calamitous indisposition, he probably gave me the name of one novel for another. I remember he added a circumstance, which may lead to a discovery, that the principal character of the romance, answering to Shakspeare's Prospero, was a chemical necromancer, who had bound a spirit like Ariel to obey his call and perform his services. It was a common pretence of the dealers in the occult sciences to have a demon at command. At least Aurelio, or Orelio, was probably one of the names of this romance, the production and multiplication of gold being the grand object of alchemy. Taken at large, the magical part of the TEMPEST is founded in that sort of philosophy which was practised by John Dee and his associates, and has been called the Rosicrusian. The name Ariel came from the Talmudistic mysteries with which the learned Jews had infected this science.

To this head must also be referred, the Collections which appeared before 1600, of tales drawn indiscriminately from French and Spanish, as well as Italian authors, all perhaps originally of Italian growth, and recommended by the general love of fable and fiction which now prevailed. I will mention a few.

In point of selection and size, perhaps the most capital miscellany of this kind is Fenton's book of tragical novels. The title is, "Certaine TRAGICALL DISCOURSES written oute of French and Latin, by Geffraie Fenton, no lesse profitable than pleasaunt, and of like necessitye to al degrees that take pleasure in antiquityes or forraine reportes. *Mon heur viendra.* Imprinted at London in Flete-strete nere to sainct Dunstons Churche by Thomas Marshe. Anno Domini 1567[h]." This edition never was seen by Ames, nor was the book known to Tanner. The dedication is dated from his chamber at Paris, in 1567[i], to the Lady Mary Sydney, and contains many sensible reflections on this kind of reading. He says, "Neyther do I thynke that oure Englishe re-

[f] Licensed to E. White, Aug. 8, 1586. Registr. Station. B. fol. 209 b. I have "*L'Histoire d'Aurelio et Isabella* en Italien et Françoise," printed at Lyons by G. Rouille, in 1555. 16mo. Annexed is *La Deiphire*, by the author of the romance, as I apprehend, Leon-Baptista Alberti, in Italian and French.

[g] Licensed to Aggas, Nov. 20, 1588. Registr. B. fol. 237 a.

[h] In 4to. Bl. lett. cont. 612 pages. See license from the archbishop of Canterbury, 1566. Registr. Station. A. fol. 156 a. See ibid. fol. 162 b. Ames mentions another edition by Marshe, 1579. 4to.

[i] Jun. 22.

cordes are hable to yelde at this daye a ROMANT more delicat and chaste, treatynge of the veraye theame and effectes of loue, than theis HYSTORIES, of no lesse credit than sufficient authoritie, by reason the moste of theyme were within the compasse of memorye," &c.[k] Among the recommendatory poems prefixed[l], there is one by George Turberville, who lavishes much praise on Fenton's *curious fyle*, which could *frame this passing-pleasant booke*. He adds,

The learned stories erste, and sugred tales that laye
Remoude from simple common sence, this writer doth displaye:
Nowe men of meanest skill what BANDEL wrought may vew,
And tell the tale in Englishe well, that erst they neuer knewe:
Discourse of sundrye strange, and tragicall affaires,
Of louynge ladyes haples haps, theyr deathes, and deadly cares, &c.

Most of the stories are on Italian subjects, and many from Bandello, who was soon translated into French. The last tale, the Penance of Don Diego on the Pyrenean mountains for the love of Genivera la blonde, containing some metrical inscriptions, is in Don Quixote, and was versified in the octave stanza apparently from Fenton's publication, by R. L. in 1596, at the end of a set of sonnets called DIELLA[m].

Fenton was a translator of other books from the modern languages. He translated into English the twenty books of Guicciardin's History of Italy, which he dedicated to queen Elizabeth from his apartment near the Tower, the seventh day of January, 1578[n]. The predominating love of narrative, more especially when the exploits of a favorite nation were the subject, rendered this book very popular; and it came recommended to the public by a title page which promised almost the entertainment of a romance, "The historie of Guiccardin, containing the warres of Italie, and other partes, continued for many yeares under

[k] He commends his illustrious patroness, for "your worthie participation with the excellent gifts of temperance and wonderfull modestie in the ii. moste famous erles of Leicester and Warwike your bretherne, and most vertuous and renowned ladye the countesse of Huntington your syster," &c.

[l] Sir John Conway, M. H. who writes in Latin, and Peter Beverley. The latter wrote in verse "The tragecall and pleasaunte history of Ariodanto and Jeneura daughter vnto the kynge of Scots," licensed to H. Weekes, 1565. Registr. Station. A. fol. 140 b. There is an edition dedicated from Staples-inn, for R. Watkins, 1600. 12mo.

[There was another in the late duke of Roxburgh's romance collection, without date, and printed by Thomas East, for Frauncis Coldocke. It thus began:

Amongst the vanquisht regions
That worthy Brute did winne,
There is a soyle, in these our dayes
With occean seas cloasde in,
That fertile is, and peopled well,
And stor'd with pleasant fieldes;
And hath for tillage lucky land
That yearly profit yieldes, &c.

PARK.]

[m] "*Diella*, Certaine Sonnets adioyning to the amorous poeme of Dom Diego and Gineura. By R. L. Gentleman. *Ben balla á chi fortuna suona*. At London, Printed for Henry Olney, &c. 1596." 16mo. The sonnets are twenty-eight in number.

[n] I observe here, that there is a receipt from T. Marshe for printing the "Storye of Italie," Jun. 24, 1560. Registr. Station. A. fol. 62 b.

sundry kings and princes, together with the variations of the same, Diuided into twenty bookes, &c. Reduced into English by Geffrey Fenton. *Mon heur viendra*[o]." It is probably to this book that Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's Hobbinol, alludes, where he says, "Even Guiccardin's siluer Historie, and Ariosto's golden Cantos, growe out of request, and the countess of Pembrooke's Arcadia is not greene enough for queasie stomaches but they must haue Greene's Arcadia," &c.[p] Among his versions are also, the GOLDEN EPISTLES of Antonio de Guevara, the secretary of Charles the Fifth, and now a favorite author, addressed to Anne countess of Oxford, from his chamber at the Dominican or black friars, the fourth of February, 1575[q]. I apprehend him to be the same sir Jeffrey Fenton, who is called "a privie counsellor in Ireland to the queen," in the BLAZON OF JEALOUSIE written in 1615[r], by R. T. [Robert Tofts] the translator of Ariosto's Satires, in 1608[s]. He died in 1608[t].

With Fenton's DISCOURSES may be mentioned also, "Foure straunge lamentable tragicall histories translated out of Frenche into Englishe by Robert Smythe," and published, as I apprehend, in 1577[u].

A work of a similar nature appeared in 1571, by Thomas Fortescue. It is divided into four books, and called "The FOREST, or collection of Historyes no lesse profitable than pleasant and necessary, doone out of Frenche into English by Thomas Fortescue[w]." It is dedicated to John Fortescue esquire, keeper of the wardrobe. The genius of these tales may be discerned from their history. The book is said to have been written in Spanish by Petro de Messia, then translated into Italian, thence into French by Claude Cruget a citizen of Paris, and

[o] For Norton, with his rebus, Lond. 1579. fol. There were other editions, in 1599. 1618. fol.

[p] Foure Letters, &c. Lond. 1592. 4to. Lett. 3. p. 29.

[q] Lond. 1577. 4to. His Familiar Epistles were translated by Edward Hellowes *groome of the Leashe*, 1574. 4to. Fenton also translated into English, a Latin Disputation held at the Sorbonne, Lond. 1571. 4to. and an Epistle about obedience to the pastors of the Flemish church at Antwerp, from Antonio de Carro, Lond. 1570. 8vo. His discourses on the civil wars in France under Charles the Ninth, in 1569, are entered with Harrison and Bishop. Registr. Station. A. fol. 191 a. There was an Edward Fenton, who translated from various authors, "Certaine secretes and wonders of nature," &c. Dedicated to lord Lumley, 1569. 4to. For H. Binneman. See Fuller, Worth. ii. 318. MSS. Ashmol. 816.

[r] Lond. 1615. 4to. See fol. 60. 63.

[s] For R. Jackson.

[t] Ware, 137. There is an old Art of English Poetry by one Fenton.

[In this assertion Mr. Warton is likely to have been misled, either by Rawlinson's catalogue, or Capel's Shaksperiana, where Puttenham's book is inserted under the name of Fenton.—PARK.]

[u] Licensed to Hugh Jackson, Jul. 30. Registr. Station. B. fol. 142 a. I have never seen a work by Tarleton the player, licensed to H. Bynneman, Feb. 5, 1577. "Tarleton's Tragicall Treatises conteyninge sundrie discourses and pretie conceiptes both in prose and verse." Ibid. 145 a.

[w] Lond. 4to. Bl. lett. A second edition was printed in 1576, for John Day, 4to. It is licensed with W. Jones in 1570, and with the authority of the bishop of London. Registr. Station. A. fol. 205 b. Again with Danter, Nov. 8, 1596. Registr. C. fol. 15 a. Similar to this is the "Paragon of pleasaunt Historyes, or this Nutt was new cracked, contayninge a discourse of a noble kynge and his three sonnes," with Ponsonby, Jan, 20, 1595. Ibid. fol. 7 a.

lastly from French into English by Fortescue. But many of the stories seem to have originally migrated * from Italy into Spain[x].

The learned doctor Farmer has restored to the public notice a compilation of this class, unmentioned by any typographic annalist, and entitled, "The ORATOR, handling a hundred seuerall Discourses in form of Declamations: some of the Arguments being drawne from Titus Liuius, and other ancient writers, the rest of the author's own Invention. Part of which are of matters happened in our age. Written in French by Alexander Silvayn, and Englished by L. P. [or Lazarus Pilot†.] London, printed by Adam Islip, 1596[y]." The subject of the

* ["This, though said of a particular collection," observes Dr. Ashby, "is nearly true in general. The romantic turn of the Spaniards," he adds, "seems so congenial to tales of chivalry, that they put in to be the authors of them with much apparent probability; but the fact is said to be otherwise. No ancient romance has its scene or heroes in Spain." —PARK.]

[x] Among many others that might be mentioned, I think is the romance or novel entitled, "A Margarite of America. By T. Lodge. Printed for John Busbie, &c. 1596." 4to. Bl. lett. This piece has never yet been recited among Lodge's works. In the Dedication to Lady Russell, and Preface to the *gentlemen readers*, he says, that being at sea four years before with M. Cavendish, he found this history in the Spanish tongue in the library of the Jesuits of Sanctum; and that he translated it in the ship, in passing through the Straits of Magellan. Many sonnets and metrical inscriptions are intermixed. One of the sonnets is said to be in imitation of Dolce the Italian. Signat. C. Again, Signat. K 3. About the walls of the chamber of prince Protomachus, "in curious imagerie were the Seuen Sages of Greece, set forth with their seuerall vertues eloquently discouered in Arabicke verses." The arch of the bed is of ebonie sett with pretious stones, and depictured with the stages of man's life from infancy to old-age. Signat. B 3. The chamber of Margarite, in the same castle, is much more sumptuous. Over the portico were carved in the whitest marble, Diana blushing at the sudden intrusion of Acteon, and her "naked Nymphes, who with one hand couering their owne secret pleasures, with blushes, with the other cast a beautifull vaile ouer their mistresse daintie nakedness. The two pillars of the doore were beautified with the two Cupides of Anacreon, which well-shaped Modestie often seemed to whip, lest they should growe ouer-wanton." Within, "All the chaste Ladies of the world inchased out of siluer, looking through faire mirrours of chrisolites, carbuncles, sapphires, and greene emeraults, fixed their eyes on the picture of Eternitie," &c. In the tapestry, was the story of Orpheus, &c. Sign. B 3. A sonnet of "that excellent poet of Italie Lodouico Pascale," is introduced. Signat. L. Another, "in imitation of Martelli, hauing the right nature of an Italian melancholie," Signat. L. He mentions "the sweet conceites of Philip du Portes, whose poeticall writings being alreadie for the most part Englished, and ordinarilie in euerie man's hands," are not here translated. Signat. L 2.

I think I have also seen in Italian "The straunge and wonderfull aduentures of Simonides a gentilman Spaniarde. Conteyning uerie pleasaunte discourse. Gathered as well for the recreation of our noble yong gentilmen as our honourable courtly ladies. By Barnabe Riche gentilman. London, for Robert Walley, 1581." Bl. lett. 4to. Much poetry is intermixed. A recommendatory poem in the octave stanza is prefixed by Lodge, who says he corrected the work, and has now laid his muse aside. There is another in the same stanza by R. W. But it would be endless to pursue publications of this sort. I only add, that Barnabe Riche above mentioned wrote in prose The Honestie of this Age, &c. Lond. 1615. 4to. A curious picture of the times. Also "the Pathway to Military Practice, with a kalendar for the ymbattallinge of men, newly written by Barnabie Riche," entered to R. Walley, 22 March, 1586. Registr. Station. B. fol. 216 b. Riche in the title-page to his Irish Hubbub (Lond. 1617. 4to.) calls that book his twenty-sixth. I have seen most of them.

† ["Lazarus Pyot, not Pilot, is a name assumed by Anthony Munday." Ritson, MS. note.—PARK.]

[y] I know not exactly what connection this piece may have with an entry, under the year 1590, to Aggas and Wolfe, "Certen tragicall cases conteyninge Lv Hystories with their seuerall declamations both accusative and defensive, written in

ninety-fifth DECLAMATION is *Of a Jew who would for his debt haue a pound of the flesh of a Christian*[z]. We have here the incident of the BOND, in Shakspeare's MERCHANT OF VENICE, which yet may be traced to a much higher source[a]. This Alexander Sylvain compiled in French *Epitomes de cent Histoires Tragiques partie extraictes des Actes des Romains et autres*, a work licensed to Islip to be translated into English in 1596[b]. Perhaps the following passage in Burton's MELANCHOLY may throw light on these DECLAMATIONS. "In the Low Countries, before these warres, they had many solemne feastes, playes, challenges, artillery [archery] gardens, colledges of rimers, rhetoricians, poets, and to this day such places are curiously maintained in Amsterdam. In Italy, they have solemne Declamations of certaine select yonge gentlemen in Florence, like these reciters in old Rome," &c.[c]

In 1582, a suite of tales was published by George Whetstone, a sonnet-writer* of some rank, and one of the most *passionate among us to bewaile the perplexities of love*[d], under the title of HEPTAMERON, and containing some novels from Cinthio[e]. Shakspeare, in MEASURE FOR MEASURE, has fallen into great improprieties by founding his plot on a history in the HEPTAMERON, imperfectly copied or translated from Cinthio's original[f]. Many faults in the conduct of incidents for which Shakspeare's judgment is arraigned, often flowed from the casual book of the day, whose mistakes he implicitly followed without looking for a better model, and from a too hasty acquiescence in the present accommodation. But without a book of this sort, Shakspeare would often have been at a loss for a subject. Yet at the same time, we look with wonder at the structures which he forms, and even without labour or deliberation, of the basest materials[g].

ffrenshe by Alexander Vandenbrygt alias Silvan, translated into Englishe by R. A." Registr. Station. B. fol. 263 b. Perhaps R. A. is Robert Allot, the publisher of England's Parnassus in 1600. See supr. p. 232. And add, that he has some Latin hexameters prefixed to Christopher Middleton's Legend of Duke Humphrey, Lond. 1600. 4to.

[z] See fol. 401.

[a] See the Dissertation on the *Gesta Romanorum*.

[b] Jul. 15. Registr. C. fol. 12 a.

[c] P. ii. § 2. p. 229. edit. 1624.

* [Whetstone was less a writer of sonnets, than of long and dull prosaic poems, some specimens of which have been inserted in *Censura Literaria*. One of his tributary memorials termed Remembraunces has been mentioned at p. 383. Four others of equal rarity have been lately reprinted at the Auchinlech press, by Alexander Boswell, Esq. M.P.—PARK.]

[d] Meres, ubi supr. fol. 284. W. Webbe, a cotemporary, calls him "a man singularly well skilled in this faculty of poetry."

[e] This title adopted from the queen of Navarre was popular. There is entered to Jones, Jan. 11, 1581, "An Heptameron of civill discourses vnto the Christmas exercises of sundry well courted gentlemen and gentlewomen." Registr. Station. B. fol. 185 b. I suppose a book of tales. There is also, August 8, 1586, to E. White, "Morando, the Tritameron of Love." Ibid. fol. 209 b.

[f] See Whetstone's Right excellent and famous Historye of Promos and Cassandra, Divided into Commical Discourses, printed in 1578. Entered to R. Jones, 31 Jul. 1578. Registr. Station. B. fol. 150 b.

[g] In the Prologue to a comedy called *Cupid's Whirligig, as it hath bene sundrie times acted by the Children of his Maesties Reuels*, written by E. S. and printed in quarto by T. Creede in 1616, perhaps before, an oblique stroke seems intended at some of Shakspeare's plots.

Our author's pen loues not to swimme in blood,
He dips no inke from oute blacke Acheron;

Ames recites a large collection of novels in two volumes, dedicated to sir George Howard master of the armoury, and printed for Nicholas England in 1567[h]. I have never seen them, but presume they are translations from Boccace, Cinthio, and Bandello[i]. In 1589, was printed the CHAOS OF HISTORYES[k]; and in 1563, "A boke called Certaine noble storyes contaynynge rare and worthy matter[l]." These pieces are perhaps to be catalogued in the same class.

In the year 1590*, sir John Harrington, who will occur again in his place as an original writer, exhibited an English version of Ariosto's ORLANDO FURIOSO[m]; which, although executed without spirit or accuracy, unanimated and incorrect, enriched our poetry by a communica-

Nor crosses seas to get a forraine plot.—
Nor doth he touch the falls of mighty kings,
No ancient hystorie, no shepherd's love,
No statesman's life, &c.

[Mr. Ashby remarked that "he saw no more censure of Shakspeare in these lines than what comic poets are apt to say of tragic ones." And indeed it may be regarded as one of the foibles of antiquarian critics, that they are liable to give an obliquity of construction to passages which their authors had never intended.—PARK.]

He blames some other dramatic writers for their plots of heathen gods. So another, but who surely had forgot Shakspeare, in Pasquill's Madcappe's Message, p. 11. Lond. 1600. Printed by V. S. 4to.

Go, bid the poets studdie better matter,
Than Mars and Venus in a tragedie.

[h] Pag. 326. [This was the 2d vol. of Painter's Palace of Pleasure.—HERBERT.]

[i] Cont. 856 leaves, 8vo.

[k] Registr. Station. B. fol. 246 a. Jul. 28, to Abell Jeffes.

[l] To Berys. Registr. A. fol. 89 b. I have here thrown together many pieces of the same sort, before 1585, from the registers of the Stationers. March 10, 1594, to T. Creede, "Mother Reddcappe her last will and testament, conteyning sundrye conceipted and pleasant tales furnished with muche varyetie to move delighte." Registr. B. fol. 130 a.—Nov. 3, 1576, to H. Bynneman, "Mery Tales, wittye questions, and quicke answers." Ibid. fol. 135 b.—April 2, 1577, to R. Jones, "A Florishe upon Fancie, as gallant a glose of suche a triflinge a texte as euer was written, compiled by N. B. gent. To which are annexed manie pretie pamphlets for pleasaunte heades to passe away idell time withall compiled by the same author." Ibid. fol. 138 b. And by the same author, perhaps Nicholas Breton, Jun. 1, 1577, to Watkins, afterwards T. Dawson, "The Woorkes of a yong Witte truste up, with a Fardell of pretie Fantasies profitable to young poets, compiled by N. B. gent." Ibid. fol. 139 b.—Jun. 5, 1577, to R. Jones, "A Handefull of Hidden Secrets, conteyninge therein certayne Sonnettes and other pleasaunte devises, pickt out of the closet of sundrie worthie writers, and collected by R. Williams." [N. B. This is otherwise entitled, The Gallery of Gallant Inuentions.] Ibid. fol. 140 a.—Jun. 23, 1584, to T. Hacket, two books, "A Diall for Daintie Darlings," and "The Banquet of Daintie Conceipts," Ibid. fol. 200 b.—"The parlour of pleasaunte delyghtes," to Yarret James, Jan. 13, 1580. Ibid. fol. 177 b. —"A ballad of the traiterous and vnbrideled crueltye of one Lucio a knyght executed ouer Eriphile daughter to Hortensia Castilion of Genoway in Italy," to H. Carre, Sept. 3, 1580. Ibid. fol. 171 b.—"The deceipts in loue discoursed in a Comedie of ij Italyan gentlemen and translated into Englisshe," to S. Waterson, Nov. 10, 1584. Ibid. fol. 202 a. Most of these pieces I have seen; and although perhaps they do not all exactly coincide with the class of books pointed out in the text, they illustrate the general subject of this section.

* [Though entered on the Stationers' books in 1590, the first edition of Harington's Ariosto bears date 1591.—PARK.]

[m] At least in that year, Feb. 26, was entered to Richard Field, under the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, "A booke entituled John Harrington's Orlando Furioso," &c. Registr. Station. B. fol. 271 b. But there is entered to Cuthbert Burbye, to be printed by Danter, May 28, 1594, "The Historie of Orlando Furioso." Ibid. fol. 306 b. See also fol. 303 a. and Ariosto's story of Rogero and Rhodomont, translated from the French of Philip de Portes, by G. M. [Gervis Markham] is entered to N. Linge, Sept. 15, 1598. Ibid. C. fol. 41 b.

[By Markham was claimed a version of the "Orlando Innamorato" in 1598; but Robert Tofte reclaimed it in his Blazon of Jealousie noticed at p. 388.—PARK.]

tion of new stores of fiction and imagination, both of the romantic and comic species, of Gothic machinery and familiar manners.

Fairfax is commonly supposed to be the first translator of Tasso. But in 1593, was licensed* "A booke called Godfrey of Bolloign an heroycall poem of S. Torquato Tasso, Englished by R. C. [Carew] esquire[n]." In consequence of this version, appeared the next year "An enterlude entituled Godfrey of Bolloigne with the Conquest of Jerusalem[o]." Hall in his Satires published in 1597, enumerates among the favorite stories of his time, such as, Saint George, Brutus, king Arthur, and Charlemagne,

What were his knights did SALEM'S SIEGE maintayne,

To which he immediately adds Ariosto's Orlando[p].

By means of the same vehicle, translation from Italian books, a precise and systematical knowledge of the ancient heathen theology seems to have been more effectually circulated among the people in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Among others, in 1599 was published, "THE FOUNTAINE OF ANTIENT FICTION, wherein is depictured the images and statues of the gods of the antients with their proper and particular expositions. Done into Englishe by Richard Linche gentleman. *Tempe è figliuola di verità.* London, imprinted by Valentine Sims, 1599[q]." This book, or one of the same sort, is censured in a puritanical pamphlet, written the same year, by one H. G. a *painfull minister of God's word in Kent*, as the *Spawne of Italian Gallimawfry*, as tending to corrupt the pure and *unidolatrous* worship of the one God, and as one of the *deadly snares* of popish deception[r]. In the history of the

[* And printed in 1594, with the following title:—"Godfrey of Bulloigne, or the "recoverie of Hierusalem. An heroicall poeme written in Italian by Seig. Torquato Tasso, and translated into English by R. C. esquire. And now the first part, containing five cantos imprinted in both languages." Imp. by J. Windet for Tho. Man. *Princip.*

I sing the goodly armes, and that chieftaine
Who great sepulchre of our Lord did free.
Much with his hande, much wrought he with his braine;
Much in that glorious conquest suffred hee:
And hell in vaine hitselfe opposde, in vaine
The mixed troopes Arian and Libick flee
To armes, for Heaven him favour'd, and he drew
To sacred ensignes his straid mates anew.

The Italian text is on the opposite page. The address to the reader is dated from Exeter, the last of Februarie 1594, and signed C. H. i. e. Chr. Hunt, the proprietor of the edition. R. C. in the title, was suggested by Ritson to be Richard Carew, who published the Survey of Cornwall in 1602.—PARK.]

[n] To Christopher Hunt, Jan. 25. Registr. Station. B. fol. 304 b. The same version of Tasso is again entered Nov. 22, 1599. Registr. C. fol. 54 a. Among Rawlinson's manuscripts are two fair copies in large folio of a translation of Tasso in octave stanzas, by sir G. T. An inserted note says this is George Turberville, the poet of queen Elizabeth's reign, and that he was knighted by the queen while ambassador.

[o] To John Danter, Jun. 19. Ibid. fol. 309 b.

[p] B. vi. Sat. 1.

[q] In quarto. From some other book of the kind, says John Marston in his Satyres, Lond. for E. Matts, 1593. 12mo. Sat. ii.

Reach me some poets Index that will shew
IMAGINES DEORUM. Booke of Epithites,
Natalis Comes, thou, I know, recites,
And mak'st anatomie of poesie.

With this might have been bound up "A treasorie and storehouse of similis," for T. Creede, 1600.

[r] In 1599 was published by G. Potter "A commendacion of true poetry and a discommendacion of all baudy, pybald, and paganizde [paganised] poets," &c. See Registr. Station. C. fol. 55 b.

puritans, their apprehensions that the reformed faith was yet in danger from paganism, are not sufficiently noted. And it should be remembered, that a PANTHEON had before appeared; rather indeed with a view of exposing the heathen superstitions, and of showing their conformity to the papistic, than of illustrating the religious fable of antiquity. But the scope and design of the writer will appear from his title, which from its archness alone deserves to be inserted: "The GOLDEN BOOKE OF THE LEADEN GODDES, wherein is described the vayne imaginations of the heathen pagans, and counterfeit christians. With a description of their severall tables, what each of their pictures signified[s]." The writer, however, doctor Stephen Batman, had been domestic chaplain to archbishop Parker, and is better known by his general chronicle of prodigies called Batman's DOOM[t]. He was also the last translator of the Gothic Pliny, BARTHOLOMEUS DE PROPRIETATIBUS RERUM, and collected more than a thousand manuscripts for archbishop Parker's library.

This inquiry might be much further enlarged and extended; but let it be sufficient to observe here in general, that the best stories of the early and original Italian novelists, either by immediate translation, or through the mediation of Spanish, French, or Latin versions, by paraphrase, abridgement, imitation, and often under the disguise of licentious innovations of names, incidents, and characters, appeared in an English dress, before the close of the reign of Elizabeth, and for the most part, even before the publication of the first volume of Belleforrest's grand repository of tragical narratives, a compilation from the Italian writers, in 1583. But the CENT HISTOIRES TRAGIQUES of Belleforrest himself appear to have been translated soon afterwards[u]. In the mean time, it must be remembered, that many translations of Tales from the modern languages were licensed to be printed, but afterwards suppressed by the interest of the puritans. It appears from the register of the Stationers, that among others, in the year 1619, "The DECAMERON of Mr. John Boccace Florentine," was revoked by a sudden inhibition of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury[w]. But not only the clamours of the Calvinists, but caprice and ignorance, perhaps partiality, seem to have had some share in this business of licensing books. The rigid arbiters of the press who condemned Boccace in the gross, could not with propriety spare all the licentious cantos of Ariosto. That writer's libertine friar, metamorphosis of Richardetto, Alcina and Rogero, Anselmo, and host's tale of Astolfo, are shocking to common decency. When the four or five first books of AMADIS DE GAUL in French were delivered to Wolfe to be translated into English and to be printed, in the year 1592, the signature of Bishop Aylmer was affixed to every book of the original[x]. The romance of PALMERIN of

[s] In quarto, for Thomas Marshe, 1577. It contains only 72 pages. Licensed Aug. 26, 1577. Registr. Station. B. fol. 142 b.

[t] Lond. 1581. 4to.

[u] See, under 1596, Registr. Station. C.

[w] Registr. C. fol. 311 a.

[x] Registr. Station. B. fol. 286 a. Hence Dekker's familiarity of allusion, in The

ENGLAND was licensed to be printed in 1580, on condition, that if any thing reprehensible was found in the book after publication, all the copies should be committed to the flames[y]. Notwithstanding, it is remarkable, that in 1587, a new edition of Boccace's DECAMERON in Italian[z] by Wolfe, should have been permitted by archbishop Whitgift[a]; and the English AMOROUS FIAMETTA* of Boccace, above mentioned, in the same year by the bishop of London[b].

But in the year 1599, the Hall of the Stationers underwent as great a purgation as was carried on in Don Quixote's library. Marston's Pygmalion, Marlowe's Ovid, the Satires of Hall and Marston, the Epigrams of Davies and others, and the CALTHA POETARUM, were ordered for immediate conflagration by the prelates Whitgift and Bancroft[c]. By the same authority, all the books of Nash and Gabriel Harvey were anathematised; and, like thieves and outlaws, were ordered *to be taken wheresoever they maye be found.* It was decreed, that no Satires or Epigrams should be printed for the future. No plays were to be printed without the inspection and permission of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, nor any *Englishe Historyes*, I suppose novels and romances, without the sanction of the privy-council Any pieces of this nature, unlicensed, or now at large and wandering abroad, were to be diligently sought, recalled, and delivered over to the ecclesiastical arm at London-house[d].

If any apology should be thought necessary for so prolix and intricate an examination of these compositions, I shelter this section under the authority of a polite and judicious Roman writer, "Sit apud te honos ANTIQUITATI, sit ingentibus factis, sit FABULIS quoque[e]."

Vntrussing of the Humorous Poet, "Farewell my sweete Amadis de Gaule!" Lond. 1602. 4to. Signat. D 2.

[y] To John Charlewood, Feb. 13. Ibid. fol. 177 b.

[z] Two or three other Italian books, as proof of the popularity of the language, were allowed to be printed in 1588. Ibid. fol. 233 b. fol. 234 b.

[a] Sept. 13. Together with the Historie of China, both in Italian and English.

* [The following allusions to this and to other cotemporary publications occur in an epistle by N. W. prefixed to Daniel's edition of Paulus Jovius on Impreses, 1585. "If courtiers are inwardly ravished in viewing the picture of Fiametta, which *Boccace* limned; if ladies entertaine Bandel[lo] or *Ariosto* in their closets; if lovers embrace their phisition *Ovid* in extremities of their passion; then will gentlemen of all tribes much rather honour your Impresa, as a most rare jewell and delicate enchiridion. For there is not published a Florish upon Fancie, or Tarletons toyes or the sillie interlude of Diogenes," &c.—PARK.]

[b] Ibid. Sept. 18.

[c] There are also recited, "The Shadowe of Truthe in Epigrams and Satires. Snarling Satyres. The booke againste women. The xv ioyes of marriage."

[d] Registr. Station. C. fol. 316 a. b.

[e] Plin. Epist. viii. 24.

SECTION LXI.

General view and character of the poetry of queen Elizabeth's age.

ENOUGH has been opened of the reign of queen Elizabeth, to afford us an opportunity of forming some general reflections, tending to establish a full estimate of the genius of the poetry of that reign; and which, by drawing conclusions from what has been said, and directing the reader to what he is to expect, will at once be recapitulatory and preparatory. Such a survey perhaps might have stood with more propriety as an introduction to this reign. But it was first necessary to clear the way, by many circumstantial details, and the regular narration of those particulars, which lay the foundation of principles, and suggest matter for discursive observation. My sentiments on this subject shall therefore compose the concluding section of the present volume.

The age of queen Elizabeth is commonly called the golden age of English poetry. It certainly may not improperly be styled the most POETICAL age of these annals.

Among the great features which strike us in the poetry of this period, are the predominancy of fable, of fiction, and fancy, and a predilection for interesting adventures and pathetic events. I will endeavour to assign and explain the cause of this characteristic distinction, which may chiefly be referred to the following principles, sometimes blended, and sometimes operating singly: The revival and vernacular versions of the classics, the importation and translation of Italian novels, the visionary reveries or refinements of false philosophy, a degree of superstition sufficient for the purposes of poetry, the adoption of the machineries of romance, and the frequency and improvements of allegoric exhibition in the popular spectacles.

When the corruptions and impostures of popery were abolished, the fashion of cultivating the Greek and Roman learning became universal; and the literary character was no longer appropriated to scholars by profession, but assumed by the nobility and gentry. The ecclesiastics had found it their interest to keep the languages of antiquity to themselves, and men were eager to know what had been so long injuriously concealed. Truth propagates truth, and the mantle of mystery was removed not only from religion, but from literature. The laity, who had now been taught to assert their natural privileges, became impatient of the old monopoly of knowledge, and demanded admittance to the usurpations of the clergy. The general curiosity for new discoveries, heightened either by just or imaginary ideas of the treasures contained in the Greek and Roman writers, excited all persons of leisure and fortune to study the classics. The pedantry of the present age was the politeness of the last. An accurate comprehension

of the phraseology and peculiarities of the ancient poets, historians, and orators, which yet seldom went further than a kind of technical erudition, was an indispensable and almost the principal object in the circle of a gentleman's education. Every young lady of fashion was carefully instituted in classical letters; and the daughter of a duchess was taught, not only to distil strong waters, but to construe Greek. Among the learned females of high distinction, queen Elizabeth herself was the most conspicuous. Roger Ascham, her preceptor, speaks with rapture of her astonishing progress in the Greek nouns; and declares with no small degree of triumph, that during a long residence at Windsor-castle, she was accustomed to read more Greek in a day, than "some prebendary of that church did Latin in one week[a]." And although perhaps a princess looking out words in a lexicon, and writing down hard phrases from Plutarch's Lives, may be thought at present a more incompatible and extraordinary character than a canon of Windsor understanding no Greek and but little Latin, yet Elizabeth's passion for these acquisitions was then natural, and resulted from the genius and habitudes of her age.

The books of antiquity being thus familiarised to the great, every thing was tinctured with ancient history and mythology. The heathen gods, although discountenanced by the Calvinists on a suspicion of their tending to cherish and revive a spirit of idolatry, came into general vogue. When the queen paraded through a country-town, almost every pageant was a pantheon. When she paid a visit at the house of any of her nobility, at entering the hall she was saluted by the Penates, and conducted to her privy-chamber by Mercury. Even the pastry-cooks were expert mythologists. At dinner, select transformations of Ovid's metamorphoses were exhibited in confectionary; and the splendid iceing of an immense historic plum-cake was embossed with a delicious basso-relievo of the destruction of Troy. In the afternoon, when she condescended to walk in the garden, the lake was covered with Tritons and Nereids; the pages of the family were converted into Wood-nymphs who peeped from every bower; and the footmen gamboled over the lawns in the figure of Satyrs. I speak it without designing to insinuate any unfavourable suspicions; but it seems difficult to say, why Elizabeth's virginity should have been made the theme of perpetual and excessive panegyric: nor does it immediately appear, that there is less merit or glory in a married than a maiden queen. Yet, the next morning, after sleeping in a room hung with the tapestry of the voyage of Eneas, when her majesty hunted in the Park, she was met by Diana, who pronouncing our royal prude to be the brightest paragon of unspotted chastity, invited her to groves free from the intrusions of Acteon. The truth is, she was so profusely flattered for this virtue, because it was esteemed the characteristical ornament of

[a] Schoolemaster, p. 19 b. edit. 1589. 4to.

the heroines, as fantastic honour was the chief pride of the champions, of the old barbarous romance. It was in conformity to the sentiments of chivalry, which still continued in vogue, that she was celebrated for chastity: the compliment, however, was paid in a classical allusion.

Queens must be ridiculous when they would appear as women. The softer attractions of sex vanish on the throne. Elizabeth sought all occasions of being extolled for her beauty, of which indeed in the prime of her youth she possessed but a small share, whatever might have been her pretensions to absolute virginity. Notwithstanding her exaggerated habits of dignity and ceremony, and a certain affectation of imperial severity, she did not perceive this ambition of being complimented for beauty, to be an idle and unpardonable levity, totally inconsistent with her high station and character. As she conquered all nations with her arms, it matters not what were the triumphs of her eyes. Of what consequence was the complexion of the mistress of the world? Not less vain of her person than her politics, this stately coquet, the guardian of the protestant faith, the terror of the sea, the mediatrix of the factions of France, and the scourge of Spain, was infinitely mortified, if an ambassador, at the first audience, did not tell her she was the finest woman in Europe. No negociation succeeded unless she was addressed as a goddess. Encomiastic harangues drawn from this topic, even on the supposition of youth and beauty, were surely superfluous, unsuitable, and unworthy; and were offered and received with an equal impropriety. Yet when she rode through the streets of the city of Norwich, Cupid, at the command of the mayor and aldermen, advancing from a group of gods who had left Olympus to grace the procession, gave her a golden arrow, the most effective weapon of his well-furnished quiver, which under the influence of such irresistible charms was sure to wound the most obdurate heart. "A gift," says honest Hollinshed, "which her majesty, now verging to her fiftieth year, received very thankfullie[b]." In one of the fulsome interludes at court, where she was present, the singing-boys of her chapel presented the story of the three rival goddesses on mount Ida, to which her majesty was ingeniously added as a fourth; and Paris was arraigned in form for adjudging the golden apple to Venus, which was due to the queen alone.

This inundation of classical pedantry soon infected our poetry. Our writers, already trained in the school of fancy, were suddenly dazzled with these novel imaginations, and the divinities and heroes of pagan antiquity decorated every composition. The perpetual allusions to ancient fable were often introduced without the least regard to propriety. Shakspeare's Mrs. Page, who is not intended in any degree to be a learned or an affected lady*, laughing at the cumbersome courtship of

[b] Chron. iii. f. 1297.

* [This I cannot allow. I rather think that Shakspeare here spouted all his own knowledge, rather than that of an honest dame; because we do not find any more of it in this play, or any other of his. We

her corpulent lover Falstaffe, says, "I had rather be a giantess and lie under mount Pelion[c]." This familiarity with the pagan story was not, however, so much owing to the prevailing study of the original authors, as to the numerous English versions of them which were consequently made. The translations of the classics, which now employed every pen, gave a currency and a celebrity to these fancies, and had the effect of diffusing them among the people. No sooner were they delivered from the pale of the scholastic languages, than they acquired a general notoriety. Ovid's Metamorphoses just translated by Golding, to instance no further, disclosed a new world of fiction, even to the illiterate. As we had now all the ancient fables in English, learned allusions, whether in a poem or a pageant, were no longer obscure and unintelligible to common readers and common spectators. And here we are led to observe, that at this restoration of the classics, we were first struck only with their fabulous inventions. We did not attend to their regularity of design and justness of sentiment. A rude age, beginning to read these writers, imitated their extravagances, not their natural beauties. And these, like other novelties, were pursued to a blameable excess.

I have before given a sketch of the introduction of classical stories, in the splendid show exhibited at the coronation of queen Anne Boleyn. But that is a rare and a premature instance; and the pagan fictions are there complicated with the barbarisms of the catholic worship, and the doctrines of scholastic theology. Classical learning was not then so widely spread, either by study or translation, as to bring these learned spectacles into fashion, to frame them with sufficient skill, and to present them with propriety.

Another capital source of the poetry peculiar to this period, consisted in the numerous translations of Italian tales into English. These narratives, not dealing altogether in romantic inventions, but in real life and manners, and in artful arrangements of fictitious yet probable events, afforded a new gratification to a people which yet retained their ancient relish for tale-telling, and became the fashionable amusement of all who professed to read for pleasure. They gave rise to innumerable plays and poems, which would not otherwise have existed; and turned the thoughts of our writers to new inventions of the same kind. Before these books became common, affecting situations, the combination of incident, and the pathos of catastrophe, were almost unknown. Distress, especially that arising from the conflicts of the tender passion, had not yet been shown in its most interesting forms. It was hence

might therefore as well affirm that all the valets and chambermaids in Queen Anne's time were infinitely witty, because Congreve has made them as much so as their masters and mistresses; that is, the poet bestowed all the wit he had upon all his characters indiscriminately.—Ashby. But was it not the peculiar felicity and unrivalled merit of Shakspeare, to make his characters utter no more than nature herself set down for them? Hence Pope's just eulogium on the individuality of excellence in all his dramatis personæ, and hence his own directions to the players in Hamlet. —Park.]

[c] Merry W. act ii. sc. 1.

our poets, particularly the dramatic, borrowed ideas of a legitimate plot, and the complication of facts necessary to constitute a story either of the comic or tragic species. In proportion as knowledge increased, genius had wanted subjects and materials. These pieces usurped the place of legends and chronicles: and although the old historical songs of the minstrels contained much bold adventure, heroic enterprise, and strong touches of rude delineation, yet they failed in that multiplication and disposition of circumstances, and in that description of characters and events approaching nearer to truth and reality, which were demanded by a more discerning and curious age. Even the rugged features of the original Gothic romance were softened by this sort of reading; and the Italian pastoral, yet with some mixture of the kind of incidents described in Heliodorus's Ethiopic history now newly translated, was engrafted on the feudal manners in Sydney's ARCADIA.

But the reformation had not yet destroyed every delusion, nor disenchanted all the strongholds of superstition. A few dim characters were yet legible in the mouldering creed of tradition. Every goblin of ignorance did not vanish at the first glimmerings of the morning of science. Reason suffered a few demons still to linger, which she chose to retain in her service under the guidance of poetry. Men believed, or were willing to believe, that spirits were yet hovering around, who brought with them *airs from heaven, or blasts from hell*, that the ghost was duly released from his prison of torment at the sound of the curfue, and that fairies imprinted mysterious circles on the turf by moonlight. Much of this credulity was even consecrated by the name of science and profound speculation. Prospero had not yet *broken and buried his staffe*, nor *drowned his book deeper than did ever plummet sound*. It was now that the alchymist, and the judicial astrologer, conducted his occult operations by the potent intercourse of some preternatural being, who came obsequious to his call, and was bound to accomplish his severest services, under certain conditions, and for a limited duration of time. It was actually one of the pretended feats of these fantastic philosophers, to evoke the queen of the Fairies in the solitude of a gloomy grove, who, preceded by a sudden rustling of the leaves, appeared in robes of transcendent lustre[d]. The Shakspeare of a more instructed and polished age, would not have given us a magician darkening the sun at noon, the sabbath of the witches, and the caldron of incantation.

Undoubtedly most of these notions were credited and entertained in a much higher degree, in the preceding periods. But the arts of composition had not then made a sufficient progress, nor would the poets of those periods have managed them with so much address and judgment. We were now arrived at that point, when the national credulity, chastened by reason, had produced a sort of civilised superstition,

[d] Lilly's Life, p. 151.

and left a set of traditions, fanciful enough for poetic decoration, and yet not too violent and chimerical for common sense. Hobbes, although no friend to this doctrine, observes happily, "In a good poem both judgment and fancy are required; but the fancy must be more eminent, because they please for the EXTRAVAGANCY, but ought not to displease by INDISCRETION[e]."

In the mean time the Gothic romance, although somewhat shook by the classical fictions, and by the tales of Boccace and Bandello, still maintained its ground; and the daring machineries of giants, dragons, and enchanted castles, borrowed from the magic storehouse of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, began to be employed by the epic muse. These ornaments have been censured by the bigotry of precise and servile critics, as abounding in whimsical absurdities, and as unwarrantable deviations from the practice of Homer and Virgil. The author of AN ENQUIRY INTO THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF HOMER is willing to allow a fertility of genius, and a felicity of expression, to Tasso and Ariosto; but at the same time complains, that, "quitting life, they betook themselves to aerial beings and Utopian characters, and filled their works with Charms and Visions, the modern Supplements of the Marvellous and Sublime. The best poets copy nature, and give it such as they find it. When once they lose sight of this, they write false, be their talents ever so great[f]." But what shall we say of those Utopians, the Cyclopes and the Lestrigons in the Odyssey? The hippogrif of Ariosto may be opposed to the harpies of Virgil. If leaves are turned into ships in the Orlando, nymphs are transformed into ships in the Eneid. Cacus is a more unnatural savage than Caliban. Nor am I convinced, that the imagery of Ismeno's necromantic forest in the Gierusalemme Liberata, guarded by walls and battlements of fire, is less marvellous and sublime, than the leap of Juno's horses in the Iliad, celebrated by Longinus for its singular magnificence and dignity[g]. On the principles of this critic, Voltaire's Henriad may be placed at the head of the modern epic*. But I forbear to anticipate my opinion of a system, which will more properly be considered when I come to speak of Spenser. I must, however, observe here, that the Gothic and pagan fictions were now frequently blended and incorporated. The Lady of the Lake floated in the suite of Neptune before queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth; Ariel assumes the semblance of a sea-nymph; and Hecate, by an easy association, conducts the rites of the weird sisters in Macbeth.

Allegory had been derived from the religious dramas into our civil spectacles. The masques and pageantries of the age of Elizabeth were not only furnished by the heathen divinities, but often by the virtues and vices impersonated, significantly decorated, accurately distinguished

[e] Leviath. Part i. ch. viii.
[f] Sect. v. p. 69.
[g] Iliad, lib. v. 768. Longin. §. ix.

* [So thought Lord Chesterfield, at whom Martin Sherlock laughed, properly enough. —ASHBY.]

by their proper types, and represented by living actors. The ancient symbolical shows of this sort began now to lose their old barbarism and a mixture of religion, and to assume a degree of poetical elegance and precision. Nor was it only in the conformation of particular figures that much fancy was shown, but in the contexture of some of the fables or devices presented by groups of ideal personages. These exhibitions quickened creative invention, and reflected back on poetry what poetry had given. From their familiarity and public nature, they formed a national taste for allegory; and the allegorical poets were now writing to the people. Even romance was turned into this channel. In the Fairy Queen, allegory is wrought upon chivalry, and the feats and figments of Arthur's round table are moralized. The virtues of magnificence and chastity are here personified; but they are imaged with the forms, and under the agency, of romantic knights and damsels. What was an after-thought in Tasso appears to have been Spenser's premeditated and primary design. In the mean time, we must not confound these moral combatants of the Fairy Queen with some of its other embodied abstractions, which are purely and professedly allegorical.

It may here be added, that only a few critical treatises, and but one ART OF POETRY, were now written. Sentiments and images were not absolutely determined by the canons of composition; nor was genius awed by the consciousness of a future and final arraignment at the tribunal of taste. A certain dignity of inattention to niceties is now visible in our writers. Without too closely consulting a criterion of correctness, every man indulged his own capriciousness of invention. The poet's appeal was chiefly to his own voluntary feelings, his own immediate and peculiar mode of conception. And this freedom of thought was often expressed in an undisguised frankness of diction;—a circumstance, by the way, that greatly contributed to give the flowing modulation* which now marked the measures of our poets, and which soon degenerated into the opposite extreme of dissonance and asperity. Selection and discrimination were often overlooked. Shakspeare wandered in pursuit of universal nature. The glancings of his eye are from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven. We behold him breaking the barriers of imaginary method. In the same scene, he descends from his meridian of the noblest tragic sublimity, to puns and quibbles, to

* [This modulation, Mr. Ellis thinks, is likely to have resulted from the musical studies which now formed a part of general education. "The lyrical compositions of this time are so far," he adds, "from being marked by a faulty negligence, that excess of ornament and laboured affectation are their characteristic blemishes. Such as are free from conceit and antithesis are in general exquisitely polished, and may safely be compared with the most elegant and finished specimens of modern poetry." Spec. of Early English Poetry.—Mr. Ashby also thought, that the modulation of the poetry was a good deal owing to a general attention to Church Music, which would form the public ear more universally than all our present spectacles, because all may attend church gratis. And this is really the case in Italy. Daines Barrington remarks that many a girl in the country has a good voice, but all sing false, because they never hear good singing: in London it is just the contrary.—PARK.]

the meanest merriments of a plebeian farce. In the midst of his dignity, he resembles his own Richard the Second, the *skipping king*, who sometimes discarding the state of a monarch,

Mingled his royalty with carping fools[h].

He seems not to have seen any impropriety, in the most abrupt transitions, from dukes to buffoons, from senators to sailors, from counsellors to constables, and from kings to clowns. Like Virgil's majestic oak,

. . . . . Quantum vertice ad auras
Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit[i].

No Satires, properly so called, were written till towards the latter end of the queen's reign, and then but a few. Pictures drawn at large of the vices of the times did not suit readers who loved to wander in the regions of artificial manners. The Muse, like the people, was too solemn and reserved, too ceremonious and pedantic, to stoop to common life. Satire is the poetry of a nation highly polished*.

The importance of the female character was not yet acknowledged nor were women admitted into the general commerce of society†. The effect of that intercourse had not imparted a comic air to poetry, nor softened the severer tone of our versification with the levities of gallantry, and the familiarities of compliment, sometimes perhaps operating on serious subjects, and imperceptibly spreading themselves in the general habits of style and thought. I do not mean to insinuate, that our poetry has suffered from the great change of manners, which this assumption of the gentler sex, or rather the improved state of female education, has produced, by giving elegance and variety to life, by enlarging the sphere of conversation, and by multiplying the topics and enriching the stores of wit and humour. But I am marking the peculiarities of composition: and my meaning was to suggest, that the absence of so important a circumstance from the modes and constitution of ancient life must have influenced the cotemporary poetry. Of the state of manners among our ancestors respecting this point, many traces remain. Their style of courtship may be collected from the love-dialogues of Hamlet, young Percy, Henry the Fifth, and Master Fenton Their tragic heroines, their Desdemonas and Ophelias, although of so

[h] First Part of Henry IV. act iii. sc. 2.
[i] Georg. ii. 291.

* [Yet the French would think higher of Boileau, had he wrote as well in any other way. I own I cannot help thinking Juvenal a very improvident but cowardly fellow, that could laugh at Hannibal's one eye 300 years after. Paul Whitehead displayed greater audacity in laughing at the late Duke of Marlborough; but did any thing in the subsequent part of the duke's life justify the satirist?—ASHBY.]

† [It is much that women should no prevail so as to give the *ton* at Queen Elizabeth's court. They did it at King Arthur's, which seems to have been esteemed the standard then. James was a woman-hater. If the prose of Elizabeth's time was poetical, the poetry of his was prosaic. This reverses the position of Mr Warton on the next page, and appears not to be quite admissible.—ASHBY.]

much consequence in the piece, are degraded to the back-ground. In comedy, their ladies are nothing more than MERRY WIVES, plain and cheerful matrons, who stand upon the *chariness of their honesty*. In the smaller poems, if a lover praises his mistress, she is complimented in strains neither polite nor pathetic, without elegance and without affection: she is described, not in the address of intelligible yet artful panegyric, not in the real colours, and with the genuine accomplishments, of nature; but as an eccentric ideal being of another system, and as inspiring sentiments equally unmeaning, hyperbolical, and unnatural.

All or most of these circumstances contributed to give a descriptive, a picturesque, and a figurative cast to the poetical language. This effect appears even in the prose compositions of the reign of Elizabeth. In the subsequent age, prose became the language of poetry.

In the mean time, general knowledge was increasing with a wide diffusion and a hasty rapidity. Books began to be multiplied, and a variety of the most useful and rational topics had been discussed in our own language. But science had not made too great advances. On the whole, we were now arrived at that period, propitious to the operations of original and true poetry, when the coyness of fancy was not always proof against the approaches of reason, when genius was rather directed than governed by judgment, and when taste and learning had so far only disciplined imagination, as to suffer its excesses to pass without censure or control, for the sake of the beauties to which they were allied.

SECTION LXII.

Reign of Elizabeth. Satire. Bishop Hall. His Virgidemiarum. MS. poems of a Norfolk gentleman. Examination of Hall's Satires.

MORE poetry was written in the single reign of Elizabeth, than in the two preceding centuries. The same causes, among others already enumerated and explained, which called forth genius and imagination, such as the new sources of fiction opened by a study of the classics, a familiarity with the French, Italian and Spanish writers, the growing elegances of the English language, the diffusion of polished manners, the felicities of long peace and public prosperity, and a certain freedom and activity of mind which immediately followed the national emancipation from superstition, contributed also to produce innumerable compositions in poetry. In prosecuting my further examination of the poetical annals of this reign, it therefore becomes necessary to reduce such a latitude of materials to some sort of methodical arrangement. On which account, I shall class and consider the poets of this reign under the general heads, or divisions, of SATIRE, SONNET, PASTORAL, and

MISCELLANEOUS POETRY. Spenser will stand alone, without a class, and without a rival.

Satire, specifically so called, did not commence in England till the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth. We have seen, indeed, that eclogues and allegories were made the vehicle of satire, and that many poems of a satirical tendency had been published, long ago. And here the censure was rather confined to the corruptions of the clergy, than extended to popular follies and vices. But the first professed English satirist*, to speak technically, is bishop Joseph Hall, successively bishop of Exeter and Norwich, born at Bristow-park within the parish of Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire, in the year 1574, and at the age of fifteen, in the year 1588, admitted into Emanuel-college at Cambridge, where he remained about eight years. He soon became eminent in the theology of those times, preached against predestination before prince Henry with unrivalled applause, and discussed the doctrines of Arminianism in voluminous dissertations. But so variable are our studies, and so fickle is opinion, that the poet is better known to posterity than the prelate or the polemic. His satires have outlived his sermons at court†, and his laborious confutations of the Brownists. One of his later controversial tracts is, however, remembered, on account of the celebrity of its antagonist. When Milton descended from his dignity to plead the cause of fanaticism and ideal liberty, bishop Hall was the defender of our hierarchical establishment. Bayle, who knew Hall only as a theologist, seems to have written his life merely because he was one of the English divines at the Synod of Dort, in 1618. From his inflexible and conscientious attachment to the royal and episcopal cause under king Charles the First, he suffered in his old age the severities of imprisonment and sequestration; and lived to see his cathedral converted into a barrack, and his palace into an ale-house. His uncommon learning was meliorated with great penetration and knowledge of the world, and his mildness of manners and his humility were characteristical. He died, and was obscurely buried without a memorial on his grave, in 1656, and in his eighty-second year, at Heigham, a small village near Norwich, where he had sought shelter from the storms of usurpation, and the intolerance of presbyterianism‡.

* [Mr. Collier (in his Poetical Decameron) claims the distinction for Dr. Donne, on the authority of a MS. preserved in the British Museum, and thus entitled, "Ihon Dunne, his Satires, Anno Domini 1593." (Harl. MS. No. 5110.) See also note*, p. 407.]

† [Since the decease of our poetical historian, this just reproach has been removed by a republication of the entire works of Bishop Hall.—PARK.]

‡ [The following lines may serve in the way of epitaph. They occur in a poem, printed at the end of Whitefoote's funeral sermon upon the much-lamented death of the reverend father Joseph, late lord bishop of Norwich.

Maugre the peevish world's complaint,
Here lies a bishop and a saint:
Whom Ashby bred and Granta nursed,
Whom Halstead and old Waltham first
(To rouse the stupid world from sloth)
Heard thundering with a golden mouth:
Whom Wor'ster next did dignifie,
And honour'd with her deanery:
Whom Exon lent a mitred wreath,
And Norwich—where he ceased to breathe.
These all with one joint voice do cry,

I have had the good fortune to see bishop Hall's funeral sermon, preached some days after his interment, on the thirtieth day of September, 1656, at saint Peter's church in Norwich, by one John Whitefoote, Master of Arts, and rector of Heigham. The preacher, no contemptible orator, before he proceeds to draw a parallel between our prelate and the patriarch Israel, thus illustrates that part of his character with which we are chiefly concerned, and which I am now hastening to consider. "Two yeares together he was chosen rhetorick professor in the universitie of Cambridge, and performed the office with extraordinary applause. He was noted for a singular wit from his youth: a most acute rhetorician, and an elegant poet. He understood many tongues; and in the rhetorick of his own, he was second to none that lived in his time[a]." It is much to our present purpose to observe, that the style of his prose is strongly tinctured with the manner of Seneca. The writer of the satires is perceptible in some of his gravest polemical or scriptural treatises; which are perpetually interspersed with excursive illustrations, familiar allusions, and observations on life. Many of them were early translated into French; and their character is well drawn by himself, in a dedication to James the First, who perhaps would have much better relished a more sedate and profound theology. "Seldome any man hath offered to your royall hands a greater bundle of his owne thoughts, nor perhaps more varietie of discourse. For here shall your maiestie find Moralitie, like a good handmaid, waiting on Divinitie; and Divinitie, like some great lady, euery day in seuerall dresses. Speculation interchanged with experience, Positiue theology with polemicall, textuall with discursorie, popular with scholasticall[b]."

At the age of twenty-three, while a student at Emanuel-college, and in the year 1597, he published at London three Books of anonymous Satires, which he called *Toothless* SATYRS, *poetical, academical, moral*[c]. They were printed by Thomas Creede for Robert Dexter, and are not recited in the registers of the Stationers of London. The following year, and licensed by the stationers, three more books appeared, entitled "VIRGIDEMIARUM, The three last Bookes of *Byting* Satyres." These are without his name, and were printed by Richard Bradock for Robert Dexter, in the size and letter of the last[d]. All the six Books were printed together in 1599, in the same form, with this title, "VIRGIDE-

Death's vain attempt, what doth it mean?
My son, my pupil, pastor, dean,
My reverend father, cannot die!

The rectory of Halstead, in Suffolk, had been presented to him by sir Robert Denny, and the donative of Waltham in Essex by lord Denny. He was made dean of Worcester in 1616, bishop of Exeter in 1627, and of Norwich in 1641.—PARK.]

[a] Fol. i. 61.

[b] Works, Lond. 1628. fol. vol. i. p. 3.

[c] In small duodecimo, Wh. let. But see the Catalogue to Mr. Capell's *Shakspeariana*, given to Trinity college Cambridge, Num. 347. "Virgidemiarum libri 6. Satires, Hall. 1597. 8°."

[d] In pages 106. With vignettes. Entered, March 30, 1598, to R. Dexter. Registr. Station. C. f. 33 a. Ames recites an edition of all the SIX BOOKS, in 68 pages, in 1598. Hist. Print. p. 434. I suspect this to be a mistake.

MIARUM, The three last Bookes of *byting** Satyres corrected and amended with some additions by J. H. [John Hall.] London, for R. Dexter, &c. 1599." A most incomprehensive and inaccurate title: for this edition, the last and the best, contains the three first as well as the three last Books[e]. It begins with the first three books: then at the end of the third book, follow the three last, but preceded by a new title; "VIRGIDEMIARUM. The three last Bookes of byting Satyres. Corrected and amended with some additions by J. H." For R. Dexter, as before, 1599. But the seventh of the fourth Book is here made a second satire to the sixth or last Book. Annexed are, "Certaine worthye manvscript poems of great antiquitie reserued long since in the studie of a Northfolke gentleman, And now first published by J. S. I. *The stately tragedy of Guistard and Sismond.* II. *The Northerne mother's blessing.* III. *The way to Thrifte.* Imprinted at London for R. D. 1597." Dedicated, "to the worthiest poet Maister Ed. Spenser." To this identical impression of Hall's Satires, and the Norfolk gentleman's manuscript poems annexed, a false title appeared in 1602; "VIRGIDEMIARUM. Sixe Bookes. First three bookes, Of toothlesse Satyrs. 1. POETICALL. 2. ACADEMICALL. 3. MORAL. London, Printed by John Harison, for Robert Dexter, 1602." All that follows is exactly what is in the edition of 1599. By VIRGIDEMIA, an uncouth and uncommon word, we are to understand a gathering or harvest of rods, in reference to the nature of the subject.

These satires are marked with a classical precision, to which English poetry had yet rarely attained. They are replete with animation of style and sentiment. The indignation of the satirist is always the result of good sense. Nor are the thorns of severe invective unmixed with the flowers of pure poetry. The characters are delineated in strong and lively colouring, and their discriminations are touched with the masterly traces of genuine humour. The versification is equally energetic and elegant, and the fabric of the couplets approaches to the modern standard. It is no inconsiderable proof of a genius predominating over the general taste of an age when every preacher was a punster, to have written verses, where laughter was to be raised, and the reader to be entertained with sallies of pleasantry, without quibbles and conceits. His chief fault is obscurity, arising from a remote phraseology, constrained combinations, unfamiliar allusions, elleiptical apo-

* [The following lines in Bastard's Christoleros, 1598, may possibly have an allusion to this term in the title to Hall's Satires, which might be handed about in MS. before publication.

Ad Lectorem.

Reader. there is no *biting* in my verse,
No gall, no wormewood, no cause of offence;
And yet there is a biting, I confesse,
And sharpnesse tempred to a wholsome sense.
Such are my Epigrams, well understood,
As salt which bites the wound, but doth it good.—PARK.]

[e] A modern edition, however, a thin duodecimo, was printed at Oxford, for R. Clements, 1753, under the direction of Mr. Thomson, late fellow of Queen's college Oxford. The editors followed an edition bought from Lord Oxford's library, which they destroyed when the new one was finished.

strophes, and abruptness of expression. Perhaps some will think that his manner betrays too much of the laborious exactness and pedantic anxiety of the scholar and the student. Ariosto in Italian, and Regnier in French, were now almost the only modern writers of satire; and I believe there had been an English translation of Ariosto's satires. But Hall's acknowledged patterns are Juvenal and Persius, not without some touches of the urbanity of Horace. His parodies of these poets, or rather his adaptations of ancient to modern manners, a mode of imitation not unhappily practised by Oldham, Rochester, and Pope, discover great facility and dexterity of invention. The moral gravity and the censorial declamation of Juvenal he frequently enlivens with a train of more refined reflection, or adorns with a novelty and variety of images.

In the opening of his general PROLOGUE, he expresses a decent consciousness of the difficulty and danger of his new undertaking. The laurel which he sought had been unworn, and it was not to be won without hazard.

> I FIRST ADVENTURE*, with fool-hardy might,
> To tread the steps of perilous despight:
> I FIRST ADVENTURE, follow me who list,
> And be the SECOND ENGLISH SATIRIST.

His first book, containing nine satires, is aimed at the numerous impotent yet fashionable scribblers with which his age was infested. It must be esteemed a curious and valuable picture, drawn from real life, of the abuses of poetical composition which then prevailed; and which our author has at once exposed with the wit of a spirited satirist, and the good taste of a judicious critic. Of Spenser, who could not have been his cotemporary at Cambridge, as some have thought, but perhaps was his friend, he constantly speaks with respect and applause.

* [Though Hall designates himself the first English satirist, yet this is not true in fact, observed Dr. Joseph Warton: "for sir Thomas Wyat, the friend and favourite of Henry VIII., was our first writer of satire worth notice." Essay on Pope, ii. 422. To Wyat may be added Gascoigne, who published his "Steele Glass" in 1576, which is not only a shrewd and poignant satire well expressed, but what should be still remembered to the credit of so antiquated a poet, it is an attempt to shake off the shackles of rhyme for the freedom of blank verse, or what the old bard himself styled "rhimeless verse." Lodge also published his "Fig for Momus," containing regular satires, in 1595, two years before the appearance of Hall's first three books; and in his prefatory address he thus bespeaks for them priority, if not originality, in point of composition. "I have thought good (he says) to include *Satyres*, Eclogues, and Epistles: first, by reason that I studied to delight with varietie; next, because I would write in that forme wherin *no man might chalenge me with servile imitation.*" It appears also that what he then sent forth was only a small sample of a considerable stock in his possession. "My Satyres (he proceeds) are rather placed here to prepare and trie the case than to feede it; because if it passe well, the whole centon of them, alreadie in my hands, shall sodainly be published." Of Lodge's satiric *Fig*, which our historian had not seen, Mr. Alex. Boswell has given a correct reimpression from the Auchinleck press. Dr. Warton considers the "Universal Passion" of Dr. Young as the *first characteristical* satires in our language: but surely those of Hall may put in a long preceding and justly admitted claim to the praise of this distinction.—PARK.]

I avail myself of a more minute analysis of this Book, not only as displaying the critical talents of our satirist, but as historical of the poetry of the present period, and illustrative of my general subject. And if, in general, I should be thought too copious and prolix in my examination of these satires, my apology must be, my wish to revive a neglected writer of real genius; and my opinion, that the first legitimate author in our language of a species of poetry of the most important and popular utility, which our countrymen have so successfully cultivated, and from which Pope derives his chief celebrity, deserved to be distinguished with a particular degree of attention.

From the first satire, which I shall exhibit at length, we learn what kinds of pieces were then most in fashion, and in what manner they were written. They seem to have been, tales of love and chivalry, amatorial sonnets, tragedies, comedies, and pastorals.

Nor ladie's wanton loue, nor wandering knight,
Legend I out in rimes all richly dight:
Nor fright the reader, with the pagan vaunt
Of mightie Mahound, and great Termagaunt[f].
Nor list I sonnet of my mistress' face,
To paint some Blowesse[g] with a borrow'd grace.
Nor can I bide[h] to pen some hungrie[i] scene
For thick-skin ears, and undiscerning eene:
Nor euer could my scornfull Muse abide
With tragicke shoes[k] her anckles for to hide.
Nor can I crouch, and writhe my fawning tayle,
To some great patron, for my best auayle.
Such hunger-starven trencher poetrie[l],
Or let it neuer liue, or timely die!
Nor vnder euerie bank, and euerie tree,
Speake rimes vnto mine oaten minstrelsie:
Nor carol out so pleasing liuely laies
As might the Graces moue my mirth to praise[m].
Trumpet, and reeds, and socks, and buskins fine,
I them bequeathe[n], whose statues wandring twine
Of iuie, mix'd with bayes, circles around,
Their liuing temples likewise lawrel-bound.
Rather had I, albe in careless rimes,
Check the misorder'd world, and lawless times.

[f] Saracen divinities.

[g] In modern ballads, Blousilinda, or Blousibella. Doctor Johnson interprets BLOWZE, a ruddy fat-faced wench. Dict. in v.

[h] abide, bear, endure.

[i] Perhaps the true reading is *angrie*, that is, impassioned. These satires have been most carelessly printed.

[k] buskins.

[l] Poetry written by hirelings for bread.

[m] Perhaps this couplet means Comedy.

[n] Heroic poetry, pastorals, comedy, and tragedy, I leave to the celebrated established masters in those different kinds of composition, such as Spenser and Shakspeare. Unless the classic poets are intended. The imitation from Persius's Prologue is obvious.

Nor need I craue the Muse's midwifry,
To bring to light so worthless poetry.
Or, if we list[o], what baser Muse can bide
To sit and sing by Granta's naked side?
They haunt the tided Thames and salt Medway,
E'er since the fame of their late bridal day.
Nought have we here but willow-shaded shore,
To tell our Grant his bankes are left forlore.[p]

The compliment in the close to Spenser, is introduced and turned with singular address and elegance. The allusion is to Spenser's beautiful episode of the marriage of Thames and Medway, recently published, in 1595, in the fourth book of the second part of the FAIRY QUEEN[q]. But had I, says the poet, been inclined to invoke the assistance of a Muse, what Muse, even of a lower order, is there now to be found, who would condescend to sit and sing on the desolated margin of the Cam? The Muses frequent other rivers, ever since Spenser celebrated the nuptials of Thames and Medway. Cam has now nothing on his banks but willows, the types of desertion.

I observe here in general, that Thomas Hudson and Henry Lock were the Bavius and Mevius of this age. In the RETURN FROM PARNUSSUS, 1606, they are thus consigned to oblivion by Judicio. "Locke and Hudson, sleep you quiet shavers among the shavings of the press, and let your books lie in some old nook amongst old boots and shoes, so you may avoid my censure[r]." Hudson now translated into English Du Bartas's poem of JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES, in which is this couplet,

And at her eare a pearle of greater valew
There hung, than that th' Egyptian queene did swallow.

Yet he is commended by Harrington for making this translation in a "verie good and sweet English verse[s]," and is largely cited in ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS, 1600. Lock applied the Sonnet to a spiritual purpose, and substituting christian love in the place of amorous passion, made it the vehicle of humiliation, holy comfort, and thanksgiving. This book he dedicated, under the title of the PASSIONATE PRESENT, to queen Elizabeth, who perhaps from the title expected to be entertained with a subject of a very different nature[t].

In the second satire, our author poetically laments that the nine Muses are no longer vestal virgins.

[o] Or, even if I was willing to invoke a Muse, &c.

[p] B. i. 1. f. 1. edit. 1599.

[q] B. iv. C. xi.

[r] A. i. s. 3.

[s] Transl. Orl. Fur. Notes, B. xxxv. p. 296. 1633. Hence, or from an old play, the name Holofernes got into Shakspeare.

[t] I have before cited this Collection, which appeared in 1597 [supr. p. 359]. That was a second edition. To his Ecclesiastes there is a recommendatory poem by Lilly. Some of David's Psalms in verse appear with his name the same year.

Whilom the sisters nine were vestal maides,
And held their temple in the secret shades
Of faire Parnassvs, that two-headed hill
Whose avncient fame the southern world did fill:
And in the stead of their etarnal fame
Was the cool stream, that took his endless name
From out the fertile hoof of winged steed:
There did they sit, and do their holy deed
That pleased both heaven and earth.———

He complains, that the *rabblements of rymesters new* have engrafted the myrtle on the bay; and that poetry, departing from its ancient moral tendency, has been unnaturally perverted to the purposes of corruption and impurity. The Muses have changed, in defiance of chastity,

Their modest stole to garish looser weed,
Deckt with loue-fauours, their late whoredom's meed.

While the pellucid spring of Pyrene is converted into a poisonous and muddy puddle,

— — — — whose infectious staine
Corrupteth all the lowly fruitfull plaine.[s]

Marlowe's OVID'S ELEGIES, and some of the dissolute sallies of Green and Nash, seem to be here pointed out. I know not of any edition of Marston's PYGMALION'S IMAGE before the year 1598, and the CALTHA POETARUM, or BUMBLE-BEE, one of the most exceptionable books of this kind, written by T. Cutwode, appeared in 1599[t]. Shakspeare's VENUS AND ADONIS, published in 1593, had given great offence to the graver readers of English verse[u].

In the subsequent satire our author more particularly censures the intemperance of his brethren; and illustrates their absolute inability to write, till their imaginations were animated by wine, in the following apt and witty comparison, which is worthy of Young.

[s] B. i. 2. f. 4.

[t] To R. Olave, April 17, 1599. Registr. Station. C. f. 50 b.

[u] This we learn from a poem entitled, "A Scourge for Paper-persecutors, by J. D. with an Inquisition against Paper-persecutors by A. H. Lond. for H. H. 1625. 4to. Signat. A. 3."

Making lewd Venus with eternall lines
To tye Adonis to her loues designes:
Fine wit is shewn therein, but finer 'twere
If not attired in such bawdy geere:
But be it as it will, the coyest dames
In priuate reade it for their closet-games.

See also Freeman's Epigrams, the Second Part, entitled, Runne and a great Cast, Lond. 1614. 4to. Epigr. 92. Signat. K. 3.

TO MASTER WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Shakespeare, that nimble Mercury thy braine, &c.
Who list reade lust, there's VENUS AND ADONIS,
True model of a most lasciuious letcher.

As frozen dunghills in a winter's morn,
That void of vapours seemed all beforn,
Soon as the sun sends out his piercing beams,
Exhale forth filthy smoak, and stinking steams;
So doth the base and the fore-barren brain,
Soon as the raging wine begins to raign.

In the succeeding lines, he confines his attack to Marlowe, eminent for his drunken frolicks, who was both a player and a poet, and whose tragedy of TAMERLANE THE GREAT, represented before the year 1588, published in 1590, and confessedly one of the worst of his plays, abounds in bombast. Its false splendour was also burlesqued by Beaumont and Fletcher in the COXCOMB; and it has these two lines, which are ridiculed by Pistol, in Shakspeare's KING HENRY THE FOURTH[w], addressed to the captive princes who drew Tamerlane's chariot.

Holla, you pamper'd jades of Asia,
What, can ye draw but twenty miles a day?

We should, in the mean time, remember, that by many of the most skilful of our dramatic writers, tragedy was now thought almost essentially and solely to consist, in the pomp of declamation, in sounding expressions, and unnatural amplifications of style. But to proceed.

One, higher pitch'd, doth set his soaring thought
On crowned kings that fortune low hath brought;
Or some vpreared high-aspiring swaine,
As it might be the Turkish Tamberlaine[x]:
Then weeneth he his base drink-drowned spright
Rapt to the threefold loft of heauen's hight:
When he conceiues upon his faigned stage
The stalking steps of his great personage
Graced with huff-cap termes, and thundering threats,
That his poor hearers hair qvite vpright sets,
So soon as some braue-minded hungrie youth
Sees fitly frame to his wide-strained mouth,
He vaunts his voice vpon a hired stage,
With high-set steps, and princelie carriage.—
There if he can with termes Italianate,
Big-sounding sentences, and words of state,
Faire patch me vp his pure iambicke verse,
He rauishes the gazing scaffolders[y].

[w] A. ii. s. 4.

[x] There is a piece entered to R. Jones, Aug. 14, 1590, entitled, "Comicall discourses of Tamberlain the Cithian [Scythian] shepherd." Registr. Station. B. f. 262 b. Probably the story of Tamerlane was introduced into our early drama from the following publication, "The historie of the great emperour Tamerlane, drawn from the ancient monuments of the Arabians. By messire Jean du Bec, abbot of Mortimer. Translated into English by H. M. London, for W. Ponsonbie, 1597." 4to. I cite from a second edition.

[y] those who sate on the scaffold, a part

But, adds the critical satirist, that the minds of the astonished audience may not be too powerfully impressed with the terrours of tragic solemnity, a VICE, or buffoon, is suddenly and most seasonably introduced.

> Now lest such frightful shews of fortvne's fall,
> And bloody tyrant's rage, should chance appall
> The dead-struck audience, mid the silent rout
> Comes leaping in a self-misformed lout,
> And laughs, and grins, and frames his mimic face,
> And jostles straight into the prince's place.——
> A goodlie hotch-potch, when vile russetings
> Are match'd with monarchs, and with mighty kings:
> A goodly grace to sober tragick muse,
> When each base clowne his clumsy fist doth bruise[z]!

To complete these genuine and humorous anecdotes of the state of our stage in the reign of Elizabeth, I make no apology for adding the paragraph immediately following, which records the infancy of theatric criticism.

> Meanwhile our poets, in high parliament,
> Sit watching euerie word and gesturement,
> Like curious censors of some doutie gear,
> Whispering their verdict in their fellows ear.
> Woe to the word, whose margent in their scrole[a]
> I noted with a black condemning coal!
> But if each period might the synod please,
> Ho! bring the ivie boughs, and bands of bayes[b].

In the beginning of the next satire, he resumes this topic. He seems to have conceived a contempt for blank verse; observing that the English iambic is written with little trouble, and seems rather a spontaneous effusion, than an artificial construction.

> Too popular is tragick poesie,
> Straining his tiptoes for a farthing fee:
> And doth, beside, on rimeless numbers tread:
> Unbid iambicks flow from careless head.

He next inveighs against the poet, who

> ——— in high heroic rimes
> Compileth worm-eat stories of old times.

of the play-house which answered to our upper gallery. So again, B. iv. 2. f. 13.

When a crazed scaffold, and a rotten stage,
Was all rich Nenius his heritage.

See the conformation of our old English theatre accurately investigated in the Supplement to Shakspeare, i. 9. seq. [See supr. p. 269.]

[z] In striking the benches to express applause.

[a] copy. [b] B. i. 3. f. 8.

To these antique tales he condemns the application of the extravagant enchantments of Ariosto's ORLANDO FURIOSO, particularly of such licentious fictions as the removal of Merlin's tomb from Wales into France, or Tuscany, by the magic operations of the sorceress Melissa[c]. The ORLANDO had been just now translated by Harrington.

> And maketh up his hard-betaken tale
> With strange inchantments, fetch'd from darksom vale
> Of some Melissa, that by magick doom
> To Tuscans soile transporteth Merlin's tomb.

But he suddenly checks his career, and retracts his thoughtless temerity in presuming to blame such themes as had been immortalised by the fairy muse of Spenser.

> But let no rebel satyr dare traduce
> Th' eternal legends of thy faerie muse,
> Renowned Spenser! whom no earthly wight
> Dares once to emulate, much less dares despight.
> Salust[d] of France, and Tuscan Ariost,
> Yield vp the lawrell garland ye haue lost![e]

In the fifth, he ridicules the whining ghosts of the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES, which the ungenerous and unpitying poet sends back to hell, without a penny to pay Charon for their return over the river Styx[f].

In the sixth, he laughs at the hexametrical versification of the Roman prosody, so contrary to the genius of our language, lately introduced into English poetry by Stanihurst the translator of Virgil, and patronised by Gabriel Harvey and sir Philip Sidney.

> Another scorns the homespun thread of rimes,
> Match'd with the lofty feet of elder times.
> Giue me the numbred verse that Virgil sung,
> And Virgil's selfe shall speake the English tounge.—
> The nimble dactyl striving to outgo
> The drawling spondees, pacing it below:
> The lingering spondees labouring to delay
> The breathless dactyls with a sudden stay[g].

His own lines on the subject are a proof that English verse wanted to borrow no graces from the Roman.

[c] See Orl. Fur. iii. 10. xxvi. 39.

[d] Du Bartas.

[e] B. i. 4. f. 11. In the Stanzas called a Defiance to Envy, prefixed to the Satires, he declares his reluctance and inability to write pastorals after Spenser.

> At Colin's feet I throw my yielding reede.
> But in some of those stanzas in which he means to ridicule the pastoral, he proves himself admirably qualified for this species of poetry.

[f] B. i. 5. f. 12.

[g] B. i. 6. f. 13, 14.

The false and foolish compliments of the sonnet-writer are the object of the seventh satire.

> Be she all sooty black, or berry brown,
> She 's white as morrow's milk, or flakes new-blown.

He judges it absurd, that the world should be troubled with the history of the smiles or frowns of a lady; as if all mankind were deeply interested in the privacies of a lover's heart, and the momentary revolutions of his hope and despair[h].

In the eighth, our author insinuates his disapprobation of sacred poetry, and the metrical versions of scripture, which were encouraged and circulated by the puritans. He glances at Robert Southwell's SAINT PETER'S COMPLAINT[i], in which the saint *weeps pure Helicon*, published this year, and the same writer's FUNERALL TEARES of the Two Maries. He then, but without mentioning his name, ridicules Markham's SION'S MUSE, a translation of Solomon's Song[k]. Here, says our satirical critic, Solomon assumes the character of a modern sonnetteer; and celebrates the sacred spouse of Christ with the levities and in the language of a lover singing the praises of his mistress[l].

The hero of the next satire I suspect to be Robert Greene, who practised the vices which he so freely displayed in his poems. Greene, however, died three or four years before the publication of these satires[m]. Nor is it very likely that he should have been, as Oldys has suggested in some manuscript papers, Hall's cotemporary at Cambridge, for he was incorporated into the University of Oxford, as a Master of Arts from Cambridge, in July, under the year 1588[n]. But why should we be solicitous to recover a name, which indecency, most probably joined with dulness, has long ago deservedly delivered to oblivion? Whoever he was, he is surely unworthy of these elegant lines.

> Envy, ye Muses, at your thriving mate!
> Cupid hath crowned a new laureate.
> I sawe his statue gayly tir'd in green,
> As if he had some second Phebus been:
> His statue trimm'd with the Venerean tree,
> And shrined fair within your sanctuary.
> What he, that erst to gain the rhyming goal, &c.

He then proceeds, with a liberal disdain, and with an eye on the stately buildings of his university, to reprobate the Muses for this unworthy profanation of their dignity.

[h] B. i. 7. f. 15.

[i] Wood says that this poem was written by Davies of Hereford. Ath. Oxon. i. 445. But he had given it to Southwell, p. 334.

[k] See supr. p. 263.

[l] B. i. 8. f. 1. 7.

[m] In 1593, Feb. 1, a piece is entered to Danter called Greene's Funerall. Registr. Station. B. f. 304 b.

[n] Registr. Univ. Oxon. sub ann.

Take this, ye Muses, this so high despight,
And let all hatefull, luckless birds of night,
Let screeching owles nest in your razed roofs;
And let your floor with horned satyrs' hoofs
Be dinted and defiled euerie morn,
And let your walls be an eternal scorn!

His execration of the infamy of adding to the mischiefs of obscenity, by making it the subject of a book, is strongly expressed.

What if some Shoreditch[o] fury shoud incite
Some lust-stung lecher, must he needs *indite*
The beastly rites of hired venery,
The whole world's uniuersal bawd to be?
Did neuer yet no damned libertine,
Nor older heathen, nor new Florentine[p], &c.

Our poets, too frequently the children of idleness, too naturally the lovers of pleasure, began now to be men of the world, and affected to mingle in the dissipations and debaucheries of the metropolis. To support a popularity of character, not so easily attainable in the obscurities of retirement and study, they frequented taverns, became libertines and buffoons, and exhilarated the circles of the polite and the profligate. Their way of life gave the colour to their writings; and what had been the favourite topic of conversation, was sure to please, when recommended by the graces of poetry. Add to this, that poets now began to write for hire, and a rapid sale was to be obtained at the expense of the purity of the reader's mind*. The author of the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, acted in 1606, says of Drayton, a true genius, "However, he wants one true note of a poet of our times, and that is this: he cannot swagger it well in a tavern[q]."

The first satire of the second Book properly belongs to the last. In it, our author continues his just and pointed animadversions on immodest poetry, and hints at some pernicious versions from the FACETIÆ of Poggius Florentinus, and from Rabelais. The last couplet of the passage I am going to transcribe, is most elegantly expressive.

But who conjur'd this bawdie Poggie's ghost,
From out the stewes of his lewde home-bred coast;
Or wicked Rablais' drunken reuellings[r],
To grace the misrule of our tauernings?

[o] A part of the town notorious for brothels.

[p] Peter Aretine.

* Harrington has an Epigram on this subject. Epigr. B. i. 40.

Poets hereaft for pensions need not care,
Who call you beggars, you may call them lyars;
Verses are grown svch merchantable ware,
That now for Sonnets, sellers are and buyers.

And again, he says a poet was paid "two crownes a sonnet," Epigr. B. i. 39.

[q] A. i. s. 2.

[r] Harvey, in his Foure Letters, 1592, mentions "the fantasticall mould of Are-

Or who put bayes into blind Cupid's fist,
That he should crowne what laureates him list[s]?

By *tauernings*, he means the increasing fashion of frequenting taverns, which seem to have multiplied with the play-houses. As new modes of entertainment sprung up, and new places of public resort became common, the people were more often called together, and the scale of convivial life in London was enlarged. From the play-house they went to the tavern. In one of Decker's pamphlets, printed in 1609, there is a curious chapter, "How a yong Gallant should behave himself in an Ordinarie[t]." One of the most expensive and elegant meetings of this kind in London is here described. It appears that the company dined so very late as at half an hour after eleven in the morning; and that it was the fashion to ride to this polite symposium on a Spanish jennet, a servant running before with his master's cloak. After dinner they went on horseback to the newest play. The same author, in his BELMAN'S NIGHT WALKES[u], a lively description of London, almost two centuries ago, gives the following instructions: "Haunt tavernes, there shalt thou find prodigalls: pay thy two pence to a player in his gallerie, there shalt thou sit by an harlot. At ORDINARIES thou maist dine with silken fooles[w]."

In the second satire, he celebrates the wisdom and liberality of our ancestors, in erecting magnificent mansions for the accommodation of

tine or Rabelays." p. 48. Aretine is mentioned in the last satire.

[s] B. ii. 1. f. 25.

[A short passage from this satire (I. ii.), in addition to what Mr. Warton has cited, I take the liberty of subjoining, for the sake of introducing a pointed allusion to it in the Baviad, by an English Juvenal of the present day. Hall complains, as Horace did before, *Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.*

Write they that can, tho they that cannot doe;
But who knowes that, but they that do not know?
Lo! what it is that makes white rags so deare,
That men must give a teston for a queare.
Lo! what it is that makes goose-wings so scant,
That the distressed semster did them want.

Mr. Gifford embalms this passage in his celebrated satire:—

—HALL could lash with noble rage
The purblind patron of a former age;
And laugh to scorn th' eternal sonnetteer,
That made goose-pinions and white rags so dear.—PARK.]

[t] Decker's Guls Horne Book, p. 22. There is an old quarto, "The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie, or the Walkes of Powles," 1604. Jonson says of Lieutenant Shift, Epigr. xii.

He steales to Ordinaries, there he playes
At dice his borrowed money.

And in Cynthia's Revells, 1600: "You must frequent Ordinaries a month more, to initiate yourself." A. iii. s. 1.

[u] The title-page is "O per se O, or A newe Cryer of Lanthorne and Candle Light," &c. Lond. 1612. 4to. Bl. lett. For J. Busbie. There is a later edition. 1620. 4to.

[w] Ch. ii. Again, in the same writer's "Belman of London, bringing to light the most notorious villanies that are now practised in the kingdom," Signat. E 3. "At the best ORDINARIES where your only Gallants spend afternoones," &c. Edit. 1608. 4to. Bl. lett. Printed at London for N. Butter. This is called a second edition. There was another, 1616, 4to. This piece is called by a cotemporary writer, the most witty, elegant, and eloquent display of the vices of London then extant. W. Fennor's Comptor's Commonwealth, 1617. 4to. p. 16.

scholars, which yet at present have little more use than that of reproaching the rich with their comparative neglect of learning. The verses have much dignity, and are equal to the subject.

To what end did our lavish auncestours
Erect of old those statelie piles of ours?
For thread-bare clerks, and for the ragged Muse,
Whom better fit some cotes of sad secluse?
Blush, niggard Ago, be asham'd to see
Those monuments of wiser auncestrie!
And ye, faire heapes, the Muses sacred shrines,
In spight of time, and enuious repines,
Stand still, and flourish till the world's last day,
Vpbraiding it with former loue's[x] decay.
What needes me care for anie bookish skill,
To blot white paper with my restlesse quill:
To pore on painted leaues, or beate my braine
With far-fetch'd thought: or to consvme in uaine
In latter euen, or midst of winter nights,
Ill-smelling oyles, or some still-watching lights, &c.

He concludes his complaint of the general disregard of the literary profession, with a spirited paraphrase of that passage of Persius, in which he philosophy of the profound Arcesilaus, and of the *ærumnosi Solones*, is proved to be of so little use and estimation[y].

In the third, he laments the lucrative injustice of the law, while ingenuous science is without emolument or reward. The exordium is a fine improvement of his original.

Who doubts, the Laws fell downe from heauen's hight,
Like to some gliding starre in winters night?
Themis, the scribe of God, did long agone
Engrave them deepe in during marble stone:
And cast them downe on this unruly clay,
That men might know to rule and to obey.

The interview between the anxious client and the rapacious lawyer is drawn with much humour; and shows the authoritative superiority and the mean subordination subsisting between the two characters, at that time.

The crowching client, with low-bended knee,
And manie worships, and faire flatterie,

[x] Of learning.

[y] B. ii. 2. f. 28. In the last line of this satire he says,

Let swinish Grill delight in dunghill clay.

Gryllus is one of Ulysses's companions transformed into a hog by Circe, who refuses to be restored to his human shape. But perhaps the allusion is immediately to Spenser, Fair. Qu. ii. 12. 81.

Tells on his tale as smoothly as him list;
But still the lawyer's eye squints on his fist:
If that seem lined with a larger fee,
"Doubt not the suite, the law is plaine for thee."
Tho[z] must he buy his vainer hope with price,
Disclout his crownes[a], and thanke him for advice.[b]

The fourth displays the difficulties and discouragements of the physician. Here we learn, that the *sick lady* and the *gouty peer* were then topics of the ridicule of the satirist.

The sickly ladie, and the gowtie peere,
Still would I haunt, that loue their life so deere:
Where life is deere, who cares for coyned drosse?
That spent is counted gaine, and spared losse.

He thus laughs at the quintessence of a sublimated mineral elixir.

Each powdred graine ransometh captive kings,
Purchaseth realmes, and life prolonged brings.[c]

Imperial oils, golden cordials, and universal panaceas, are of high antiquity: and perhaps the puffs of quackery were formerly more ostentatious than even at present, before the profession of medicine was freed from the operations of a spurious and superstitious alchemy, and when there were mystics in philosophy as well as in religion. Paracelsus was the father of empiricism.

From the fifth we learn, that advertisements of a LIVING WANTED were affixed on one of the doors of Saint Paul's cathedral.

Sawst thou ere SIQUIS[d] patch'd on Paul's church dore,
To seeke some vacant vicarage before?

The sixth, one of the most perspicuous and easy, perhaps the most humourous, in the whole collection, and which I shall therefore give at

[z] yet even.

[a] pull them out of his purse.

[b] B. ii. 3. f. 31.

I cite a couplet from this satire to explain it.

Genus and Species long since barfoote went
Upon their tentoes in wilde wonderment, &c.

This is an allusion to an old distich, made and often quoted in the age of scholastic science.

Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores,
Sed Genus et Species cogitur ire pedes.

that is, the study of medicine produces riches, and jurisprudence leads to stations and offices of honour; while the professor of logic is poor, and obliged to walk on foot.

[c] B. ii. 4. f. 35.

[d] SIQUIS was the first word of advertisements, often published on the doors of Saint Paul's. Decker says, "The first time that you enter into Paules, pass thorough the body of the church like a porter; yet presvme not to fetch so much as one whole turne in the middle ile, nor to cast an eye vpon SIQUIS doore, pasted and plaistered vp with seruingmens supplications," &c. The Guls Horne Booke, 1609. p. 21. And in Wroth's Epigrams, 1620. Epigr. 93.

A mery Greeke set vp a SIQUIS late,
To signifie a stranger come to towne
Who could great noses, &c.

length, exhibits the servile condition of a domestic preceptor in the family of an esquire. Several of the satires of this second Book are intended to show the depressed state of modest and true genius, and the inattention of men of fortune to literary merit.

A gentle squire would gladly entertaine
Into his house some trencher-chapelaine[e];
Some willing man, that might instruct his sons,
And that would stand to good conditions.
First, that he lie vpon the truckle-bed,
While his young maister lieth o'er his head[f]:
Second, that he do, upon no default,
Neuer presume to sit aboue the salt[g]:
Third, that he neuer change his trencher twise;
Fourth, that he use all common courtesies:
Sit bare at meales, and one half rise and wait:
Last, that he never his yong maister beat;
But he must aske his mother to define
How manie jerks she would his breech should line.
All these observ'd, he could contented be,
To give five markes, and winter liverie.[h]

From those who despised learning, he makes a transition to those who abused or degraded it by false pretences. Judicial astrology is

[e] Or, a table-chaplain. In the same sense we have *trencher-knight*, in Love's Labour 's Lost.

[f] This indulgence allowed to the pupil, is the reverse of a rule anciently practised in our universities. In the Statutes of Corpus Christi college at Oxford, given in 1516, the Scholars are ordered to sleep respectively under the beds of the Fellows, in a truckle-bed, or small bed shifted about upon wheels. "Sit unum [cubile] altius, et aliud humile et rotale, et in altiori cubet Socius, in altero semper Discipulus." Cap. xxxvii. Much the same injunction is ordered in the statutes of Magdalen college Oxford, given 1459. "Sint duo lecti principales, et duo lecti rotales, *Trookyll beddys* vulgariter nuncupati," &c. Cap. xlv. And in those of Trinity college Oxford, given 1556, where *troccle bed*, the old spelling of the word *truckle bed*, ascertains the etymology from *troclea*, a wheel. Cap. xxvi. In an old comedy, The Return from Parnassus, acted at Cambridge in 1606, Amoretto says, "When I was in Cambridge, and lay in a trundle-bed under my tutor," &c. act ii. sc. 6.

[g] Towards the head of the table was placed a large and lofty piece of plate, the top of which, in a broad cavity, held the salt for the whole company. One of these stately salt-sellars is still preserved, and in use, at Winchester college. With this idea, we must understand the following passage, of a table meanly decked. B. vi. i. f. 83.

Now shalt thou never see the Salt beset
With a big-bellied gallon flagonet.

In Jonson's Cynthia's Revells, acted in 1600, it is said of an affected coxcomb, "His fashion is, not to take knowledge of him that is beneath him in clothes. He never drinkes *below the salt.*" act i. sc. 2.

So Dekker, Guls Horne Booke, p. 26. "At your twelue penny Ordinarie, you may giue any iustice of the peace, or young knight, if he sit but one degree towards the Equinoctiall of the Saltsellar, leaue to pay for the wine," &c. See more illustrations, in Reed's Old Plays, edit. 1780. vol. iii. 285. In Parrot's Springes for Woodcockes, 1613, a guest complains of the indignity of being degraded below the salt. Lib. ii. Epigr. 188.

And swears that he below the Salt was sett.

[h] B. ii. 6. f. 38.

the subject of the seventh satire. He supposes that Astrology was the daughter of one of the Egyptian midwives, and that having been nursed by Superstition, she assumed the garb of Science.

> That now, who pares his nailes, or libs his swine?
> But he must first take covnsel of the signe.

Again, of the believer in the stars, he says,

> His feare or hope, for plentie or for lack,
> Hangs all vpon his new-year's *Almanack.*
> If chance once in the spring his head should ake,
> It was fortold: "thus says mine *Almanack.*"

The numerous astrological tracts, particularly pieces called PROGNOSTICATIONS, published in the reign of queen Elizabeth, are a proof how strongly the people were infatuated with this sort of divination. One of the most remarkable, was a treatise written in the year 1582, by Richard Harvey*, brother to Gabriel Harvey, a learned astrologer of Cambridge, predicting the portentous conjunction of the primary planets, Saturn and Jupiter, which was to happen the next year. It had the immediate effect of throwing the whole kingdom into the most violent consternation. When the fears of the people were over, Nash published a droll account of their opinions and apprehensions while this formidable phenomenon was impending; and Elderton a ballad-maker, and Tarleton the comedian, joined in the laugh. This was the best way of confuting the impertinences of the science of the stars. True knowledge must have been beginning to dawn, when these profound fooleries became the objects of wit and ridicule[1].

SECTION LXIII.

Hall's Satires continued.

THE opening of the first satire of the third Book, which is a contrast of ancient parsimony with modern luxury, is so witty, so elegant, and so poetical an enlargement of a shining passage in Juvenal, that the reader will pardon another long quotation.

> Time was, and that was term'd the time of gold,
> When world and time were young, that now are old:

* [Nash says of Gab. Harvey in his "Have with You," &c. 1596, "The best wit-craft I can turn him too, to get three pence a weeke, is to write *Prognostications and Almanackes*, and that alone must be his best philosophers stone till hys last destiny." Sig. I. 3. 6.—PARK.]

[1] See Nash's Apology of Peers Penniless, &c. Lond. 1593. 4to. f. 11.

When quiet Saturne sway'd the mace of lead,
And pride was yet unborne, and yet unbred.
Time was, that whiles the autumne-fall did last,
Our hungrie sires gap'd for the falling mast.
Could no unhusked akorne leaue the tree,
But there was challenge made whose it might be.
And if some nice and liquorous appetite
Desir'd more daintie dish of rare delite,
They scal'd the stored crab with clasped knee,
Till they had sated their delicious ee.
Or search'd the hopefull thicks of hedgy-rows,
For brierie berries, hawes, or sowrer sloes:
Or when they meant to fare the fin'st of all,
They lick'd oake-leaues besprint with hony-fall.
As for the thrise three-angled beech-nut shell,
Or chesnut's armed huske, and hid kernell,
Nor squire durst touch, the lawe would not afford,
Kept for the court, and for the king's owne board.
Their royall plate was clay, or wood, or stone,
The vulgar, saue his hand, else he had none.
Their onlie cellar was the neighbour brooke,
None did for better care, for better looke.
Was then no 'plaining of the brewer's scape[a],
Nor greedie vintner mix'd the strained grape.
The king's pavilion was the grassie green,
Vnder safe shelter of the shadie treen.———
But when, by Ceres' huswifrie and paine,
Men learn'd to hurie the reuiuing graine,
And father Janus taught the new-found vine
Rise on the elme, with manie a friendly twine;
And base desire bade men to deluen lowe
For needlesse metalls, then gan mischief growe:
Then farewell, fayrest age! &c.———

He then, in the prosecution of a sort of poetical philosophy, which prefers civilized to savage life, wishes for the nakedness or the furs of our simple ancestors, in comparison of the fantastic fopperies of the exotic apparel of his own age.

They naked went, or clad in ruder hide,
Or homespun russet void of foraine pride.
But thou canst maske in garish gawderie,
To suite a Fool's far-fetched liuerie.

[a] cheats.

A Frenche head joyn'd to necke Italian,
Thy thighs from Germanie, and breast from Spain:
An Englishman in none, a foole in all,
Many in one, and one in seuerall.[b]

One of the vanities of the age of Elizabeth was the erection of monuments, equally costly and cumbersome, charged with a waste of capricious decorations, and loaded with superfluous and disproportionate sculpture. They succeeded to the rich solemnity of the gothic shrine, which yet, amid a profusion of embellishments, preserved uniform principles of architecture.

In the second satire, our author moralises on these empty memorials, which were alike allotted to illustrious or infamous characters.

Some stately tombe he builds, Egyptian-wise,
Rex Regum written on the pyramis:
Whereas great Arthur lies in ruder oke,
That neuer felt none but the feller's stroke[c].
Small honour can be got with gaudie graue,
Nor it thy rotten name from death can saue.
The fairer tombe, the fowler is thy name,
The greater pompe procvring greater shame.
Thy monument make thou thy living deeds,
No other tomb than that true virtue needs!
What, had he nought whereby he might be knowne,
But costly pilements of some curious stone?
The matter nature's, and the workman's frame
His purse's cost:—where then is Osmond's name?
Deservedst thou ill? Well were thy name and thee,
Wert thou inditched in great secrecie;
Whereas no passengers might curse thy dust, &c.[d]

The third is the description of a citizen's feast, to which he was invited,

With hollow words, and ouerly[e] request.

But the great profusion of the entertainment was not the effect of liberality, but a hint that no second invitation must be expected. The effort was too great to be repeated. The guest who dined at this table often, had only a single dish[f].

The fourth is an arraignment of ostentatious piety, and of those who strove to push themselves into notice and esteem by petty pretensions The illustrations are highly humourous.

[b] B. iii. 1. f. 45.

[c] He alludes to the discovery of king Arthur's body in Glastonbury abbey. Lately, in digging up a barrow, or tumulus, on the downs near Dorchester, the body of a Danish chief, as it seemed, was found in the hollow trunk of a huge oal for a coffin.

[d] B. iii. 2. f. 50.

[e] slight, shallow.

[f] B. iii. 3. f. 52.

Who euer giues a paire of velvet shoes
To th' holy rood[g], or liberally allowes
But a new rope to ring the curfew bell?
But he desires that his great deed may dwell,
Or grauen in the chancell-window glasse,
Or in the lasting tombe of plated brasse.

The same affectation appeared in dress.

Nor can good Myron weare on his left hond,
A signet ring of Bristol-diamond;
But he must cut his gloue to shew his pride,
That his trim jewel might be better spied:
And, that men might some burgesse[h] him repute,
With sattin sleeves hath[i] grac'd his sacke-cloth suit.[k]

The fifth is a droll portrait of the distress of a *lustie courtier*, or fine gentleman, whose periwinkle, or peruke, was suddenly blown off by a boisterous puff of wind while he was making his bows[l].

He lights, and runs and quicklie hath him sped
To ouertake his ouer-running head, &c.

These are our satirist's reflections on this disgraceful accident.

Fie on all courtesie, and unruly windes,
Two only foes that faire disguisement findes!
Strange curse, but fit for such a fickle age,
When scalpes are subject to such vassalage!—
Is 't not sweet pride, when men their crownes must shade
With that which jerkes the hams of everie jade![m]

In the next is the figure of a famished gallant, or beau, which is much better drawn than in any of the comedies of those times. His hand is perpetually on the hilt of his rapier. He picks his teeth, but has dined

[g] In a gallery over the screen, at entering the choir, was a large crucifix, or rood, with the images of the holy Virgin and saint John. The velvet shoes were for the feet of Christ on the cross, or of one of the attendant figures. A rich lady sometimes bequeathed her wedding-gown, with necklace and ear-rings, to dress up the Virgin Mary. This place was called the Rood-loft.

[h] some rich citizen.

[i] That is, *he* hath, &c.

[k] B. iii. 4. f. 55.

[l] In a set of articles of inquiry sent to a college in Oxford, about the year 1676, by the visitor bishop Morley, the commissary is ordered diligently to remark, and report, whether any of the senior fellows wore *periwigs*. I will not suppose that bobwigs are here intended. But after such a proscription, who could imagine, that the bushy grizzle-wig should ever have been adopted as a badge of gravity? So arbitrary are ideas of dignity or levity in dress! There is an epigram in Harrington, written perhaps about 1600, "Of Galla's goodly periwigge." B. i. 66. This was undoubtedly false hair. In Hayman's *Quodlibets* or Epigrams, printed in 1628, there is *one* "to a Periwiggian." B. i. 65. p. 10. Again, "to a certaine Periwiggian." B. ii. 9. p. 21. Our author mentions a periwig again, B. v. 2. f. 63.

A golden periwigg on a blackmoor's brow.

[m] B. iii. 5. f. 57.

with duke Humphry[n]. He professes to keep a plentiful and open house for every *straggling cavaliere*, where the dinners are long and enlivened with music, and where many a gay youth, with a high-plumed hat, chooses to dine, much rather than to pay his shilling. He is so emaciated for want of eating, that his sword-belt hangs loose over his hip, the effect of *hunger and heavy iron*. Yet he is dressed in the height of the fashion,

All trapped in the new-found brauerie.

He pretends to have been at the conquest of Cales, where the nuns worked his bonnet. His hair stands upright in the French style, with one long lock hanging low on his shoulders, which, the satirist adds, puts us in mind of a *native cord*, the truly English rope which he probably will one day wear.

His linen collar labyrinthian set,
Whose thovsand double turnings neuer met:
His sleeves half-hid with elbow-pinionings,
As if he meant to fly with linen wings[o].
But when I looke, and cast mine eyes below,
What monster meets mine eyes in human show?
So slender waist, with such an abbot's loyne,
Did neuer sober nature sure conjoyne!
Lik'st a strawe scare-crow in the new-sowne field,
Rear'd on some sticke the tender corne to shield.[p]

In the Prologue to this book, our author strives to obviate the objections of certain critics who falsely and foolishly thought his satires too perspicuous. Nothing could be more absurd, than the notion, that because Persius is obscure, therefore obscurity must be necessarily one of the qualities of satire. If Persius, under the severities of a proscriptive and sanguinary government, was often obliged to conceal his meaning, this was not the case of Hall. But the darkness and diffi-

[n] That is, he has walked all day in saint Paul's church without a dinner. In the body of old saint Paul's, was a huge and conspicuous monument of sir John Beauchamp, buried in 1358, son of Guy and brother of Thomas, earls of Warwick. This, by a vulgar mistake, was at length called the tomb of Humphry duke of Gloucester, who was really buried at St. Alban's, where his magnificent shrine now remains. The middle ile of Saint Paul's is called the *Dukes gallery*, in a chapter of the Guls Horne Booke, "How a gallant should behaue himself in Powles Walkes." Ch. iiii. p. 17. Of the humours of this famous ambulatory, the general rendezvous of lawyers and their clients, pickpockets, cheats, bucks, pimps, whores, poets, players, and many others who either for idleness or business found it convenient to frequent the most fashionable crowd in London, a more particular description may be seen, in Dekker's "Dead Terme, or Westminsters Complaint for long Vacations and short Termes, under the chapter, *Pawles Steeples complaint.*" Signat. D. 3. Lond. for John Hodgetts, 1608. 4to. Bl. lett.

[o] Barnaby Rich in his Irish Hubbub, printed 1617, thus describes four gallants coming from an ordinary. "The third was in a yellow-starched band, that made him looke as if he had been troubled with the yellow iaundis.——They were all four in white bootes and gylt spurres," &c. Lond. 1617. 4to. p. 36.

[p] B. iii. 7. f. 62.

culties of Persius arise in great measure from his own affectation and false taste. He would have been enigmatical under the mildest government. To be unintelligible can never naturally or properly belong to any species of writing. Hall of himself is certainly obscure: yet he owes some of his obscurity to an imitation of this ideal excellence of the Roman satirists.

The fourth Book breathes a stronger spirit of indignation, and abounds with applications of Juvenal to modern manners, yet with the appearance of original and unborrowed satire.

The first is miscellaneous and excursive, but the subjects often lead to an unbecoming licentiousness of language and images. In the following nervous lines, he has caught and finely heightened the force and manner of his master.

> Who list, excuse, when chaster dames can hire
> Some snout-fair stripling to their apple squire[q],
> Whom staked vp, like to some stallion steed,
> They keep with eggs and oysters for the breed.
> O Lucine! barren Caia hath an heir,
> After her husband's dozen years despair:
> And now the bribed midwife sweares apace,
> The bastard babe doth beare his father's face.

He thus enhances the value of certain novelties, by declaring them to be

> Worth little less than landing of a whale,
> Or Gades spoils[r], or a churl's funerale.

The allusion is to Spenser's Talus in the following couplet,

> Gird but the cynicke's helmet on his head,
> Cares he for Talus, or his flayle of leade?

He adds, that the guilty person, when marked, destroys all distinction, like the cuttle-fish concealed in his own blackness.

> Long as the craftie cuttle lieth sure,
> In the blacke cloud of his thicke vomiture;
> Who list, complaine of wronged faith or fame,
> When he may shift it to another's name.

He thus describes the effect of his satire, and the enjoyment of his own success in this species of poetry.

> Now see I fire-flakes sparkle from his eyes,
> Like to a comet's tayle in th' angrie skies:

[q] Some fair-faced stripling to be their page. Marston has this epithet, Sc. Villan. B. i. 3.

> Had I some snout-faire brats, they should indure
> The newly-found Castilion calenture,
> Before some pedant, &c.

In Satires and Epigrams, called The Letting of Humors Blood in the Head-Vayne, 1600, we have "Some pippin-squire." Epigr. 33.

[r] Cadiz was newly taken.

His powting cheeks puft vp aboue his brow,
Like a swolne toad touch'd with the spider's blow:
His mouth shrinks side-ways like a scornful playse[s],
To take his tired ear's ingrateful place.———
Nowe laugh I loud, and breake my splene to see
This pleasing pastime of my poesie:
Much better than a Paris-garden beare[t],
Or prating poppet on a theater;
Or Mimo's whistling to his tabouret[u],
Selling a laughter for a cold meal's meat.

It is in Juvenal's style to make illustrations satirical. They are here very artfully and ingeniously introduced[w].

The second is the character of an old country squire, who starves himself, to breed his son a lawyer and a gentleman. It appears, that the vanity or luxury of purchasing dainties at an exorbitant price began early.

Let sweet-mouth'd Mercia bid what crowns she please,
For half-red cherries, or greene garden pease,
Or the first artichoak of all the yeare,
To make so lavish cost for little cheare.
When Lollio feasteth in his revelling fit,
Some starved pullen scoures the rusted spit:
For els how should his son maintained be
At inns of court or of the chancery, &c.
The tenants wonder at their landlord's son,
And blesse them[x] at so sudden coming on!
More than who gives his pence to view some tricke
Of strange Morocco's dumbe arithmeticke[y],
Of the young elephant, or two-tayl'd steere,
Or the ridg'd camel, or the fiddling freere[z].—

[s] A fish. Jonson says, in the Silent Woman, "Of a fool, that would stand thus, with a playse-mouth," &c. A. i. s. 2. See more instances in Old Plays, vol. iii. p. 395. edit. 1780.

[t] "Then led they cosin [the gull] to the gase of an enterlude, or the beare-bayting of Paris-Garden, or some other place of thieving." A MANIFEST DETECTION *of the most vyle and detestable vse of* DICE PLAY, &c. No date, Bl. lett. Signat. D. iiii. Abraham Vele, the printer of this piece, lived before the year 1548. Again, ibid. "Some ii or iii [pickpockets] hath Paules church on charge, other hath Westminster hawle in terme time, diuerse Chepesyde with the flesh and fishe shambles, some the Borough and Bearebayting, some the court," &c. Paris-garden was in the Borough.

[u] Piping or fifing to a tabour. I believe Kempe is here ridiculed.

[w] B. iv. 1. f. 7.

[x] themselves.

[y] Bankes's horse called Morocco. See Steevens's Note, Shaksp. ii. 292.

[z] Shewes of those times. He says in this satire,

——— 'Gin not thy gaite
Untill the evening owl, or bloody bat;
Neuer untill the lamps of Paul's been light,
And niggard lanterns shade the moon-shine night.

The lamps about Saint Paul's were at this time the only regular night-illuminations of London. But in an old Collection of Jests, some bucks coming drunk from a tavern, and reeling through the city,

Fools they may feede on words, and liue on ayre[a],
That climbe to honour by the pulpit's stayre;
Sit seuen yeares pining in an anchor's cheyre[b],
To win some patched shreds of minivere[c]!

He predicts, with no small sagacity, that Lollio's son's distant posterity will rack their rents to a treble proportion,

And hedge in all their neighbours common lands.

Enclosures of waste lands were among the great and national grievances of our author's age[d]. It may be presumed, that the practice was then carried on with the most arbitrary spirit of oppression and monopoly.

The third is on the pride of pedigree. The introduction is from Juvenal's eighth satire; and the substitution of the memorials of English ancestry, such as were then fashionable, in the place of Juvenal's parade of family statues without arms or ears, is remarkably happy. But the humour is half lost, unless by recollecting the Roman original, the reader perceives the unexpected parallel.

Or call some old church-windowe to record
The age of thy fair armes.———
Or find some figures half obliterate,
In rain-beat marble neare to the church-gate,
Upon a crosse-legg'd tombe. What boots it thee,
To shewe the rusted buckle that did tie
The garter of thy greatest grandsire's knee?
What, to reserve their relicks many yeares,
Their siluer spurs, or spils of broken speares?
Or cite old Ocland's verse[e], how they did wield
The wars in Turwin or in Turney field?

Afterwards, some adventurers for raising a fortune are introduced.

amused themselves in pulling down the lanterns which hung before the doors of the houses. A grave citizen unexpectedly came out and seized one of them, who said in defence, "I am only snuffing your candle." "Jests to make you merie. Written by T. D. and George Wilkins. Lond. 1607." 4to. p. 6. Jest 17.

[a] The law is the only way to riches. Fools only will seek preferment in the church, &c.

[b] In the chair of an anchoret.

[c] The hood of a master of arts in the universities. B. iv. 2. f. 19.

He adds,

And seuen more, plod at a patron's tayle,
To get some gilded Chapel's cheaper sayle.

I believe the true reading is *gelded* chapel. A benefice robbed of its tythes, &c. Sayle is Sale. So in the Return from Parnassus, A. iii. s. 1. "He hath a proper *gelded* parsonage."

[d] Without attending to this circumstance, we miss the meaning and humour of the following lines, B. v. 1.

Pardon, ye glowing eares! Needes will it out,
Though brazen walls compass'd my tongue about,
As thick as wealthy Scrobio's quickset rows
In the wide common that he did enclose.

Great part of the third satire of the same book turns on this idea.

[e] See supr. p. 260.

One trades to Guiana for gold. This is a glance at sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to that country. Another, with more success, seeks it in the philosopher's stone.

> When half his lands are spent in golden smoke,
> And now his second hopefull glasse is broke.
> But yet, if haply his third fornace hold,
> Devoteth all his pots and pans to gold.

Some well-known classical passages are thus happily mixed, modernised, and accommodated to his general purpose.

> Was neuer foxe but wily cubs begets;
> The bear his fiercenesse to his brood besets:
> Nor fearfull hare falls from the lyon's seed,
> Nor eagle wont the tender doue to breed.
> Crete euer wont the cypresse sad to bear,
> Acheron's banks the palish popelar:
> The palm doth rifely rise in Jury field[f],
> And Alpheus' waters nought but oliue yield:
> Asopus breeds big bullrushes alone,
> Meander heath; peaches by Nilus growne:
> An English wolfe, an Irish toad to see,
> Were as a chaste man nurs'd in Italy[g].

In the fourth, these diversions of a delicate youth of fashion and refined manners are mentioned, as opposed to the rougher employments of a military life.

> Gallio may pull me roses ere they fall,
> Or in his net entrap the tennis-ball;
> Or tend his spar-hawke mantling in her mewe,
> Or yelping beagles busy heeles pursue:
> Or watch a sinking corke vpon the shore[h],
> Or halter finches through a privy doore[i];
> Or list he spend the time in sportful game, &c.

He adds,

> Seest thou the rose-leaues fall ungathered?
> Then hye thee, wanton Gallio, to wed. —
> Hye thee, and giue the world yet one dwarfe more,
> Svch as it got, when thou thyself was bore.

In the contrast between the martial and effeminate life, which includes a general ridicule of the foolish passion which now prevailed, of making it a part of the education of our youth to bear arms in the wars of the Netherlands, are some of Hall's most spirited and nervous verses.

[f] in Judea.
[g] B. iv. 3. f. 26.
[h] angle for fish.
[i] a pit-fall. A trap-cage.

If Martius in boisterous buffs be drest,
Branded with iron plates upon the breast,
And pointed on the shoulders for the nonce[k],
As new come from the Belgian garrisons;
What should thou need to enuy aught at that,
When as thou smellest like a ciuet-cat?
When as thine oyled locks smooth-platted fall,
Shining like varnish'd pictures on a wall?
When a plum'd fanne[l] may shade thy chalked[m] face,
And lawny strips thy naked bosom grace?
If brabbling Makefray, at each fair and 'size[n],
Picks quarrels for to shew his valiantize,
Straight pressed for an hvngry Switzer's pay
To thrust his fist to each part of the pray;
And piping hot, puffs toward the pointed[o] plaine,
With a broad scot[p], or proking spit of Spaine:
Or hoyseth sayle up to a forraine shore,
That he may liue a lawlesse conquerour[q].
If some much desperate huckster should devise
To rowze thine hare's-heart from her cowardice,
As[r] idle children, striving to excell
In blowing bubbles from an empty shell.
O Hercules, how like[s] to prove a man,
That all so rath[t] thy warlike life began!
Thy mother could for thee thy cradle set
Her husband's rusty iron corselet;
Whose jargling sound might rock her babe to rest,
That neuer 'plain'd of his vneasy nest:
There did he dreame of dreary wars at hand,
And woke, and fought, and won, ere he could stand[u].
But who hath seene the lambs of Tarentine,
Must guess what Gallio his manners beene;
All soft, as is the falling thistle-downe,
Soft as the fumy ball[w], or morrion's crowne[x].
Now Gallio gins thy youthly heat to raigne,
In every vigorous limb, and swelling vaine:
Time bids thee raise thine headstrong thoughts on high
To valour, and adventurous chivalry.
Pawne thou no gloue[y] for challenge of the deede, &c.[z]

[k] with tags, or shoulder-knots.

[l] Fans of feathers were now common. See Harrington's Epigr. i. 70. and Steevens's Shakspeare, i. p. 273.

[m] painted. [n] assize. [o] full of pikes.

[p] a Scotch broadsword.

[q] turn pirate.

[r] It will be like, &c.

[s] likely. [t] early.

[u] O Hercules, a boy so delicately reared must certainly prove a hero! You, Hercules, was nursed in your father's shield for a cradle, &c. But the tender Gallio, &c. [w] a ball of perfume.

[x] Morrion is the fool in a play.

[y] He says with a sneer, *Do not play with the character of a soldier. Be not contented only to shew your courage in tilting. But enter into real service, &c.*

[z] B. iv. 4. In a couplet of this satire,

The fifth, the most obscure of any, exhibits the extremes of prodigality and avarice, and affords the first instance I remember to have seen, of nominal initials with dashes. Yet in his POSTSCRIPT, he professes to have avoided all personal applications[a].

In the sixth, from Juvenal's position that every man is naturally discontented, and wishes to change his proper condition and character, he ingeniously takes occasion to expose some of the new fashions and affectations.

> Out from the Gades to the eastern morne,
> Not one but holds his native state forlorne.
> When comely striplings wish it were their chance,
> For Cenis' distaffe to exchange their lance;
> And weare curl'd periwigs, and chalk their face,
> And still are poring on their pocket-glasse;
> Tyr'd[b] with pinn'd ruffs, and fans, and partlet strips,
> And buskes and verdingales about their hips:
> And tread on corked stilts a prisoner's pace.

Besides what is here said, we have before seen, that perukes were now among the novelties in dress. From what follows it appears that coaches were now in common use[c].

he alludes to the *Schola Salernitana*, an old metrical system in rhyming verse, which chiefly describes the qualities of diet.

> Though neuer haue I Salerne rimes profest,
> To be some lady's trencher-critick guest.

There is much humour in *trencher-critick*. Collingborn, mentioned in the beginning of this satire, is the same whose Legend is in the Mirrour for Magistrates, and who was hanged for a distich on Catesby, Ratcliff, Lord Lovel, and king Richard the Third, about the year 1484. See Mirr. Mag. p. 455. edit. 1610. 4to. Our author says,

> Or lucklesse Collingbourne feeding of the crowes.

that is, he was food for the crows when on the gallows. At the end, is the first use I have seen, of a witty apophthegmatical comparison of a libidinous old man.

> The maidens mocke, and call him withered leeke,
> That with a greene tayle has an hoary head.

[It is used by Boccacio in his introduction to the second part of the Decameron, and most probably was current before his time.—PRICE.]

[a] B. iv. 6. Collybist, here used, means a rent or tax-gatherer. Κολλυβιστης, nummularius.

[b] attired, dressed, adorned.

[c] Of the rapid increase of the number of coaches, but more particularly of Hackney-coaches, we have a curious proof in *A pleasant Dispute between Coach and Sedan*, Lond. 1636. 4to. "The most eminent places for stoppage are Pawles-gate into Cheapside, Ludgate and Ludgate-hill, especially when the Play is done at the Friers: then Holborne Conduit, and Holborne-Bridge, is villainously pestered with them, Hosier-lane, Smithfield, and Cow-lane, sending all about their new or old mended coaches. Then about the Stockes, and Poultrie, Temple-Barre, Fetter-lane, and Shoe-lane next to Fleet-streete. But to see their multitude, either when there is a Masque at Whitehall, or a lord Mayor's Feast, or a New Play at some of the playhouses, you would admire to see them how close they stand together, like mutton-pies in a cook's oven," &c. Signat. F. Marston, in 1598, speaks of the *joulting Coach* of a Messalina. Sc. Villan. B. i. 3. And in Marston's Postscript to Pigmalion, 1598, we are to understand a coach, where he says,

> —— —— —— Run as sweet
> As doth a tumbrell through the paved street.

In Cynthia's Revels, 1600, a spendthrift is introduced, who among other polite extravagances, is "able to maintaine a ladie in her two carroches a day." A. iv. s. 2.

Is 't not a shame, to see each homely groome
Sit perched in an idle chariot-roome?

The rustic wishing to turn soldier, is pictured in these lively and poetical colours.

The sturdy ploughman doth the soldier see
All scarfed with pied colours to the knee,
Whom Indian pillage hath made fortunate;
And nowe he gins to loathe his former state:
Nowe doth he inly scorne his Kendal-greene[d],
And his patch'd cockers nowe despised beene:
Nor list he nowe go whistling to the carre,
But sells his teeme, and settleth to the warre.
O warre, to them that neuer try'd thee sweete:
When his dead mate falls groveling at his feete:
And angry bullets whistlen at his eare,
And his dim eyes see nought but death and dreare!

Another, fired with the flattering idea of seeing his name in print, abandons his occupation, and turns poet.

Some drunken rimer thinks his time well spent,
If he can liue to see his name in print;
Who when he once is fleshed to the presse,
And sees his handsell have such faire successe,
Sung to the wheele, and sung vnto the payle[e],
He sends forth thraves[f] of ballads to the sale[g].

However, in the old comedy of Ram-Alley, or Merry Tricks, first printed in 1611, a *coach* and a *caroche* seem different vehicles, a. iv. s. 2.

In horslitters, [in] coaches or caroaches,

Unless the poet means a synonyme for *coach*.

In some old account I have seen of queen Elizabeth's progress to Cambridge, in 1564, it is said, that lord Leicester went in a coach, because he had *hurt his leg*. In a comedy, so late as the reign of Charles the First, among many studied wonders of fictitious and hyperbolical luxury, a lover promises his lady that she shall ride in a coach to the next door. Cartwright's Love's Convert. a. ii. s. 6. Lond. 1651. Works, p. 125.

——— Thou shalt
Take coach to the next door, and as it were
An Expedition not a Visit, be
Bound for an house not ten strides off, still carry'd
Aloof in indignation of the earth.

Stowe says, "In the yeare 1564, Guylliam Boonen, a Dutchman, became the Queene's coachmanne, and was the first that brought the vse of coaches into England. And after a while, diuers great ladies, with as great iealousie of the queene's displeasure, made them coaches, and rid in them vp and downe the countries to the great admiration of all the beholders, but then by little and little they grew vsuall among the nobilitie, and others of sort, and within twenty yeares became a great trade of coachmaking. And about that time began long wagons to come in vse, such as now come to London, from Caunterbury, Norwich, Ipswich, Glocester, &c. with passengers and commodities. Lastly, euen at this time, 1605, began the ordinary vse of caroaches." Edit. fol. 1615. p. 867. col. 2.

From a comparison of the former and latter part of the context, it will perhaps appear that *Coaches* and *Caroaches* were the same.

[d] This sort of stuff is mentioned in a statute of Richard the Second, an. 12. A.D. 1389.

[e] By the knife-grinder and the milk-maid.

[f] A thrave of straw is a bundle of straw, of a certain quantity, in the midland counties.

[g] These lines seem to be levelled at William Elderton, a celebrated drunken

Having traced various scenes of dissatisfaction, and the desultory pursuits of the world, he comes home to himself, and concludes, that real happiness is only to be found in the academic life. This was a natural conclusion from one who had experienced no other situation[h].

'Mongst all these stirs of discontented strife,
Oh, let me lead an academick life!
To know much, and to think we nothing knowe,
Nothing to haue, yet think we haue enowe:
In skill to want, and wanting seeke for more;
In weale nor want, nor wish for greater store.[i]

The last of this Book, is a satire on the pageantries of the papal chair, and the superstitious practices of popery, with which it is easy to make sport. But our author has done this, by an uncommon quickness of allusion, poignancy of ridicule, and fertility of burlesque invention. Were Juvenal to appear at Rome, he says,

How his enraged ghost would stamp and stare,
That Cesar's throne is turn'd to Peter's chaire:
To see an old shorne lozel perched high,
Crouching beneath a golden canopie!
And, for the lordly Fasces borne of old,
To see two quiet crossed keyes of gold!—
But that he most would gaze, and wonder at,
Is, th' horned mitre, and the bloody hat[k];
The crooked staffe[l], the coule's strange form and store[m],
Saue that he saw the same in hell before.

ballad-writer. Stowe says, that he was an attorney of the Sheriff's court in the city of London about the year 1570, and quotes some verses which he wrote about that time, on the erection of the new portico with images, at Guildhall. Surv. Lond. edit. 1599. p. 217. 4to. He has two epitaphs in Camden's Remains, edit. 1674. p. 533. seq. Hervey in his Four Letters, printed in 1592, mentions him with Greene. "If [Spenser's] Mother Hubbard, in the vaine of Chawcer, happen to tell one Canicular tale, Father Elderton and his son Greene, in the vaine of Skelton or Skoggin, will counterfeit an hundred dogged fables, libels," &c. p. 7. Nash, in his Apology of Piers Pennilesse, says that "Tarleton at the theater made jests of him [Hervey,] and W. Elderton consumed his ale-crammed nose to nothing, in bear-baiting him with whole bundles of ballads." Signat. E. edit. 1593. 4to. and Hervey, ubi supr. p. 34. I have seen "Elderton's Solace in time of his sickness containing sundrie sonnets upon many pithie parables," entered to R. Jones, Sept. 25, 1578. Registr. Station. B. f. 152 a. Also "A ballad against marriage, by Wilcolwell, 1575. 12mo. A Ballad on the Earthquake by Elderton, beginning *Quake, Quake, Quake*, is entered to R. Jones, Apr. 25, 1579. Registr. Station. B. f. 168 a. In 1561, are entered to H. Syngleton, "Elderton's Jestes with his mery toyes." Registr. Station. A. f. 74 a. Again, in 1562, "Elderton's Parrat answered." Ibid. f. 84 a. Again, a poem as I suppose, in 1570, "Elderton's ill fortune." Ibid. f. 204 a. Hervey says, that Elderton and Greene were "the ringleaders of the riming and scribbling crew." Lett. ubi supr. p. 6. Many more of his pieces might be recited.

[h] In this Satire, among the lying narratives of travellers, our author, with Mandeville and others, mentions the Spanish Decads. It is an old black-letter quarto, a translation from the Spanish into English, about 1590. In the old anonymous play of *Lingua*, 1607, Mendacio says, "Sir John Mandeviles trauells, and great part of the Decads, were of my doing." A. ii. s. 1.

[i] B. iv. 6.

[k] cardinal's scarlet hat.

[l] bishop's crosier.

The following ludicrous ideas are annexed to the exclusive appropriation of the eucharistic wine to the priest in the mass.

> The whiles the liquorous priest spits every trice,
> With longing for his morning sacrifice:
> Which he reares vp quite perpendiculare,
> That the mid church doth spight the chancel's fare.[n]

But this sort of ridicule is improper and dangerous. It has a tendency, even without an entire parity of circumstances, to burlesque the celebration of this awful solemnity in the reformed church. In laughing at false religion, we may sometimes hurt the true. Though the rites of the papistic eucharist are erroneous and absurd, yet great part of the ceremony, and above all the radical idea, belong also to the protestant communion.

SECTION LXIV.

Hall's Satires continued. His Mundus alter et idem. His Epistles. Ascham's Letters. Howell's Letters.

THE argument of the first satire of the fifth Book, is the oppressive exaction of landlords, the consequence of the growing decrease of the value of money. One of these had perhaps a poor grandsire, who grew rich by availing himself of the general rapine at the dissolution of the monasteries. There is great pleasantry in one of the lines, that he

> Begg'd a cast abbey in the church's wayne.

In the mean time, the old patrimonial mansion is desolated; and even the parish-church unroofed and dilapidated, through the poverty of the inhabitants, and neglect or avarice of the patron.

> Would it not vex thee, where thy sires did keep[a],
> To see the dunged folds of dag-tayl'd sheep?
> And ruin'd house where holy things were said,
> Whose free-stone walls the thatched roofe vpbraid;
> Whose shrill saints-bell hangs on his lovery,
> While the rest are damned to the plumbery[b]:
> Yet pure devotion lets the steeple stand,
> And idle battlements on either hand, &c.[c]

[n] B. iv. 7.

[a] live, inhabit.

[b] The bells were all sold, and melted down; except that for necessary use the Saints-bell, or *sanctus-bell*, was only suffered to remain within its *lovery*, that is, louver, or turret, usually placed between the chancel and body of the church. Marston has "pitch-black loueries." Sc. of Villan. B. ii. 5.

[c] Just to keep up the appearance of a church.

By an enumeration of real circumstances, he gives us the following lively draught of the miserable tenement, yet ample services, of a poor copyholder.

Of one bay's breadth, god wot, a silly cote,
Whose thatched spars are furr'd with sluttish soote
A whole inch thick, shining like black-moor's brows,
Through smoke that downe the headlesse barrel blows.
At his bed's feete feeden his stalled teame,
His swine beneath, his pullen o'er the beame.
A starued tenement, such as I guesse
Stands straggling on the wastes of Holdernesse:
Or such as shivers on a Peake hill side, &c.—
Yet must he haunt his greedy landlord's hall
With often presents at each festivall:
With crammed capons euerie New-yeare's morne,
Or with greene cheeses when his sheepe are shorne:
Or many maunds-full[d] of his mellow fruite, &c.

The lord's acceptance of these presents is touched with much humour.

The smiling landlord shewes a sunshine face,
Feigning that he will grant him further grace;
And leers like Esop's foxe vpon the crane,
Whose neck he craves for his chirurgian.[e]

In the second[f], he reprehends the incongruity of splendid edifices and worthless inhabitants.

Like the vaine bubble of Iberian pride,
That overcroweth all the world beside[g];
Which rear'd to raise the crazy monarch's fame,
Striues for a court and for a college name:
Yet nought within but lousy coules doth hold,
Like a scabb'd cuckow in a cage of gold.

[d] Maund is Basket. Hence Maunday-Thursday, the Thursday in Passion-week, when the king with his own hands distributes a large portion of alms, &c. Maunday is *Dies Sportulæ*. Maund occurs again, B. iv. 2.

With a *maund* charg'd with houshold marchandize.

In the Whippinge of the Satyre, 1601. Signat. C. 4.

Whole MAUNDS and *baskets* ful of fine sweet praise.

[e] B. v. l. f. 58.

[f] In this satire there is an allusion to an elegant fiction in Chaucer, v. 3. f. 61.

Certes if Pity dyed at Chaucer's date.

Chaucer places the sepulchre of Pity in the Court of Love. See Court of L. v 700.

——— A tender creature
Is shrinid there, and Pity is her name:
She saw an Egle wreke him on a Flie,
And plucke his wing, and eke him in his game,
And tendir harte of that hath made her die.

This thought is borrowed by Fenton, in his Mariamne.

[g] The Escurial in Spain.

When[h] Maevio's first page of his poesy
Nail'd to a hundred postes for nouelty,
With his big title, an Italian mot[i],
Layes siege unto the backward buyer's grot, &c.

He then beautifully draws, and with a selection of the most picturesque natural circumstances, the inhospitality or rather desertion of an old magnificent rural mansion.

Beat the broad gates, a goodly hollow sound
With double echoes doth againe rebound;
But not a dog doth bark to welcome thee,
Nor churlish porter canst thou chafing see:
All dumb and silent, like the dead of night,
Or dwelling of some sleepy Sybarite!
The marble pavement, hid with desart weed,
With house-leek, thistle, dock, and hemlock-seed.—
Look to the towered chimnies, which should be
The wind-pipes of good hospitalitie:——
Lo, there th' unthankful swallow takes her rest,
And fills the tunnell with her circled nest[k]!

Afterwards, the figure of FAMINE is thus imagined.

Grim FAMINE sits in their fore-pined face,
All full of angles of vnequal space,
Like to the plane of many-sided squares
That wont be drawne out by geometars.[l]

In the third, a satire is compared to the porcupine.

The satire should be like the porcupine,
That shoots sharp quills out in each angry line.[m]

This ingenious thought, though founded on a vulgar error, has been copied, among other passages, by Oldham. Of a true writer of satire, he says,

He'd shoot his quills just like a porcupine,
At view, and make them stab in every line.[n]

In the fourth and last of this Book, he enumerates the extravagances of a married spendthrift, a farmer's heir, of twenty pounds a year. He rides with *two liveries*, and keeps a pack of hounds.

[h] As when.

[i] In this age, the three modern languages were studied to affectation. In the Return from Parnassus, above quoted, a fashionable fop tells his Page, "Sirrah, boy, remember me when I come in Paul's Church-yard, to buy a Ronsard and Dubartas in French, an Aretine in Italian, and our hardest writers in Spanish," &c. act ii. sc. 3.

[k] The motto on the front of the house ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ, which he calls a fragment of Plato's poetry, is a humorous alteration of Plato's ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΣ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ.

[l] B. v. 2.

[m] B. v. 3.

[n] Apology for the foregoing Ode, &c. Works, vol. i. p. 97. edit. 1722. 12mo.

But whiles ten pound goes to his wife's new gowne,
Not little less can serue to suite his owne:
While one piece pays her idle waiting-man,
Or buys an hood, or siluer-handled fan:
Or hires a Friezeland trotter, halfe yard deepe,
To drag his tumbrell through the staring Cheape.[o]

The last Book, consisting of one long satire only, is a sort of epilogue to the whole, and contains a humorous ironical description of the effect of his satires, and a recapitulatory view of many of the characters and foibles which he had before delineated. But the scribblers seem to have the chief share. The character of Labeo, already repeatedly mentioned, who was some cotemporary poet, a constant censurer of our author, and who from pastoral proceeded to heroic poetry, is here more distinctly represented. He was a writer who affected compound epithets, which sir Philip Sydney had imported from France, and first used in his ARCADIA[p]. The character in many respects suits Chapman, though I do not recollect that he wrote any pastorals.

That Labeo reades right, who can deny,
The true straines of heroick poesy?
For he can tell how fury reft his sense,
And Phebus fill'd him with intelligence:
He can implore the heathen deities
To guide his bold and busy enterprise:
Or filch whole pages at a clap for need,
From honest Petrarch, clad in English weed;
While big BUT OH's each stanza can begin,
Whose trunk and taile sluttish and heartlesse been:
He knowes the grace of that new elegance
Which sweet Philisides fetch'd late from France,
That well beseem'd his high-stil'd ARCADY,
Though others marre it with much liberty,
In epithets to joine two words in one,
Forsooth, for adjectives can't stand alone.

The arts of composition must have been much practised, and a knowledge of critical niceties widely diffused, when observations of this kind could be written. He proceeds to remark, it was now customary for every poet, before he attempted the dignity of heroic verse, to try his strength by writing pastorals[q].

[o] B. v. 4.

[p] We have our author's opinion of Skelton in these lines of this satire, f. 83.

Well might these checks have fitted former times,
And shoulder'd angry Skelton's breathelesse rimes.

[q] Though these lines bear a general sense, yet at the same time they seem to be connected with the character of Labeo, by which they are introduced. By the *Carmelite*, a pastoral writer ranked with Theocritus and Virgil, he means Mantuan.

But ere his Muse her weapon learn to wield,
Or dance a sober Pirrhicke[r] in the field;—
The sheepe-cote first hath beene her nursery,
Where she hath worne her idle infancy;
And in high startups walk'd the pastur'd plaines,
To tend her tasked herd that there remains;
And winded still a pipe of oate or breare, &c.

Poems on petty subjects or occasions, on the death of a favourite bird or dog, seem to have been as common in our author's age, as at present. He says,

Should Bandell's throstle die without a song,
Or Adamans my dog be laid along
Downe in some ditch, without his exequies[s],
Or epitaphs or mournful elegies[t]?

In the old comedy, the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, we are told of a coxcomb who could bear no poetry "but fly-blown sonnets of his mistress, and her loving pretty creatures her monkey and her puppet[u]."

The following exquisite couplet exhibits our satirist in another and a more delicate species of poetry:

[r] The Pyrrhic dance, performed in armour.

[s] In pursuance of the argument, he adds,

Folly itselfe and baldnes may be prais'd.

An allusion to Erasmus's *Moriæ Encomium*, and the *Encomium Calvitiei*, written at the restoration of learning. Cardan also wrote an encomium on Nero, the Gout, &c.

[t] In this Satire, Tarleton is praised as a poet, who is most commonly considered only as a comedian. Meres commends him for his facility in extemporaneous versification. Wit's Tr. f. 286.

I shall here throw together a few notices of Tarleton's poetry. "A new booke on English verse, entitled, Tarlton's Toyes," was entered Dec. 10, 1576, to R. Jones. Registr. Station. B. f. 136 b. See "Heruey's Foure Letters," 1592. p. 34. "Tarleton's devise uppon the unlooked for great snowe," is entered, in 1578. Ibid. f. 156 b.—A ballad called "Tarleton's Farewell," is entered in 1588. Ibid. f. 233 a.—"Tarleton's repentance just before his death," is entered in 1589. Ibid. f. 219 a. The next year, viz. 1590, Aug. 20, "A pleasant dittye dialogue-wise betweene Tarleton's ghost and Robyn Good fellowe," is entered to H. Carre. Ibid. f. 263 a. There is a transferred copy of Tarlton's Jests, I suppose Tarlton's Toyes, in 1607. Registr. C. f. 179 b. Many other pieces might be recited. [See supr. p. 388. note [u].] See more of Tarleton, in Supplement to Shakspeare, i. pp. 55. 58. 59; and Old Plays, edit. 1778. Preface, p. lxii.

To what is there collected concerning Tarleton as a player, it may be added, that his ghost is one of the speakers, in that character, in Chettle's Kindharte's Dreame, printed about 1593. Without date, quarto. Signat. E. 3. And that in the Preface, he appears to have been also a musician. "Tarlton with his Taber taking two or three leaden fiiskes," &c. Most of our old comedians professed every part of the histrionic science, and were occasionally fidlers, dancers, and gesticulators. Dekker says, Tarleton, Kempe, nor Singer, "euer plaid the Clowne more naturally." Dekker's Gul's Horne Booke, 1609, p. 3. One or two of Tarleton's Jests are mentioned in "The Discouerie of the Knights of the Poste," &c. By S. S. Lond. Impr. by G. S. 1597. 4to. bl. lett. In Fitz-Geoffrey's *Cenotaphia*, annexed to his *Affaniæ*, 1601, there is a panegyric on Tarleton. Signat. N. 2. Tarleton and Greene are often mentioned as associates in Harvey's Four Letters, 1592.

[u] Act iii. sc. 4.

Her lids like Cupid's bow-case, where he hides
The weapons which do wound the wanton-ey'd.[w]

One is surprised to recollect, that these satires are the production of a young man of twenty-three. They rather seem the work of an experienced master, of long observation, of study and practice in composition.

They are recited among the best performances of the kind, and with applause, by Francis Meres, a cotemporary critic, who wrote in 1598[x]. But whatever fame they had acquired, it soon received a check, which was never recovered. They were condemned to the flames, as licentious and immoral, by an order of bishop Bancroft in 1599. And this is obviously the chief reason why they are not named by our author in the SPECIALITIES of his Life, written by himself after his preferment to a bishoprick[y]. They were, however, admired and imitated by Oldham; and Pope, who modernised Donne, is said to have wished he had seen Hall's satires sooner. But had Pope undertaken to modernise Hall, he must have adopted, because he could not have improved, many of his lines. Hall is too finished and smooth for such an operation. Donne, though he lived so many years later, was susceptible of modern refinement, and his asperities were such as wanted and would bear the chisel.

I was informed, by the late learned bishop of Glocester, that in a copy of Hall's Satires in Pope's library, the whole first satire of the sixth book was corrected in the margin, or interlined, in Pope's own hand; and that Pope had written at the head of that satire, OPTIMA SATIRA.

Milton, who had a controversy with Hall, as I have observed in a remonstrance called an APOLOGY FOR SMECTYMNUUS, published in 1641, rather unsuitably and disingenuously goes out of his way to attack these satires, a juvenile effort of his dignified adversary, and under every consideration alien to the dispute. Milton's strictures are more sarcastic than critical; yet they deserve to be cited, more especially as they present a striking specimen of those awkward attempts at humour and raillery, which disgrace his prose-works.

"Lighting upon this title of TOOTHLESS SATYRS, I will not conceal ye what I thought, readers, that sure this must be some sucking satyr, who might have done better to have used his coral, and made an end of breeding ere he took upon him to wield a satyr's whip. But when I heard him talk of *scouring the shields of elvish knights*[z], do not blame

[w] B. vi. Pontan here mentioned, I presume, is Jovinianus Pontanus, an elegant Latin amatorial and pastoral poet of Italy, at the revival of learning.

[x] Wit's Treas. f. 282. It is extraordinary, that they should not have afforded any *choice flowers* to England's Parnassus, printed in 1600.

[y] Shaking of the Olive, or his Remaining Works, 1660. 4to. Nor are they here inserted.

[z] A misquoted line in the Defiance to Envy, prefixed to the Satires. I will give the whole passage, which is a compliment to Spenser, and shows how happily Hall would have succeeded in the majestic march of the long stanza:—

me if I changed my thought, and concluded him some desperate cutler. But why his *scornful Muse could never abide with tragick shoes her ancles for to hide*[a], the pace of the verse told me, that her mawkin knuckles were never shapen to that royal buskin. And turning by chance to the sixth [seventh] Satyr of his second Book, I was confirmed: where having begun loftily in *heaven's universal alphabet*, he falls down to that wretched poorness and frigidity as to talk of *Bridge-street in heaven*, and the *ostler of heaven*[b]; and there wanting other matter to catch him a heat, (for certain he was on the frozen zone miserably benummed,) with thoughts lower than any beadle's, betakes him to whip the sign-posts of Cambridge alehouses, the ordinary subject of freshmens tales, and in a strain as pitiful. Which, for him who would be counted the FIRST ENGLISH SATYRIST, to abase himselfe to, who might have learned better among the Latin and Italian Satyrists, and in our own tongue from the VISION AND CREEDE OF PIERCE PLOWMAN, besides others before him, manifested a presumptuous undertaking with weak and unexamined shoulders. For a Satyr is as it were born out of a Tragedy, so ought to resemble his parentage, to strike high, and adventure dangerously at the most eminent vices among the greatest persons, and not to creep into every blind taphouse that fears a constable more than a satyr. But that such a poem should be TOOTHLESS, I still affirm it to be a bull, taking away the essence of that which it calls itself. For if it bite neither the persons nor the vices, how is it a satyr? And if it bite either, how is it toothless? So that TOOTHLESS SATYRS, are as much as if he had said TOOTHLESS TEETH[c]," &c.

With Hall's SATIRES should be ranked his MUNDUS ALTER ET IDEM, an ingenious satirical fiction in prose, where under a pretended description of the TERRA AUSTRALIS, he forms a pleasant invective against the characteristic vices of various nations, and is remarkably severe on the church of Rome. This piece was written about the year

Or scoure the rusted swordes of elvish knights,
Bathed in pagan blood: or sheathe them new
In mistie moral types: or tell their fights,
Who mighty giants, or who monsters slew;
And by some strange inchanted speare and shield,
Vanquish'd their foe, and won the doubtful field.
May be she might, in stately stanzas, frame
Stories of ladies, and aduenturous knights;
To raise her silent and inglorious name
Vnto a reachlesse pitch of praise's hight:
And somewhat say, as more vnworthy done[1],
Worthy of brasse, and hoary marble stone.

[a] B. i. 1.

[b] Hall supposes, that the twelve signs of the zodiac are twelve inns, in the high-street of heaven,

—— With twelve fayre signes
Euer well tended by our star-divines.

Of the astrologers, who give their attendance, some are ostlers, others chamberlains, &c. The zodiacal sign, Aquarius, he supposes to be in the Bridge-street of heaven. He alludes to Bridge-street at Cambridge, and the signs are of inns at Cambridge.

[c] Apology for Smectymnuus, Milton's Prose-works, vol. i. p. 186. edit. Amst. 1698. fol. See also p. 185. 187. 191.

[1] That is, *have* done.

1600, before he had quitted the classics for the fathers, and published some years afterwards, against his consent. Under the same class should also be mentioned his CHARACTERISMES OF VERTUES, a set of sensible and lively moral essays, which contain traces of the satires[d].

I take the opportunity of observing here, that among Hall's prose-works are some metaphrastic versions in metre of a few of David's Psalms[e], and three anthems or hymns written for the use of his cathedral. Hall, in his satires, had condemned this sort of poetry.

An able inquirer into the literature of this period has affirmed, that Hall's Epistles, written before the year 1613[f], are the first example of epistolary composition which England had seen. "Bishop Hall, he says, was not only our first satirist, but was the first who brought epistolary writing to the view of the public; which was common in that age to other parts of Europe, but not practised in England till he published his own Epistles[g]." And Hall himself in the Dedication of his Epistles to Prince Henry observes, "Your grace shall herein perceiue a new fashion of discourse by EPISTLES, new to our language, vsuall to others: and, as nouelty is neuer without plea of vse, more free, more familiar[h]."

The first of our countrymen, however, who published a set of his own Letters, though not in English, was Roger Ascham, who flourished about the time of the Reformation; and when that mode of writing had been cultivated by the best scholars in various parts of Europe, was celebrated for the terseness of his epistolary style. I believe the second published correspondence of this kind, and in our own language, at

[d] Works ut supr. p. 171. Under the Character of the Hypocrite, he says, "When a rimer reads his poeme to him, he begs a copie, and perswades the presse," &c. p. 187. Of the Vaine-glorious: "He sweares bigge at an Ordinary, and talkes of the Court with a sharp voice.—He calls for pheasants at a common mae.—If he haue bestowed but a little summe in the glazing, pauing, parieting, of gods house, you shall find it in the church window." [See Sat. B. iv. 3.] "His talke is, how many mourners he has furnished with gownes at his father's funerals, what exploits he did at Cales and Newport," &c. p. 194, 195. Of the Busie Bodie: "If he see but two men talke and reade a letter in the streete, he runnes to them and askes if he may not be partner of that secret relation; and if they deny it, he offers to tell, since he cannot heare, wonders; and then falls vpon the report of the Scottish Mine, or of the great fish taken vp at Linne, or of the freezing of the Thames," &c. p. 188. Of the Superstitious: "He never goes without an Erra Pater in his pocket.—Every lanterne is a ghost, and every noise is of chaines," &c. p. 189. These pieces were written after the Gunpowder-plot, for it is mentioned, p. 196.

[e] Works, ut supr. p. 151. In the Dedication he says, "Indeed my Poetry was long sithence out of date, and yelded her place to grauer studies," &c. In his Epistles, he speaks of this unfinished undertaking "Many great wits haue vndertaken this task.—Among the rest, were those two rare spirits of the Sidnyes; to whom poesie was as natvrall as it is affected of others: and our worthy friend Mr. Sylvester hath shewed me how happily he hath sometimes turned from his Bartas to the sweet singer of Israel.—— There is none of all my labours so open to all censures. Perhaps some think the verse harsh, whose nice eare regardeth roundnesse more than sense. I embrace smoothness, but affect it not." Dec. ii. Ep. v. p. 302. 303. ut supr.

[f] See Works, ut supr. p. 275.

[g] See Whalley's Inquiry into the Learning of Shakspeare, p. 41.

[h] Works, ut supr. p. 172. The reader of Hall's Satires is referred to Dec. vi. Epist. vi. p. 394.

least of any importance after Hall, will be found to be EPISTOLÆ HOELIANÆ, or the Letters of James Howell, a great traveller, an intimate friend of Jonson, and the first who bore the office of the royal historiographer, which discover a variety of literature, and abound with much entertaining and useful information[i].

SECTION LXV.

Marston's Satires. Hall and Marston compared.

IN the same year, 1598, soon after the appearance of Hall's Satires, John Marston, probably educated at Cambridge, a dramatic writer who rose above mediocrity, and the friend and coadjutor of Jonson, published "The metamorphosis of Pigmalion's image. And Certaine Satyres. By John Marston. At London, printed for Edmond Matts[a], and are to be sold at the signe of the hand and plough in Fleetstreete, 1598[b]." I have nothing to do with PIGMALION'S IMAGE, one of Ovid's transformations heightened with much paraphrastic obscenity[c]. The Satires here specified are only four in number. In Charles Fitzgeoffry's AFFANIÆ, a set of Latin epigrams, printed at Oxford in 1601, he is not inelegantly complimented as the second English Satirist, or rather

[i] "*Epistolæ Hoelianæ*, Familiar Letters, Domestic and Foreign, divided into sundry sections partly historical, political, and philosophical." Lond. 1645, 4to. They had five editions from 1645 to 1673, inclusive. A third and fourth volume was added to the last impression.

I must not dismiss our satirist without observing, that Fuller has preserved a witty encomiastic English epigram by Hall, written at Cambridge, on Greenham's Book of the Sabbath, before the year 1592. Church-History, B. ix. Cent. xvi. §. vii. p. 220. edit. 1655. fol. I find it also prefixed to Greenham's Works, in folio, 1601.

[a] The Colophon at the end of the book, is "At London printed by James Roberts, 1598."

[b] In duodecimo. With vignettes. Pages 82. They are entered to Matts, May 27, 1598. Registr. Station. C. f. 36 b. Hall's Satires are entered only the thirtieth day of March preceding.

[c] Of this piece I shall say little more, than that it is thought by some, notwithstanding the title-page just produced, not to be Marston's. But in his Scourge of Villanie he cites it as his own. B. ii. 6. Again, B. iii. 10. And in England's Parnassus, published in 1600, part of the dedication to Opinion is quoted, with the name J. Marston, p. 221. He seems to have written it in ridicule of Shakspeare's Venus and Adonis. He offers this apology, B. i. 6. (ut supr.)

——————— Know, I wrot
Those idle rimes, to note the odious spot
And blemish, that deformes the lineaments
Of Moderne Poesie's habiliments.
O, that the beauties of inuention
For want of iudgement's disposition,
Should all be spoil'd! O, that such treasurie,
Such straines of well-conceited poesie,
Should moulded be in such a shapelesse forme,
That want of art should make such wit a scorne!

The author of the Satires appears in stanzas x. xiv. xix. I have thought that this poem suggested to Shakspeare what Lucio says in Measure for Measure, a. iii. s. 2. vol. ii. p. 92. [See supr. p. 337. note[a].]

as dividing the palm of priority and excellence in English satire with Hall.

Ad JOHANNEM MARSTONIUM.

Gloria Marstoni satyrarum proxima primæ,
Primaque, fas primas si numerare duas:
Sin primam duplicare nefas, tu gloria saltem
Marstoni primæ proxima semper eris.
Nec te pœniteat stationis, Jane: secundus,
Cum duo sunt tantum, est neuter, et ambo pares.[d]

In general it is not easy to give a specimen of Marston's satires, as his strongest lines are either openly vitiated with gross expression, or pervaded with a hidden vein of impure sentiment. The following humorous portrait of a sick inamorato is in his best, at least in his chastest, manner of drawing a character.

For when my eares receau'd a fearfull sound
That he was sicke, I went, and there I found
Him laide of loue[e], and newly brought to bed
Of monstrous folly, and a franticke head.
His chamber hang'd about with elegies,
With sad complaints of his loue's miseries:
His windows strow'd with sonnets, and the glasse
Drawne full of loue-knotts. I approacht the asse,
And straight he weepes, and sighes some sonnet out
To his faire loue! And then he goes about
For to perfvme her rare perfection
With some sweet-smelling pink-epitheton.
Then with a melting looke he writhes his head,
And straight in passion riseth in his bed;
And hauing kist his hand, strok'd vp his haire,
Made a French congè, cryes, *O cruell Faire*,
To th' antique bed-post! — — —

In these lines there is great elegance of allusion, and vigour of expression. He addresses the objects of his satire, as the sons of the giants,

Is Minos dead, is Rhadamanth asleepe,
That thus ye dare vnto Ioue's palace creepe?
What, hath Rhamnusia spent her knotted whip,
That ye dare striue on Hebe's cup to sip?

[d] Lib. ii. Sig. F. 4. In Davies's Scourge of Folly, there is an Epigram to "The acute Mr. John Marston," on his comedy of the Malecontent. p. 105.

[In a curious MS. described by Mr. Todd in his edition of Milton, the following couplet occurs, which may be surmised to glance at this comedy:—

John Marstone bad his friends unto a play;
But being come, they bad themselves away.—PARK.]

[e] The midwife's phrase.

Yet know, Apollo's quiuer is not spent,
But can abate your daring hardiment.
Python is slaine, yet his accursed race
Dare looke diuine Astrea in the face.[1]

In the same satire he calls himself

A beadle to the world's impuritie!

Marston seems to have been the poetic rival of Hall at Cambridge, whom he repeatedly censures or ridicules. In the fourth satire, he supposes Hall's criticisms on Du Bartas, the versions of David's Psalms by Sternhold and king James, Southwell's MARY and SAINT PETER'S TEARS, the MIRROUR FOR MAGISTRATES, and other pieces of equal reputation, to be the production of pedantry or malignity. And the remainder of this satire is no unpleasant parody of Hall's prefatory stanzas against envy[k].

A Thrasonical captain, fresh from the siege of Cadiz, is delineated in this lively colouring.

Great Tubrio's feather gallantly doth waue,
Full twenty falls do make him wondrous braue!
Oh golden jerkin! Royall arming coate!
Like ship on sea, he on the land doth floate.—
— — — — What newes from Rodio?
"Hot seruice, by the lord," cries Tubrio.
Why dost thou halt? "Why, six times through each thigh
Push'd with the pike of the hot enemie.
Hot service, Hot!—The Spaniard is a man.—
I say no more—And as a gentleman
I serued in his face. Farwell, Adew!"
Welcome from Netherland—from steaming stew.[l]

Marston's allusions often want truth and accuracy. In describing the ruff of a beau, he says,

[1] Sat. 5.

[k] It appears from the Scourge of Villanie, that Hall had caused a severe Epigram to be pasted on the last page of every copy of Marston's Pigmalion's Image, that was sent from London to the booksellers of Cambridge. B. iii. 10. The Epigram is there cited. This tenth satire of the third Book was added in the second edition, in 1599. It is addressed "to his very friend maister E. G." One Edward Gilpin is cited in England's Parnassus, 1600.

It appears from this Satire, that the devices on shields and banners, at tournaments, were now taken from the classics.

He who upon his glorious scutcheon,
Can quaintly show wits newe inuention,
Advancing forth some thirstie Tantalus,
Or els the vulture on Prometheus,
With some short motto of a dozen lines, &c.

Peacham says, that of Emblems and Impresses, "the best I have seen have been the devices of tilting, whereof many were till of late reserved in the private gallery at White-Hall, of sir Philip Sydney, the earl of Cumberland, sir Henry Leigh, the earl of Essex, with many others; most of which I once collected with intent to publish them, but the charge dissuaded me." Compl. Gent. Ch. xviii. p. 277. edit. 3d. 1661. 4to.

[l] Sat. i.

His ruffe did eate more time in neatest setting,
Than Woodstock-worke in painfull perfecting.

The comparison of the workmanship of a laced and plaited ruff, to the laboured nicety of the steel-work of Woodstock, is just. He adds, with an appearance of wit,

It hath more doubles farre than Ajax shield.

This was no exaggeration. The shield of Ajax was only sevenfold. To say nothing of one of the leading ideas, the delicacy of contexture, which could not belong to such a shield.

But Marston is much better known as a satirist by a larger and a separate collection, yet entirely in the strain of the last, called the SCOURGE OF VILLANY, published the same year. I will give the title exactly and at length. "The SCOVRGE OF VILLANIE. Three Bookes of SATYRES. [No Name of the Author.] —Nec scombros metuentia carmina nec thus. At London, Printed by I. R. [James Roberts,] and are to be sold by John Buzbie, in Pawles churchy rd, at the signe of the Crane, 1598[k]." He here assumes the appellation of KINSAYDER, by which he is recognised among other cotemporary poets in the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS. In his metrical introduction, he wishes all readers of fashion would pass over his poetry, and rather examine the play-bills pasted on every post, or buy some ballad about the fairy king, and king Cophetua and the female beggar. Instead of a Muse, he invocates REPROOF, in this elegant and animated address.

I inuocate no Delian deitie,
Nor sacred offspring of Mnemosyne:
pray in aid of no Castalian Muse,
No Nymph, no female angell, to infuse
A sprightly wit to raise my flagging wings,
And teach me tune these harsh discordant strings.
I craue no Syrens of our halcyon-times,
To grace the accents of my rough-hew'd rimes:
But grim Reproofe, sterne Hate of villany,
Inspire and guide a satyr's poesie!
Faire Detestation of fowle odious sinne,
In which our swinish times lie wallowing,
Be thou my conduct and my Genius,
My wit's inticing sweet-breath'd Zephirus!

[k] In duodecimo. With vignettes. Wh. lett. The signatures run inclusively to Sign. I. 3. The title of the second edition is "The Scourge of Villanie. By John Marston. *Nec scombros*, &c. At London. Printed by I. R. Anno Dom. 1599." The tenth Satire is not in the former edition. All Marston's Satires, with other pieces of old poetry, were reprinted, Lond. for R. Horsfield, 1764, 12mo.

[This reprint was edited by the Rev. J. Bowles, known to the literary world by his edition of Don Quixote in the Spanish language.—PARK.]

Oh that a satyr's hand had force to pluck
Some floodgate vp, to purge the world from muck!
Would god, I could turne Alpheus' riuer in,
To purge this Augean stable from fowle sinne!
Well, I will try.—Awake, Impuritie!
And view the vaile drawne from thy villanie.[l]

The passage reminds us of a witty line in Young's UNIVERSAL PASSION, I know not if borrowed from hence.

And cleanse the Augean stable with thy quill[m].

Part of the following nervous paragraph has been copied either by Dryden or Oldham.

Who would not shake a satyr's knotty rod,
When to defile the sacred name of god,
Is but accounted gentlemen's disport?
To snort in filth, each hower to resort
To brothell-pits: alas, a veniall crime,
Nay royal, to be last in thirtieth slime?[n]

In an invocation to RIME, while he is not inelegantly illustrating the pleasingness of an easy association of consonant syllables, he artfully intermixes the severities of satire.

Come prettie pleasing symphonie of words,
Ye well-match'd twins, whose like-tun'd tongue affords
Such musicall delight, come willingly,
And daunce Levoltos[o] in my poesie!
Come all as easie as spruce Curio will,
In some court-hall to shew his capering skill:—
As willingly as wenches trip around,
About a may-pole, to the bagpipe's sound.—
— — — Let not my ruder hand
Seeme once to force you in my lines to stand:
Be not so fearefull, prettie soules, to meete,
As Flaccus is, the sergeant's face to greete:
Be not so backward-loth to grace my sense,
As Drusus is, to haue intelligence,
His dad 's aliue: but come into my head,
As iocundly, as, when his wife was dead,
Young Lelius to his home. Come, like-fac'd Rime,
In tunefull numbers keeping musick's time!

[l] B. iii. Proem.

[m] There is a thought like this in Dekker's Guls Horne Booke, 1609, p. 4. "To pvrge [the world] will be a sorer labour, than the cleansing of Augeas' stable, or the scouring of Mooreditch."

[n] B. i. 2.

[o] An old fashionable dance. Hanmer, on Shakspeare, defines it to be a dance in which there was much capering and turning. Hen. V. a. iii. s. 5. The word implies more *capering* than turning.

But if you hang an arse like Tubered,
When Chremes drag'd him from the brothel-bed,
Then hence, base ballad-stuffe! My poesie
Disclaimes you quite. For know, my libertie
Scornes riming lawes. Alas, poore idle sounde!
Since first I Phebus knew, I neuer found
Thy interest in sacred poetry:
Thou to Inuention addst but surquedry[p],
A gaudie ornature: but hast no part
In that soule-pleasing high-infused art.[q]

He thus wages war with his brother-bards, especially the dreamers in fairy land.

Here 's one must inuocate some loose-leg'd dame,
Some brothel-drab, to help him stanzas frame.
Another yet dares tremblingly come out,
But first he must inuoke good COLIN CLOUT[r].
Yon 's one hath yean'd a fearefull prodigy,
Some monstrous and mishapen balladry[s].—
Another walkes, is lazie, lies him downe,
Thinkes, reades: at length, some wonted slepe doth crowne
His new-falne lids, dreames: straight, ten pounds to one,
Out steps some Fayery with quick motion,
And tells him wonders of some flowery vale;
He wakes, he rubs his eyes, and prints his tale.[t]

The following line is a ridicule on the poetical language of his time, which seems rather intended for certain strains of modern poetry.

Thou nursing *mother of faire wisdom's lore*,
Ingenuous Melancholy![v] ——

He supposes himself talking with Esop, and alludes to the story of his coming into the streets of Athens to *look for a man*[u]. This idea introduces several ridiculous characters. Among the rest a fine lady.

Peace, cynicke, see what yonder doth approach,
" A cart, a tumbrell?" No, a badged coach[w].

[p] pride, false pomp.

[q] B. ii. *Ad rithmum.*

[r] Spenser as a pastoral writer.

[s] An allusion to some late Ballad, with a print, of a monster, or incredible event. A ballad-monger is a character in "Whimzies, or a Newe Cast of Characters," where says the writer, " For want of truer relations, for a neede, he can finde you out a Sussex-dragon, some sea or inland monster," &c. Lond. 1631. Char. ii. p. 9. For this Sussex dragon, see the Harleian Miscellany.

[t] B. ii. 6.

[v] Proem. B. i.

[u] The introductory line, supposed to be spoken by Esop, is no unhappy parody on a well-known line in Shakspeare's Richard.

A Man, a Man, my kingdom for a Man.

[w] A coach painted with a coat of arms. [See above, p. 430. note[c].]

"What 's in 't? Some Man." No, nor yet woman kinde,
But a celestiall angell, faire refinde.
"The divell as soone. Her maske so hinders me,
I cannot see her beautie's deitie.
Now that is off, she is so vizarded,
So steep'd in lemon-iuice, so surphuled[x],
I cannot see her face. *Under one hood*
Two faces: but I neuer understood,
Or sawe one face under two hoods till nowe.
Away, away! Hence, coachman, go inshrine
Thy new glaz'd puppet in port Esquiline[y]."

[x] The word is often used by Hall and Marston. Our author supposes, that the practice came with other corruptions from Venice. Cert. Sat. 2.

Didst thou to Venis goe aught els to haue
But buy a lute, and vse a curtezan?—
And nowe from thence what hether dost thou bring,
But SURPHULINGS, new paints and poysoning,
Aretine's pictures, &c.

I find the word used for a meretricious styptic lotion. "The mother baud hauing at home, a well-paynted manerly harlot, as good a maid as Fletcher's mare, that bare three great foles, went in the morning to the apothecaries for halfe a pint of swete water, that commonly is called SURFULYNG water, or Clynckerdeuice," &c. From "A manifest DETECTION of the most vyle and detestable vse of DICE PLAY, &c. Imprinted at London in Paules churchyard, at the signe of the Lambe, by Abraham Vele." No date; but early in the reign of Elizabeth. Bl. lett. 12mo. "Apothecaries would have SURPHALING water, and potatoe rootes, lie dead on their hands.—The suburbes should have a great misse of vs, and Shoreditch would complaine to dame Anne a Clear," &c. *Theeves falling out, True men come by their goods.* By R. G. Lond. 1615. 4to. Signat. C. 3. Bl. lett. See Steevens's Shaksp. ix. 168.

[y] B. ii. 7. The classical reader recollects the meaning of this allusion to the Porta Esquilina at Rome. In passing, I will illustrate a few passages in Marston's satires.

Lib. iii. 11. He says,
Praise but ORCHESTRA, and the skipping art.

This is an allusion to sir John Davies's Orchestra, a poetical dialogue between Penelope and one of her wooers, on the antiquity and excellency of Dancing, printed with his *Nosce Teipsum* in 1599. This piece occasioned a humorous epigram from Harrington, Epigr. B. ii. 67.

A few lines afterwards Marston says,
Roome for the spheres, the orbes celestiall
Will daunce KEMP'S IIGGE. ——

Of Kemp, the original performer of Dogberry, I have spoken before. I find, entered to T. Gosson, Dec. 28, 1591, The third and last part of "Kempe's Iigge." Registr. Station. B. f. 232 b. And May 2, 1595, to W. Blackwell, "A ballad of Mr. Kempe's Newe Iigge of the kitchen stuffe woman." Ibid. f. 132 a. Again, Octob. 21, 1595, to T. Gosson, Kempe's Newe Iigge betwixt a soldier and a miser. Ibid. f. 3 b. In Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder, printed in 1600, is the character of an innkeeper at Rockland, which could not be written by Kemp, and was most probably a contribution from his friend and fellow-player, Shakspeare. He may vie with our host of the Tabard. Signat. B. 3.

He was a man not ouer spare,
In his eybals dwelt no care:
Anon, Anon, and *Coming, friend*,
Were the most words he vsde to spend:
Saue, sometime he would sit and tell
What wonders once in Bullayne fell;
Closing each period of his tale
With a full cup of nut-browne ale.
Turwyn and Turney's siedge were hot,
Yet all my hoast remembers not:
Kets field, and Musseleborough fray,
Were battles fought but yesterday.
"O, 'twas a goodly matter then,
To see your sword and buckler men!
They would lay here, and here and there,
But I would meet them every where,"
&c.
By this some guest cryes, *Ho, the house!*
A fresh friend hath a fresh carouse.
Still will he drink, and still be dry,
And quaffe with euerey company.

He thus nervously describes the strength of custom:

For ingrain'd habits, died with often dips,
Are not so soon discoloured. Young slips

Saint Martin send him merry mates
To enter at his hostry gates!
For a blither lad than he
Cannot an Innkeeper be.

In the same strain, is a description of a plump country lass, who officiates to Kemp in his morris-dance, as his Maid Marian. Signat. B. 3. Jonson alludes to Kemp's performance of this morris-dance, from London to Norwich in nine dayes. Epigr. cxxxiv.

—— —— —— or which
Did dance the famous morrisse vnto Norwich.

But to return to Marston.

In the Preface called *In lectores prorsus indignos*, is the word "Proface." I do not recollect that the passage has been adduced by the late editors of Shakspeare. Vol. v. p. 595. edit. 1778.

Proface, read on, for your extreamst dislikes
Will add a pinion to my praises flights.

In the Guls Horne Booke, 1609, p. 4. "Comus, thou clarke of Gluttonie's kitchen, doe thou also bid me PROFACE." In the same author's Belman of London, 1608, the second edition, Bl. lett. 4to. "The table being thus furnished, instead of Grace, everie one drewe out a knife, rapt out a round oath, and cried, PROFACE, *you mad rogues*," &c. Signat. C. See also Taylor's Sculler, Epigr. 43. These instances may be added, to those which Farmer, Steevens, and Malone have collected on the word. The meaning is obvious, "Fall on—Much good may it do you."

B. i. 3.

Candied potatoes are Athenians meate.

Our philosophers, our academics, indulge themselves in food inciting to venery.

B. i. 4.

He 'll cleanse himself to Shoreditch puritie.

I have before observed that Shoreditch was famous for brothels. He just before speaks of a "White friers queane. We have a Shoreditch baulke. B. i i. 11." In his Certain Satyres, he mentions the gallants trooping to "Brownes common." Sat. ii. In Goddard's Mastif, or Satires, no date, Sat. 27.

Or is he one that lets a *Shoreditch* wench
The golden entrailes of his purse to drench.

In Dekker's Iests to make you merie, 1607. Jest 59. "Sixpenny signets that lay in the Spittle in Shoreditch." In Middleton's Inner Temple Masque, printed 1619,

'Tis in your charge to pull down bawdy houses.

—— —— Cause spoile Shoreditch,
And deface Turnbull [street.]——

And in the Preface to "The Letting of Humours blood in the head vaine," or Satires, 1600, Signat. A. 2.

—— —— Some coward gull
That is but champion to a *Shoreditch* drab.

I know not whether it will illustrate the antiquity of the Ballad of George Barnwell to observe, that the house of the Harlot, the heroine of the story, is in Shoreditch. The Curtaine, one of our old theatres, was in Shoreditch.

B. ii. Proem. st. 3.

With tricksey tales of speaking Cornish dawes.

Tricksey, I think, is an epithet of Ariel in the Tempest. A *tricksie* strain occurs, B. iii. 9.

Ibid. st. 4.

What though some John a stile will basely toile.

This is the first use I remember of *John a Stiles*. But we have below, B. ii. 7.

Looke you, comes John a noke, and John a stile.

He means two lawyers.

B. ii. 7. Of a gallant,

Note his French herring-bones,——

His band-strings. Wood says, that Dr. Owen, dean of Christ church, and Cromwell's vice-chancellor at Oxford, in 1652, used to go, in contempt of form, "like a young scholar, with powdred hair, *snake-bone* bandstrings, or bandstrings with very large tasselis, lawn band, a large set of ribbands, pointed, at his knees, and Spanish-leather boots with large lawn tops, and his hat mostly cocked." Athen. Oxon. ii. 738. Num. 572.

B. ii. 7. He is speaking of a Judge, in his furred *damaske-coate*.

He 's nought but budge,

That is, fur. So Milton in Comus, v. 707.

Those budge doctors of the stoick fur.

New set are easly mou'd, and pluck'd away;
But elder roots clip faster in the clay.[z]

Of the influence of the drama, which now began to be the most polite and popular diversion, on conversation, we have the following instance.

Luscus, what 's plaid to-day? Faith, now I know,
I set thy lips abroach, from whence doth flowe
Nought but pure JULIET AND ROMEO.
Say, who acts best, Drusus or Roscio?
Nowe I have him, that nere, if aught, did speake
But when of playes or players he did treate:

He alludes to the furred gown of a graduate. See Life of Sir T. Pope, p. 285. edit. 2.

B. iii. 9. He speaks of a critic abusing Mortimer's numbers. I believe he means Drayton's epistle of Mortimer to Queen Isabel. Drayton's Epistles appeared in 1597. Or perhaps Drayton's *Mortimeriados*, published in 1596.

B. iii. 11.

—— Lothsome brothell-rime,
That stinks like Aiax-froth, or muckpit slime.

He means sir John Harrington's Ajax, which gave great offence to queen Elizabeth. See Harrington's Epigrams, B. i. 51; and Jonson, Epigr. cxxxiv.

My Muse has plough'd with his that sung A-jax.

B. ii. 7.

He nowe is forc'd his paunch and guts to pack
In a faire tumbrell.

That is, to ride in a coach. [See supr. p. 430, note [e].]

B. ii. 7.

Her scate of sense is her rebato set.

The *set of her rebato* is the *stiffness* of her ruff newly plaited, starched, and *poked*. To *set* a hat, is to *cock* a hat, in provincial language. The ruff was adjusted or trimmed by what they called a *poking-stick*, made of iron, which was gently heated. A pamphlet is entered to W. Wright, Jul. 4, 1590, called "Blue starch and poking-stickes." Registr. Station. B. f. 260 a. Jonson says of a smoking coxcomb, "The other opened his nostrils with a poaking-sticke, to giue the smoake more free deliuerie." Euerie M. out of his H. act iii. sc. 3.

In Goddard's Dogges from the Antipedes, a lady says, whose ruff was discomposed, Sat. 29.

Lord! my ruffe! *Sett* it with thy finger, Iohn!

And our author, Sc. of Vill. i. 2.

Lucia, new *set* thy ruffe.——

In the Guls Horne Booke, p. 7. "Your stiff-necked rebatoes, that have more arches for pride to rowe vnder, than can stand vnder fiue London bridges, durst not then *set* themselves out in print" And hence we must explain a line in Hall, iii. 7.

His linnen collar Labyrinthian *set*.

B. i. 3.

A Crabs bakt guts, a lobsters buttered thigh, &c.

So in Marston's Malecontent, printed 1604. act ii. sc. 2. "Crabs guts baked, distilled ox-pith, the pulverized hairs of a lions upper lip," &c.

Sat. iii. 8.

I sawe him court his mistresse looking-glasse,
Worship a buske-point.——

A buske was a flexile pin or stick for keeping a woman's stays tight before. Marston's context too clearly explains the meaning of the word. So in Pigmalion's Image, st. xix.

Loue is a child contented with a toy,
A buske-point or some fauour stills the boy.

But see Old Plays, v. 251.

Satyres, Sat. iv.

Ye Granta's white Nymphs, come!—

White was anciently used as a term of fondling or endearment. In the Return from Parnassus, 1606, Amoretto's Page says, "When he returns, I 'll tell twenty admirable lies of his hawk: and then I shall be his little rogue, his WHITE villain, for a whole week after." A. ii. s. 6. Doctor Busby used to call his favourite scholars, his *White Boys*. I could add a variety of other combinations.

[z] B. i. 4.

Hath made a common-place book out of playes,
And speakes in print: at least whate'er he sayes,
Is warranted by curtaine-*plaudities*.
If e'er you heard him courting Lesbia's eyes,
Say, courteous sir, speakes he not movingly
From out some new pathetique tragedy?[a]

He appears to have been a violent enemy of the puritans.

. . . . . But thou, rank Puritan,
I 'll make an ape as good a christian:
I 'll force him chatter, turning vp his eye,
Look sad, go graue, Demure civilitie
Shall scorne to say, *good brother, sister deare!*
As for the rest, to snort in belly cheere,
To bite, to gnaw, and boldly intermell
With holy things, in which thou dost excell,
Vnforc'd he 'll doe. O take compassion
Euen on your soules: make not Religion
A bawde to lewdnesse. Civil Socrates,
Clip not the youth of Alcibiades
With vnchast armes. Disguised Messaline,
I 'll teare thy mask, and bare thee to the eyne, &c.[b]

It is not that I am afraid of being tedious, that I find myself obliged to refrain from producing any more citations. There are however a few more passages which may safely be quoted, but which I choose to reserve for future illustration.

There is a carelessness and laxity in Marston's versification, but there is a freedom and facility, which Hall has too frequently missed, by labouring to confine the sense to the couplet. Hall's measures are more musical, not because the music of verse consists in uniformity of pause and regularity of cadence. Hall had a correcter ear; and his lines have a tuneful strength, in proportion as his language is more polished, his phraseology more select, and his structure more studied. Hall's meaning, among other reasons, is not always so soon apprehended, on account of his compression both in sentiment and diction. Marston is more perspicuous, as he thinks less and writes hastily. Hall is superior in penetration, accurate conception of character, acuteness of reflection, and the accumulation of thoughts and images. Hall has more humour, Marston more acrimony. Hall often draws his materials from books and the diligent perusal of other satirists; Marston from real life. Yet Hall has a larger variety of characters. He possessed the talent of borrowing with address, and of giving originality to his copies. On the whole, Hall is more elegant, exact, and elaborate.

It is Marston's misfortune, that he can never keep clear of the im-

[a] B. iii. 11. [b] B. iii. 9.

purities of the brothel. His stream of poetry, if sometimes bright and unpolluted, almost always betrays a muddy bottom. The satirist who too freely indulges himself in the display of that licentiousness which he means to proscribe, absolutely defeats his own design. He inflames those passions which he professes to suppress, gratifies the depravations of a prurient curiosity, and seduces innocent minds to an acquaintance with ideas which they might never have known.

The satires of Hall and Marston were condemned to the same flame and by the same authority. But Hall certainly deserved a milder sentence. Hall exposes vice, not in the wantonness of description, but with the reserve of a cautious yet lively moralist. Perhaps every censurer of obscenity does some harm, by turning the attention to an immodest object. But this effect is to be counteracted by the force and propriety of his reproof, by showing the pernicious consequences of voluptuous excesses, by suggesting motives to an opposite conduct, and by making the picture disgustful by dashes of deformity. When Vice is led forth to be sacrificed at the shrine of Virtue, the victim should not be too richly dressed.

SECTION LXVI.

Epigrams and Satires. Skialetheia. A Scourge of Truth. Scourge of Truth by John Davies of Hereford. Chrestoloros by Thomas Bastard. Microcynicon by T. M. Gent. William Goddard's Mastiff Whelp. Pasquill's Mad-Cap, Message, Foole-Cap. Various collections of Epigrams. Rowland's Letting of Humours blood in the head vaine. Lodge, Greene and Decker's Pamphlets. Catalogue of Epigrammatic Miscellanies. Satires by G. Walter. Donne's Satires.

The popularity of Hall's and Marston's Satires, notwithstanding their proscription or rather extermination by spiritual authority, produced an innumerable crop of SATIRISTS, and of a set of writers, differing but little more than in name, and now properly belonging to the same species, EPIGRAMMATISTS.

In 1598, printed at London, appeared "SKIALETHEIA, or a Shadowe of Truth in certaine Epigrams and Satyres." The same year, SEUEN SATIRES, applied to the week, including the world's ridiculous follies[a]. This form was an imitation of the SEMAINES of Du Bartas, just translated into English by Delisle. The same year, "A SHADOWE of TRUTH in certaine Epigrams and Satires[b]." This year also, as I conjecture,

[a] Entered to William Fyrebrand, May 3, 1598. Registr. Station. C. f. 34 b.

[b] Entered to N. Linge, Sept. 15, 1598. Ibid. f. 41 b.

were published Epigrams by sir John Davies, author of NOSCE TEIPSUM[c]. These must not be confounded with the SCOURGE OF FOLLY, by John Davies of Hereford, printed in 1611. In 1598 also, was published in quarto, "Tyros roaring Megge, planted against the walls of Melancholy, London, 1598." With two Decads of Epigrams[d]. The author appears to have been of Cambridge. Tyro is perhaps a real name. The dedication is to Master John Lucas.

In the year 1598, was also published, under the general title of CHRESTOLOROS, seven Books of Epigrams, by Thomas Bastard[e]. Bastard, a native of Blandford in Dorsetshire, was removed from a fellowship of New-College Oxford, in 1591, being, as Wood says, "much guilty of the vices belonging to the poets," and "given to libelling[f]." Harrington, the translator of Ariosto, has an Epigram addressed to "Master Barnard, a minister, that made a pleasant Booke of English Epigrams[g]." Wood, in his manuscript Collection of Oxford libels and lampoons, which perhaps he took as much pleasure in collecting as the authors in writing, now remaining in the Ashmolean Musuem, and composed by various students of Oxford in the reign of queen Elizabeth, has preserved two of Bastard's satirical pieces[h]. By the patron-

[c] Marlowe's Ovid's Elegies were accompanied with these Epigrams. The whole title is, "Epigrammes and Elegies, by J. D. and C. M. [Marlowe,] at Middleburgh." No date. Davies's Epigrams are commended in Jonson's Epigrams, xviii. And in Fitzgeoffry's *Affanie*, Lib. ii. Signat. E. 4.

DAVISIOS lædat mihi, Jonsoniosque lacessat.

[One edition of these Epigrams, which appears to have been the earliest, had Marlowe's name annexed to the title of Ovid's Elegies. From the printed conversation between Drummond and Ben Jonson, the Epigrams are ascertained to belong to sir John Davis the Judge, and not to Davies of Hereford the writing-master, as was conceived by Mr. Chalmers. See Apol. The author in Skialetheia is styled our English Martial, and at that period the appellation seems not to have been misapplied.—PRICE.]

[The following specimen becomes interesting from its allusions to remarkable persons and events.

Gerεon's mouldy memory corrects
Old Holinshed, our famous chronicler,
With morall rules, and policy collects
Out of all actions done these fourescore yeares:
Accounts the time of every old event,
Not from Christ's birth, nor from the prince's raigne,
But from some other famous accident,
Which in men's generall notice doth remaine:
The siege of Bulloigne and the plaguy sweat,
The going to saint Quintin's and Newhaven,
The rising in the North, the frost so great,
That cart wheeles prints on Thamis face were seene;
The fall of money and burning of Paul's steeple,
The blazing starre, and Spaniards overthrow:
By these events, notorious to the people,
He measures times, and things forepast doth show;
But most of all he chiefly reckons by
A private chance—the death of his curst wife!
This is to him the dearest memory
And the happiest accident of all his life.
Epig. 20.—PARK.]

[d] With "sequitur Tyronis Epistola." Compare Wood, Ath. Oxon. F. i. 219.

[e] Entered to Joane Brome, Apr. 3, 1598. Ibid. f. 38 b.

[f] Ath. Oxon. i. 431.

[g] Harrington's Epigrams, B. ii. 64. See also B. ii. 84. They are also mentioned with applause in Goddard's Mastif, no date, Sat. 81. And in Parrot's Springes for Woodcockes, Lib. i. Epigr. 118.

[h] One of them is entitled, "An Admonition to the City of Oxford, or Mareplate's Bastardine." In this piece, says Wood, he "reflects upon all persons of note in Oxford, who were guilty of amorous exploits, or that mixed themselves with other

age or favour of lord-treasurer Suffolk, he was made vicar of Bere-regis, and rector of Hamer in Dorsetshire; and from writing smart epigrams in his youth, became in his graver years a quaint preacher[i]. He died a prisoner for debt, in Dorchester gaol, April 19, 1618. He was an elegant classic scholar, and appears to have been better qualified for that species of the occasional pointed Latin epigram established by his fellow-collegian John Owen, than for any sort of English versification.

In 1599, appeared "MICROCYNICON, six snarling satyres by T. M. Gentleman," perhaps Thomas Middleton. About the same time appeared, without date, in quarto, written by William Goddard, "A MASTIF WHELP, with other ruff-i-landlike curs fetcht from amongst the Antipedes, which bite and barke at the fantastical humourists and abusers of the time. Imprinted at the Antipedes, and are to be bought where they are to be sold." It contains eighty-five satires. To these is added, "Dogges from the Antipedes," containing forty-one[k].

in Oxon." The other is a disavowal of this lampoon, written after his expulsion, and beginning, *Jenkin, why, man*, &c. See Meres, Wit's Tr. f. 284.

[i] There are two sets of his Sermons, Five, London, 1615, 4to. The first three of these are called the Marigold of the Sun. Twelve, London, 1615. 4to.

[k] The name of the author, who appears to have been a soldier, is added in the Dedication, to some of his *flatt-cappe* friends at the Temple. The Satires were written after Bastard's Epigrams, which are [thus] commended, Sat. 81.

[Talke you with *Poet Asse*, sitting in 's seate,
You'le heare him ex'lent *Epigrames* repeate;
Demaund him "whose they bee, they runn soe fine?"
He answers straight—"Fruits of this brayne of *myne*;"
Yet let a well-read Poet heare the vaine,
Hee 'lle finde they came out of a Bastardes braine.

Thomas Bastarde has a copy of Latin verses, "In laudem *Annæ Comitissæ Oxoniensis* Carmen," Lansd. MSS. 104.—PARK.]

I will give a specimen from the second part, Sat. 5.

To see Morilla in her coach to ride,
With her long locke of haire vpon one side;
With hatt and feather worn in swaggring gvise,
With buttned boddice, skirted dubblett-wise,
Vnmaskt, and sit i' th' booth without a fanne:
Speake, could you iudge her lesse than be some manne, &c.

Here is the dress of a modern amazon, in what is called a *Riding-habit*. The side-lock of hair, which was common both to men and women, was called the French Lock. So Freeman of a beau, in Rub and a Great Cast, edit. 1614. Epigr. 32.

Beside a long French locke. ——

And Hall, Sat. iii. 7.

His haire French-like stares on his frighted head,
One locke, amazon-like, disheveled.

Hence may be illustrated a passage in a "Letting of Humours blood," &c. printed about 1600. Epigr. 27.

Aske Humors why a feather he doth weare, ——
Or what he doth with such a horse-tail locke.

See also Perrot's Springes for Woodcockes, or Epigrams, 1613, Lib. i. Epigr. i. Of a beau:

And on his shoulder weares a dangling locke.

In B. Rich's Opinion Deified, &c. "Some by wearing a *long locke* that hangs *dangling* by his eare, do think by that louzie commoditie to be esteemed by the opinion of foolery." Lond. 1613. 4to. ch. xxix. p. 53. Again, in Return from Parnassus, 1606, a. iii. s. 2.

Must take tobacco, and must *weare a lock*.

A satirical piece in stanzas, which has considerable merit, called PASQUILL'S MAD-CAP, was printed at London in quarto, for V. S. in the year 1600[l]. With Pasquill's MESSAGE. Also by the same author, perhaps Nicholas Breton, Pasquill's FOOLE-CAP, printed for T. Johnes in the same year, the dedication signed, N. B.* At the end is "Pasquill's passion for the world's waiwardnesse[m]." In the year 1601, was published in duodecimo, "The whipper of the Satyre, his pennance in a white sheete, Or the Beadles Confutation, Imprinted at London, by John Fasket, 1601." And by way of reply, "No whippinge nor trippinge, but a kind of snippinge, London, 1601." Again, "The whipping of the SATYRE, Imprinted at London for John Fasket, 1601[n]." About the same time, as I conjecture, were published, "Epigrams served out in fifty-two severall dishes, for every man to taste without surfeiting. By I. C. gentleman." At London, without date. In 1608, "Epigrams, or Humour's Lottery[o]." The same year, "A Century of Epigrams, by R. W. Bachelor of Arts, Oxon[p]." The same year, "Satyres, by Richard Myddleton, gentleman, of Yorke[q]." In 1619, "Newe Epigrams, having in their Companie a mad satyre, by Joseph

Compare Warburton's note on Much Ado about Nothing, a. v. s. 1. "He wears a key in his ear, and a long lock hanging by it," &c. I add but one more instance, from the character of a Ruffian, or bully. "When without money, his gingling spurre hath last his voyce, his head his *locke*," &c. Whimzies, or a new Cast of Characters, Lond. 1631. 16mo. p. 136.

[l] He says, p. 36.

> And tell prose writers, Stories are so stale,
> That penie ballads make a better sale.

He mentions country-players, p. 31. Pasquill's Mad-cap is applauded in The Whippinge of the Satyre, 1601. Signat. F. 3.

> That Mad-Cap yet superiour praise doth win, &c.

In Dekker's Gul's Horne Book, 1609, we have, "I am the Pasquill's Mad-cappe that will doot." p. 8. "Pasquill's Iests, with the merriments of mother Bunch," were published, Lond. 1629. Bl. lett. 4to. But this I suppose not to have been the first edition. And in reference to Pasquill's Mad-cap, there is, "Old Mad-cappes new gallimaufry, made into a merrie messe of mingle mangle, 1602."

* [Nicholas Breton.]

[m] Under the title of Pasquin, we have also the following coeval pieces. "Pasquill's Mistresse, or the worthie and unworthie woman, 1600.—Pasquill's Passe, and passeth not, set downe in three pees, 1600. [by N. Breton.]—Pasquill's Palinodia, and his Progresse to the taverne, where, after the survey of the Sellar, you are presented with a pleasant pynte of poeticall sherry, 1619."

[n] In duodecimo. It is dedicated to the "Vayne glorious, the Humourist, Satyrist, and Epigrammatist." The writer's initials are I. W. I believe this piece to be a Reply to Rowlands. But in one place he seems to attack Marston. Signat. D. 2.

> But harke, I heare the Cynicke Satyre crie,
> *A man, a man, a kingdom for a man!*

He mentions the fatness of Falstaff. Signat. D. 3.

> That sir John Falstaffe was not any way
> More grosse in body, than you are in brayne.

[o] Entered, April 11, to Busbie and Holme. Registr. Station. C. f. 165 b.

[p] Entered, Apr. 21, to T. Thorpe, Ib. f. 166 a. I take R. W. to be Richard West, who is the author of "Newes from Bartholomew fair," entered to I. Wright, Jul. 16, 1606. Ibid. f. 141 b. I find "Merry Jests, concerning popes, monks, and fryers, from the French, by R. W. Bachelor of Arts, of H. H. [Hart-Hall] Oxon, assigned to John Barnes." Registr. Station. D. f. 11 a.

[q] Entered to Jos. Harrison, May 4. Registr. C. f. 167 a.

Martin, London, for Elde[r]." In 1613, were published two books of epigrams, written by Henry Perrot, entitled, "LAQUEI RIDICULOSI, or Springes for Woodcockes. *Caveat emptor.* Lond. for J. Busbie, 1613[s]." Many of them are worthy to be revived in modern collections. I am tempted to transcribe a specimen.

A Welshman and an Englishman disputed,
Which of their lands[t] maintain'd the greatest state:
The Englishman the Welshman quite confuted;
Yet would the Welshman nought his brags abate;
"Ten cookes in Wales (quoth he) one wedding sees;"
"True (quoth the other)—*Each man toasts his cheese.*"[u]

John Weaver, I believe the antiquary who wrote ANTIENT FUNERAL MONUMENTS, published a book of Epigrams*, in 1599†, or rather

[r] There is a second edition entered to Elde, May 8, 1621. Registr. D. f. 15 a. In 1617, "A paraphrasticke transcript of Juvenal's tenth Satyre, with the tragicall narrative of Virginia's death," is entered, Oct. 14, to N. Newbury. Registr. C. f. 284 b.

[s] In the Latin Dedication, it appears they were written in 1611. Mr. Steevens quotes an edition in 1606. Shaksp. vol. viii. 409.

[t] countries.

[u] Lib. i. Epigr. 9.

Taylor the water poet has mentioned Parrot's Epigrams, in Epigrams, p. 263. fol. edit. Epigr. vii.

My Muse hath vow'd reuenge shall haue her swindge,
To catch a *Parrot* in the woodcockes springe.

See also p. 265. Epigr. xxxi.

* [Mr. Comb of Henley possesses a copy of Weever's Epigrams, which was lent to Mr. Beloe, who has thus given the title in his "Anecdotes of Literature," vol. vi. "Epigrammes in the oldest cut and newest fashion. A twise seven houres, in so many weekes studie. No longer, like the fashion, not unlike to continue. The first seven John Weever. *Sit voluisse sit valuisse.* Lond. by V. S. for Tho. Bushel, 1599." 12mo. Mr. Beloe regards the book as unique, which is probably the case. I therefore extract two specimens. The following commendatory verses are said to be better than the author's own, which are more remarkable, says Mr. B., for quaintness than elegance, for coarseness than for wit.

IN AUTHOREM.

I wish my rough hewne lines might gratifie
The first born of thy pleasing poesie;
These be but blossomes, what will be the fruite
When time and age hath made thee more acute?
Meanwhile, however Momus bite the lippe,
Each man will praise the WEEVER's workmanship.
When witte [wittie] verse is worthily regarded,
Then shall thy verse be thankfully rewarded.

The following sonnet, a tribute to our great dramatic poet, has hitherto been unexplored by his Commentators.

Tenth Week. Epig. 22.

AD GULIELMUM SHAKSPEARE.

Honie-tong'd Shakspeare, when I saw thine issue,
I swore Apollo got them, and none other,
Their rosie-tainted features clothed in tissue,
Some heaven-born goddesse said to be their mother.
Rose-cheeckt *Adonis*, with his amber tresses,
Faire fire-hot Venus charming him to love her:
Chaste *Lucretia*, virgine-like her dresses,
Proud lust-stung Tarquin seeking still to prove her.
Romeo, *Richard*, more whose names I know not,
Their sugred tongues and power attractive beauty,
Say they are saints, although that saints they shew not,
For thousand vowes to them subjective dutie,
They burn in love, thy children: Shakspeare! let them,
Go, wo thy Muse, more nymphish brood beget them.—PARK.]

† [1599, 8vo.—RITSON.]

1600, which are ranked among the best, by Jonson[w]. Thomas Freeman, a student in Magdalen college Oxford, about the year 1607, who appears to have enjoyed the friendship and encouragement of Owen, Shakspeare, Daniel, Donne, Chapman, and Heywood the dramatist, printed in quarto, "RUB AND A GREAT CAST. In one hundred Epigrams, London, 1614[x]." To these is annexed, "RUB AND A GREAT CAST. The second Bowl* in an hundred Epigrams." Both sets are dedicated to Thomas Lord Windsor. Thomas Wroth of Glocester-Hall, Oxford, about 1603, published at London, in quarto, 1620, "An Abortive of an idle Hour, or a century of Epigrams[y]."

To the opening of 1600, I would also assign "The MASTIVE or young Whelpe of the old dogge. Epigrams and Satyres. London, printed by Thomas Creede. In quarto, without date." The Advertisement to the reader is subscribed H. P.[z] We are sure that they were

[w] Jonson's Epigr. xviii. They are in duodecimo, and cited in England's Parnassus, 1600.

[x] I am tempted to give the following specimen of our author's humour, more especially as it displays the growing extent of London, in the year 1614. Sign. B. 3. Epigr. 13.

LONDON'S PROGRESSE.

Quo ruis, ah, demens?

Why how nowe, Babell, whither wilt thou build?
I see old Holborne, Charing-crosse, the Strand,
Are going to Saint Giles's in the field.
Saint Katerne she takes Wapping by the hand,
And Hogsdon will to Hygate ere 't be long.
London is got a great way from the streame,
I thinke she meanes to go to Islington,
To eate a dishe of strawberries and creame.
The City 's sure in *progresse* I surmise,
Or going to revell it in some disorder,
Without the walls, without the Liberties,
Where she neede feare nor Mayor nor Recorder.
Well, say she do, 'twere pretty, yet tis pitty,
A *Middlesex* Bailiff should arrest the *Citty*.

This poetical rant has been verified far beyond the writer's imagination.

* [For this odd title, which would seem to have travelled from the bowling-green, the author assigns a fanciful reason in the following lines :—

Sphæra mihi, calamus; mundi sunt crimina nodi,
Ipse sed est mundus sphæromachia mihi:
Sive manere jubes, lector, seu currere sphæram,
Lusori pariter, curre maneque placent.

Thomas Freeman was a Glocestershire man, and born near Tewkesbury, about 1590. At the age of 16, he became a student at Magd. Coll. Oxon, where he took the degree of B. A. Retiring from thence to London, he set up for a poet, says Wood[1], and was shortly after held in esteem by Daniel Donne, Shakspeare, Chapman, and others. To the poets here named, and also to Spenser's Fairy Queen, and Nash, he appears to have addressed Epigrams; but it is not hence to be affirmed that he was personally acquainted with all of them. The specimen here given of our author's humour, acquaints us, even in his time, that "London itself seemed going out of Town." In the last edition of Mr. Ellis's Specimens, a more favourable instance has been shown of Freeman's poetical talents.—PARK.]

[y] They are mentioned with applause in Stradling's *Epigrammata*, published 1607.

[z] I know not if these initials mean Henry Parrot, an epigrammatist before recited. There is also, "The More the Merrier, containing threescore and odde headlesse Epigrams shott, like the Fools bolt amongst you, light where you will. By H. P. Gent." Lond. 1608. 4to. Who says in his dedication, "Concerning vnsauorie lewdnesse, which many of our Epigrammatists so much affect, I haue esteemed it fitter for Pick-hatch than

[1] Athen. Oxon. i. 398.

at least written after Churchyard's death: for in the third Epigram, the writer says, that Haywood was *held for* EPIGRAMS *the best* when Churchyard wrote[a].

Some of the critics of the author's days are thus described.

> The mending poet takes it next in hand;
> Who hauing oft the verses ouerscan'd,
> "O filching!" straight doth to the stat'ner say,
> "Here's foure lines stolen from my last newe play."—
> Then comes my Innes of court-man in his gowne,
> Cryes, *Mew!* What hackney brovght this wit to towne?
> But soone again my gallant youth is gon,
> Minding the kitchen[b] more than Littleton.
> *Tut* what cares he for law, shall haue inough
> When 's father dyes, that canker'd miser-chuffe.
> Next after him the countrey farmer[c] views it,
> "It may be good, saith he, for those that vse it:
> "Shewe me king ARTHUR, BEUIS, or SIR GUY," &c.[d].

In these days, the young students of the Inns of Court seem to have been the most formidable of the critics[e].

The figure and stratagems of the hungry captain, fresh from abroad, are thus exposed.

> Marke, and you love me. Who 's yond' marching hither?
> Some braue Low-Countrey Captain with his feather,

Powles churchyard." Is H. P. for Henry Peacham? One of the Epigrams (Epig. 51.) in the last-mentioned collection appears, with some little difference only, in Peacham's Minerva, fol. 61. edit. 4to. By one H. P. are "Characters and Cures for the Itch. Characters, Epigrams, Epitaphs." A Ballad-maker is one of the characters, p. 3. London, for T. Jones, 1626, 12mo.

[a] I have some faint remembrance of a collection of Epigrams, by Thomas Harman, about the year 1599. Perhaps he is the same who wrote the following very curious tract, unmentioned by Ames: "A Caueat for common cvrsitors, vulgariter called Vagabondes, set forth by Thomas Harman, esqvier, for the vtilitie and profyt of his naturall countrey. Newly augmented and imprinted Anno domini M. D. LXVII. Imprinted at London in fletestrete, at the signe of the faulcon, by Wylliam Gryffith, and are to be solde at his shoope, in saynt Dunstones churchyard, in the west." A quarto in black letter, with a wooden cut in the title. In the work, is a reference to the first edition in the preceding year, 1566. It is dedicated, with singular impropriety, to Elizabeth countess of Shrewsbury. The writer speaks of his lodgings "at the White fryers within the cloyster." fol. 20 b. This seems to have given rise to another piece of the same sort, unnoticed also by Ames, "The fraternitye of vacabondes, as wel of ruflyng vacabondes, as of beggerly, as women as of men, of gyrles as of boyes, &c. Wherevnto also is adioyned the xxv order of Knaues, &c. Imprinted at London, by Iohn Awdely, dwellyng in little Britayne streete, without Aldersgate, 1575." Bl. let. 4to. [Another edition by the same printer appeared in 1565, which renders Warton's conjecture (that the work was suggested by Harman's book) impossible. See Brit. Bibliograph. vol. ii. p. 12.—PRICE.] These, by the way, are some of the first books exhibiting, not only the tricks, but the language of thieves, which Jonson has introduced into his Masque of Gipsies. Compare Ames, Hist. Pr. p. 423.

[b] They were famous for their entertainments at the inns of court.

[c] country gentleman, yeoman.

[d] Old romances. Sat. ii. Signat. H. 3.

[e] Hence, among a variety of instances, says Marston in the second preface to his Scourge of Villany,—

> Some pedant spruce, or some span-new-come fry,
> Of Inns a-court, striuing to vilefie
> My darke reproofes, &c.

And high-crown'd hat. See, into Paules[f] he goes,
To showe his doublet and Italian hose.
The whiles his Corporal walkes the other ile,
To see what simple gulls he can beguile.[g]

The wars in Spain and the Low-countries filled the metropolis with a set of needy military adventurers, returning from those expeditions, who were a mixture of swaggering and submission, of flattery and ferocity, of cowardice and courage, who assumed a sort of professional magnanimity, yet stooped to the most ignominious insults, who endeavoured to attract the attention of the public by the splendour of martial habiliments, were ready for any adventures of riot and debauchery, and insinuated themselves into favour by hyperbolical narrations of their hazardous achievements. Jonson's Bobadil was of this race of heroic rakes. We have seen one of them admirably described by Marston[h].

In 1600 appeared, a mixture of Satires and Epigrams, "THE LETTING OF HUMOURS BLOOD IN THE HEAD VAINE, with a new morisco daunced by seauen satyrs, upon the bottom of Diogenes tubbe," written by Samuel Rowlands, and printed by William White[i].

In a panegyric on Charnico, a potation mentioned by Shakspeare[k], he alludes to the unfortunate death of three cotemporary poets, two of which are perhaps Green and Marlowe, or perhaps George Peele.

[f] The iles of Saint Paul's church were the fashionable walk.

[g] Sat. iii. Signat. I. 2.

[h] And in another place, B. ii. 7.

What, meanst thou him, that in his swaggering slops
Wallowes vnbraced all along the streete?
He that salvtes each gallant he doth meete,
With, *farewell, capitaine, kind heart*, adew!
He that the last night, tumbling thou didst view,
From out the great man's head[1], and thinking still,
He had been sentinell of warlike Brill, &c.

The *great man's* head, if the true reading, must be a cant-word for the sign of some tavern. Harrington has an Epigram of one getting drunk at the *Saracens head*. B. i. 52. W. Fenner mentions the Saracen's head, without Newgate, and another without Bishopsgate, both famous for ferocity of feature. The Compter's Commonwealth, &c. p. 3. Lond. 1617. 4to. Brill, which we now call The Brill, is a town in the Netherlands. See also Hall, Sat. iv. 4.

And pointed on the shoulders for the nonce,
As new come from the Belgian garrisons.

[i] In small octavo. There is another edition, without date, in small quarto, exhibiting a very different title, "HUMORS ORDINARIE, where a man may be *verie merrie*, and *exceedingly* well vsed for his *six-pence*. At London, Printed for William Firebrand," &c. I know not which is the first of the two. He praises Tarleton the comedian, for his part of the Clowne, and his Clownishe *sloppe*, Epigr. 30. and Pope for his part of the Clowne. Sat. iv. Singer the player is also mentioned. Ibid. One Samuel Rowlands, I know not if the same, has left in verse, "The betraying of Christ, Judas in despair, The Seven wounds of our Saviour on the crosse, with other poems on the Passion," dedicated to sir Nicholas Walsh, knight, 1598, for Adam Islip, in quarto. Under the same name I have seen other religious poems, rather later. See Percy's Ball. iii. 117.

[k] It is called a *sparkling* liquor, in Goddard's Mastif-Whelp, or Satires, no date. Sat. 63. [See Notes to Second Part of Henr. VI. a. ii. s. 3.]

—— —— I will steepe
Thy muddy braines in sparkling CHARNICO.

See Reed's Old Plays, iii. 457.

As for the worthies on his hoste's walle[l],
He knowes three worthy drunkards passe them alle:
The first of them, in many a tauerne tride,
At last subdued by *Aquavitæ* dide:
His second worthy's date was brought to fine,
Freshing with oysters, and braue Rhenish wine.
The third, whom diuers Dutchmen held full deere,
Was stabb'd by pickled herrings and stronge beere.
Well, happy is the man doth rightly know,
The vertue of three cuppes of Charnico![m]

The rotation of fashionable pleasures, and the mode of passing a day of polite dissipation in the metropolis, are thus represented. The speaker is SIR REVELL, who is elegantly dressed in a *dish-crowned* hat and square-toed shoes.

Speake, gentlemen, what shall we do to-day?
Drinke some braue health vpon the Dutch carouse[n],
Or shall we to the GLOBE, and see a play?
Or visit Shoreditch for a bawdie house[o]?
Let 's call for cardes, or dice, and have a game:
To sit thus idle, &c.[p]

In another we have the accomplished fashion-monger[q].

[l] Pictures on the walls of the tavern.

[m] Sat vi. Again, Epigr. 22. Marlowe's end has been before related. Robert Green was killed by a surfeit of pickled herrings and Rhenish wine. This was in 1592. at which fatal banquet Thomas Nash was present. Meres says, that Peele died of the venereal disease. Wit's Tr. f. 285. p. 2. He must have been dead before, or in, 1598.

[n] Marston asks, what a traveller brings from Holland, Cert. Sat. ii.

From Belgia what, but their deep bezeling,
Their boote-carouse, and their beere-buttering?

Again, Sc. of Villan. B. i. 3.

In Cyprian dalliance, and in Belgick cheere.

[o] See George Wither's Abuses stript and whipt, or Satyrical Essayes. Lond. 1615. 12mo. The Scourge, p. 277.

—— —— But here approaches
A troop, with torches hurried in their coaches,
Stay, and behold, what are they? I can tell,
Some bound for Shoreditch, or for Clarkenwell.
O, these are they which thinke that fornication, &c.

See above, p. 448.

[p] Epigr. 7.

[q] I will subjoin the same character from Marston's Scourge of Villanie, which is more witty, but less distinct and circumstantial. B. iii. 11.

This fashion-monger, each morne fore he rise,
Contemplates sute shapes, and once out of bed,
He hath them straight full lively portrayed:
And then he chuckes, and is as proude of this,
As Taphus when he got his neighbours blisse.
All fashions, since the first yeare of the Queene,
May in his study fairly drawne be seene;——
The long fooles coat, the huge slop, the lug'd boote,
From mymick Pyso all doe claime their roote.
O, that the boundlesse power of the soule
Should be coup'd vp in fashioning some roule!

See above, a fantastic beau by Hall, p. 423.

Behold a most accomplish'd cavaleere,
That the world's ape of fashions doth appeare!
Walking the streets, his humour to disclose,
In the French doublet, and the German hose:
The muffe, cloak, Spanish hat, Toledo blade,
Italian ruffe, a shoe right Flemish made:
Lord of misrule, where'er he comes he 'll revell, &c.[r]

In another, of a beau still more affected, he says,

How rare his spurres do ring the morris dance[s]!

One of the swaggerers of the times, who in his rambles about the town, visits the Royal Exchange as a mercantile traveller, is not unluckily delineated.

Sometimes into the Royal 'Change he 'll droppe,
Clad in the ruines of a broker's shoppe.
And there his tongue runs byass on affaires,
No talk, but of commodities and wares.—
If newes be harken'd for, then he prevayles,
Setting his mynt at worke to coyne new tayles[t].—
He 'll tell you of a tree that he doth knowe,
Vpon the which rapiers and daggers growe,
As good as Fleetstrete hath in any shoppe,
Which being ripe downe into scabbards droppe.—
His wondrous trauells challenge such renowne,
That Sir Iohn Mandeuille is qvite pvt downe[u].
Men without heads, and pigmies hand breadth hie,
Those, with no legges, that on their backs do lie;

[r] Epigr. 25.

[s] Epigr. 32. Boots were a mark of dignity or elegance, ibid. Epigr. 8.

He scornes to walke in Powles without his bootes.

[t] Hall has a character partly resembling this, Sat. vi. 1.

Tattelius, the new-come traueller,
With his disguised coate, and ringed ear,
Trampling the bourse's marble twice a day,
Tells nothing but starke truths, I dare well say, &c.

The *bourse's marble* is the pavement of the Royal Exchange, now newly erected by sir Thomas Gresham. The Royal Exchange seems to have been frequented by hungry walkers as well as saint Pauls, from Robert Hayman's *Quodlibets*, or Epigrams, &c. Lond. 1628. 4to. Epigr. 35. p. 6.

To Sir Pearce Pennilesse.

Though little coyne thy purselesse pockets lyne,
Yet with great company thou 'rt taken vp;
For often with duke Humfray thou dost dyne,
And often with sir Thomas Gresham sup.

[u] Hall alludes to sir John Mandeville's Travels, a book not yet out of vogue. Sat. B. iv. 6.

Or whetstone leesings of old Mandeuille.

And in the Irish Banquet, or the Mayors Feast of Youghall, certain pieces of this age parabolized in T. Scot's Philomythie, printed in 1606. 8vo. Signat. M. 2.

Of Ladies loues, of Turnaics, and such sights
As Mandeville nere saw.——

I have "The Spanish Mandevile of Miracles, translated from the Spanish," Lond. 1618. 4to. The Dedication, to lord Buckhurst, is dated 1600.

Or[w], do the weather's iniurie sustaine,
Making their leggs a penthouse for the raine.[x]

Gabriel Harvey, in his Four Letters printed in 1592, quotes some English hexameters, from "those vnsatyrical Satyres, which Mr. Spenser long since embraced in an overloving sonnet[y]." This passage seems to indicate a set of satires, now unknown, to which Spenser had prefixed the undeserved honour of a recommendatory sonnet, now equally forgotten.

Meres, who wrote in 1598, observes, "As Horace, Lucilius, Juvenal, Persius, and Lucullus, are the best for SATYRE among the Latins, so with us, in the same faculty these are chiefe: PIERS PLOWMAN, Lodge, Hall of Emanuel colledge in Cambridge, the author of PIGMALION'S IMAGE AND CERTAINE SATYRES[z], the author of SKIALETHIA[a]." And in another place, having cited some of Marston's satires, he adds Rankins as a satirist[b]. I have never elsewhere seen the name of Rankins. Nor have I seen Lodge's Satires, unless his "ALARUM AGAINST USURERS, containing tried experiences against worldly abuses," and its appendix, his History of Forbonius and Prisæria, printed at London in 1584, may be considered under that character*.

Wood also, a great dealer in the works of our old minor poets, yet at the same time a frequent transcriber from Meres, still more embarrasses this matter, where he says, that Lodge, after he left Trinity college at Oxford, about the year 1576, and "had spent some time in exercising his fancy among the poets in the great city, was esteemed, not Joseph Hall of Emanuel college excepted, the best for satyr among English men[c]." Lodge was fitted for a different mode of composition. He was chiefly noted for pastorals, madrigals, and sonnets; and for his EUPHUES GOLDEN LEGACY, which furnished the plot of the AS YOU LIKE IT of Shakspeare. In an extended acceptation, many of the prose-pamphlets written about this period by Greene and Decker, which paint or expose popular foibles and fashions, particularly Decker's GUL'S HORNBOOK, a manual or directory for initiating an unexperienced spendthrift into the gaieties of the metropolis, might claim the appellation of satires[d]. That the rage of writing satires, and satirical

[w] Or those, who having legs, and lying on their backs, &c.

[x] Sat. i. In these Satires, Monsieur Domingo a drunkard is mentioned, Epigr. i. See Shaksp. Second Part of Hen. IV. a. v. s. 3.

[y] Let. iii. p. 44.

[z] Marston's Scourge of Villanie had not yet appeared.

[a] Fol. 282. 2.

[b] Fol. 277. [William Rankins wrote "Seven Satires," &c. Printed in 1596.—RITSON.]

* [The work alluded to by Meres, was Lodge's "Fig for Momus, 4to," noticed above.—PRICE.]

[c] Ath. Oxon. i. 493.

[d] Harrington in his Epigrams, mentions the Satires of a poet whom he often attacks under the name of Lynus, B. i. 67.

His Distickes, Satyres, Sonnets and Hexameters,
His Epigrams, his Lyricks, and Pentameters.

And again, he has an Epigram "Against a foolish Satyrist, called Lynus." B. i. 14. See also, B. i. 41.

epigrams, continued long, will appear from a piece of some humour, called "An Inquisition against Paper-persecutors," written in 1625[e]. But of this, more distinct proofs will appear in the progress of our history.

It must not be forgotten, that a second impression of an English version of Ariosto's Satires, which contain many anecdotes of his life and circumstances, and some humorous tales, and which are marked with a strong vein of free reprehension, but with much less obscenity than might be expected from satires written by the author of ORLANDO FURIOSO, appeared in long verse, by an anonymous translator, in 1611[f]. I believe these satires are but little known or esteemed by the Italians.

For the sake of juxtaposition, I will here anticipate in throwing together the titles of some others of the most remarkable collections of satires and satirical epigrams, published between 1600 and 1620, mean-

[e] By A. H. Lond. for H. H. 1625. p. 1. At the end of "A Scourge for Paper-persecutors, by I. D."

And shall it still be so? Nor is't more hard
To repaire Paul's, than to mend Paul's church-yard?
Still shall the youths that walk the middle ile,
To whet their stomacks before meales, compile
Their sudden volumes, and be neuer barr'd
From scattering their bastards through the yard? . . . . .
. . . . . It is no wonder,
That Paul's so often hath beene strucke with thunder;
'Twas aimed at those shops, in which there lie
Such a confvsed heape of trumperie,
Whose titles each terme on the posts are rear'd,
In such abundance, it is to be fear'd
That they in time, if thus they go on, will
Not only LITTLE but GREAT Britain fill
With their infectious swarmes, whose guilty sheetes
I haue obserued walking in the streetes;
Still lurking neare some church, as if hereby
They had retired to a sanctuary,
For murdering paper so. . . . .
. . . . . Each drincking lozell nowe,
That hath but seen a colledge, and knows howe, &c.

After having censured those who versified the Bible, and made it all apocryphal, but with a compliment to the translators of Du Bartas, he adds,

Others that neie search'd newe-born vice at all,
But the Seuen Deadly Sinnes in generall,
Drawne from the tractate of some cloyster'd frier,
Will needs write Satyres, and in raging fire
Exasperate their sharpe poeticke straine;
And thinke they haue touch'd it, if they raile at Spaine,
The pope, and devill. . . . .

The reader will recollect, that Saint Paul's church-yard and its environs, in which was Little-Britain, abounded with shops and stalls of booksellers; that its steeple was thrown down by lightning, in 1561; and that a general reparation of the church was now become a great object of the nation.

[f] "Ariosto's Seven Planets gouerning Italie. Or, his Satyrs in seuen famous discourses, &c. Newly corrected and augmented, &c. With a new edition of three most excellent Elegies, written by the same Lodovico Ariosto." By W. Stansby, 1611. 4to. I believe this title gave rise to the following:—"A Booke of the seuen planets, or seuen wandring motions of William Alablaster's wit, retrograded or removed by John Raester." Lond. 1598. 4to. There is an edition of this translation of Ariosto's Satires, 1608. See supr. p. 388.

It is more certain that Ariosto's title gave rise to "The Philosophers Satyrs, or the Philosophers Seven Satyrs, alluding to the seuen Planets," &c. By Robert Anton of Magdalene college, Cambridge. Lond. 1616. 4to. It may be sufficient to have mentioned these Satires here. [In 1617 they were entitled "Vices Anatomie scourged and corrected, in new Satires lately written by R. A. of Magdalen College, Cambridge."—PARK.]

ing to consider hereafter those that best deserve, more critically and distinctly[g]. *The* COURT OF CONSCIENCE, *or Dick Whipper's Sessions**, appeared in 1607. *More fooles yet*, a collection of Epigrams in quarto, by R. S., perhaps Richard Smith†, in 1610. *The most elegant and wittie Epigrams* of sir James Harrington, the translator of Ariosto, in four books, in 1611[h]. Jonson's EPIGRAMS, in 1616[i]. Henry Fitzgeoffrey's SATIRES in 1617[j]. PHILOMYTHIE or PHILOMYTHOLOGIE, *wherein outlandish birds, beasts, and fishes, are taught to speake true English plainely, By* T. SCOT, *gentleman*, including satires in long English verse, in 1616[k]. *The second part of* PHILOMYTHIE, *containing certaine Tales of True Libertie, False Friendship, Power United, Faction and Ambition*, by the same, 1616[l]. *Certaine Pieces of this age parabolized*, by the same, in 1616[m]. George Wither, of Manydowne in Hampshire, educated at Magdalene College in Oxford, and at Lincoln's inn, afterwards an officer in Cromwell's army, and popular even among the puritans as a poet, published ABUSES *stript and whipt*, or *Satyricall Essayes. Divided into two Bookes*, in 1613[n]. For this publication,

[g] I have seen "N. Britland's Boure of Delight, containing Epigrams, Pastorals, Sonnets," &c. Printed for W. Jones, 1597. But these Epigrams do not so properly belong to the class before us. The same may be said of the Epigrams of George Turberville, and some few others.

* [With a Dedication signed Richard West.—PARK.]

† [Mr. Warton's copy, or that which he had seen, was probably imperfect; since the name of Roger Sharpe unveils the initials in the title-page.—PARK.]

[h] Many of Harrington's Epigrams were certainly written before. Perhaps there was an older edition. In Fitz-geoffrey's Latin Epigrams, called *Affaniæ*, published 1601, there is an Epigram to Harrington, with these lines, preferring him to Haywood or Davies, as an English epigrammatist. Signat. B. 3.

Sive arguta vago flectas epigrammata torno,
Sive Britanna magis sive Latina velis;
At tu Biblidicis malis comes ire Camenis,
Illis HAYWOODOS DAVISIOSQUE præis.

And in sir John Stradling's Epigrams, published 1607, there is one to Harrington with this title, Lib. i. p. 32. "Ad D. I. Harrington, Equitem doctissimum, de quibusdam epigrammatis Stradlingo, equiti, dono missis, 1590." And in Stradling's epigrams, we have two of Harrington's translated into Latin.

[A MS. copy of Harrington's Epigrams, in the Public Library Cambridge, contains nine or ten epigrams which had not appeared in print till they were inserted by Mr. Reed in the European Magazine for Jan. 1789. The above MS. copy bears date 1600. But I have not seen any printed copy with an earlier date than 1615.—PARK.]

[i] Jonson's epigrams, as we have seen, are mentioned with Davies's, by Fitzgeoffrey, 1601. Affan. Lib. ii. Signat. E. 4.

DAVISIOS lædis mihi, JONSONIOSQUE lacessis.

Of this the first Davies, Harrington says, "This Haywood [the epigrammatist] for his prouerbs and epigrams is not yet put down by any of our country, though one [Davies *in the margin*] doth indeede come neare him, that graces him the more in saying he put him downe," &c.—"A new Discovrse of a stale svbiect, called the Metamorphosis of Ajax," &c. Printed 1596. 12mo. Signat. D. 2. Again, "But as my good friend M. Davies saide of his Epigrams, that they were made like doublets in Birchen-lane, for euery one whom they will serue," &c. Ibid. Signat. I.

[j] In Hayman's *Quodlibets*, or Epigrams, there is one, "To the reverend, learned, and acute, Master Charles Fitz-Geoffrey, bachelor in diuinity, my especiall kind friend, and most excellent poet." He compares him to Homer, being blind of one eye. B. i. 111. p. 18. This was Charles the author of the Latin Epigrams, above-mentioned.

[k] This is a second edition, "much inlarged," Lond. For Francis Constable, &c. Svo.

[l] For Constable, ut supr.

[m] Lond. Printed by E. Griffin, for F. Constable, &c. 8vo. I suppose these two last to be second editions.

[n] Three editions soon followed, 1614, 1615, 1622, 8vo.

which was too licentious in attacking establishments, and has a vein of severity unseasoned by wit, he suffered an imprisonment for many months in the Marshalsea. Not being debarred the use of paper, pens and ink*, he wrote during his confinement, an apology to James the First, under the title of A SATYRE, printed the following year, for his censures of the government in his first book. But, like Prynne in the pillory railing at the bishops, instead of the lenient language of recantation and concession, in this piece he still perseveres in his invectives against the court[o]. Being taken prisoner in the rebellion by the royalists, he was sentenced to be hanged; but sir John Denham the poet prevailed with the king to spare his life, by telling his majesty, *So long as Wither lives, I shall not be the worst poet in England.* The revenge of our satirist was held so cheap, that he was lampooned by Taylor the water-poet[p]. Richard Brathwayte, a native of Northumberland, admitted at Oriel college, Oxford, in 1604, and afterwards a student at

* [Such was the unsubdued addiction of Wither to poetical composition, that when he was debarred the use of paper, pens, and ink, during a subsequent confinement in the Tower, he continued to write verses with ochre on three trenchers, which he afterwards printed in a tract entitled "A Proclamation," &c. See the Brit. Bibliogr. p. 434.—PRICE.]

[o] Reprinted 1615, 1622, 8vo.

[p] The titles of Wither's numerous pieces may be seen in Wood, Ath. Oxon. i. 392. seq. He was born in 1588, and died in 1667. He has left some anecdotes of the early part of his life, in the first book of his Abuses. The Occasion, p. 1. seq. In Hayman's Epigrams, 1628, there is one, "To the accute Satyrist, Master George Wither." Epigr. 20. And 21. p. 61.

Here might be mentioned, "Essayes and Characters, ironicall and instructive, &c. By John Stephens the younger, of Lincolnes inne, Gent." Lond. 1615. 12mo. Mine is a second impression. Many of the Essayes are Satires in verse.

There is also a collection of Satyrical poems called the Knave of Clubbs, 1611. another, the Knave of Harts, 1612. and More Knaves yet, the Knaves of Spades and Diamonds; with new additions, 1612. 4to. Among Mr. Capell's Shaksperiana, at Trinity college, Cambridge, are "Dobson's Dry Bobs," 1610. bl. lett. 4to. and Heath's Epigrams, 1610. 8vo.

[Those Epigrammatic Knaves appear to have been the fabrication of Samuel Rowlands. The first of them has his initials, and consists of satirical characters. The second is undesignated, and comprises Knaves of all kinds, with several sarcastic appendages. The third has an introductory Epistle, with the name of this versatile author at length, and chiefly is composed of Epigrams or Proverbs, but not at all on the plan of ancient Heywood. The following specimen, though very hyperbolical, will exhibit the prevalence of certain fashions in the age of our first James.

To *Madam* MASKE or *Francis* FAN.

When men amazed at their busines stood,
A speech was used, "Faith, I am in a wood."
To make an end of that same wooden phrase,
There 's order taken for it now adaies,
To cut downe wood with all the speed they can,
Transforming trees to maintaine Maske and Fan:
So that the former speech being errour tried,
A new way turn'd it must be verified.
My ladies worship, ev'n from head to foot,
Is in a wood; nay, scarse two woods will doo 't:
To such a height Lucifer's sinne is growne,
The devill, pride, and Maddam are all one.
Rents rais'd, woods sold, house-keeping laid aside,
In all things sparing, for to spend on pride:
The poore complaining country thus doth say—
"Our fathers lopt the boughs of trees away:
We, that more skill of greedy gaine have found,
Cut down the bodies levill with the ground:
The age that after our date shall succeed,
Will dig up roots and all to serve their need." Sig. F. 1.

The Knave of Hearts is made to say, that "the idle-headed French devis'd cards first."—PARK.]

Cambridge, chiefly remembered, if remembered at all, as one of the minor pastoral poets of the reign of James the First, published in 1619, "NATVRES embassie, or the Wilde-mans measures, danced naked, by twelve Satyres, with sundry others," &c.[q].—Donne's SATIRES were written early in the reign of James the First, though they were not published till after his death, in the year 1633. Jonson sends one of his Epigrams to Lucy Countess of Bedford, with Mr. DONNES SATYRES[r]. It is conjectured by Wood, that a lively satirical piece, on the literature of the times, which I have already cited, with Donne's initials, and connected with another poem of the same cast, is one of Donne's juvenile performances. I had supposed John Davies*. But I will again exhibit the whole title of the Bodleian edition:—"A Scourge for paper-persecutors, by I. D. With an Inquisition against paper-persecutors, by A. H. London, for H. H. 1625," in quarto. But Wood had seen a detached edition of the former piece. He says, "Quære, whether John Donne published *A Scourge for Paper Persecutors*, printed in quarto, tempore Jacobi primi. The running title at the top of every page is PAPER'S COMPLAINT, in three sheets and a half. The date on the title pared out at the bottom[s]." This must have been an older edition, than that in which it appears connected, from similarity of subject, with its companion, *An Inquisition against paper-persecutors*, in the year 1625, as I have just noticed.

[q] For R. Whitcher, 12mo. They were reprinted for the same, 1621. 12mo. In his satire on Adulterie, are these lines, p. 30:

And when you haue no favours to bestow,
Lookes are the lures which drawe Affection's bow.

To these pieces is annexed, "The second Section of Divine and Morall Satyres," &c. This is dedicated to S. W. C. by R. B. See also Brathwayte's *Strappado for the Devil*, 1615. 8vo.

[r] Epigr. xciii. See xcvi. Though Jonson's Epigrams were printed in 1616, many were written long before. And among Freeman's Epigrams, Run and a Great Cast, 1614, we have the following. Epigr. 84.

TO JOHN DONNE.

The STORME described hath set thy name afloat,
Thy CALME a gale of famous winde hath got:
Thy SATYRS short too soone we them o'erlook,
I prithee, Persius, write another booke!

* [Mr. Warton's supposition was better founded than the conjecture of Wood. Davies of Hereford was the undoubted author of this piece, since it was first printed in his "Scourge of Folly" about the year 1612.—PARK.]

[s] Ath. Oxon. i. 556. [See above, p. 462.] He thus ridicules the minute commemorations of unhistorical occurrences in the Chronicles of Hollinshead and Stowe. Signat. B. 3.

Some chroniclers that write of kingdoms' states,
Do so absurdly sableize my white
With maskes, and interludes, by day and night,
Bald may games, beare baytings, and poore orations,
Made to some prince, by some poore corporations.
And if a bricke-bat from a chimney falls,
When puffing Boreas nere so little bralls;
Or wanton rig, or leacher dissolute,
Doe stand at Paules-crosse in a sheeten sute:
All these, and thousand such like toyes as these,
They close in Chronicles like butterflies,
And so confound grave matters of estate
With plaies of poppets, and I know not what.——
Ah, good sir Thomas More, fame be with thee,
Thy hand did blesse the English historie!

* * * * * * * * * *

As also when the weathercock of Paules
Amended was, this chronicler enroules,
&c.——

Owen's idea of an epigram points out the notion which now prevailed of this kind of composition, and shows the propriety of blending the epigrams and satires of these times under one class. A satire, he says, is an epigram on a larger scale. Epigrams are only satires in miniature. An epigram must be satirical, and a satire epigrammatical[t]. And Jonson, in the Dedication of his EPIGRAMS to Lord Pembroke, was so far from viewing this species of verse, in its original plan, as the most harmless and inoffensive species of verse, that he supposes it to be conversant above *the likenesse of vice and facts*, and is conscious that epigrams *carry danger in the sound.* Yet in one of his epigrams, addressed TO THE MEERE ENGLISH CENSVRER, he professes not exactly to follow the track of the late and most celebrated epigrammatists.

To thee my way in EPIGRAMMES seemes newe,
When both it is the old way and the true.
Thou saist that cannot be: for thou hast seene
DAVIS, and WEEVER, and the BEST have BEENE,
And mine come nothing like, &c.[u]

This, however, discovers the opinion of the general reader*.

Of the popularity of the epigram about the year 1600, if no specimens had remained, a proof may be drawn, together with evidences of the nature of the composition, from Marston's humorous character of Tuscus, a retailer of wit.

But roome for Tuscus, that iest-moungering youth,
Who neer did ope his apish gerning mouth,
But to retaile and broke another's wit.
Discourse of what you will, he straight can fit

[t] Robert Hayman above quoted thus recommends his own Epigrams. *Quodlibets*, B. iv. 19. p. 61.

Epigrams are like Satyrs, rough without,
Like chesnuts sweet; take thou the kernell out.

[u] Epigr. xviii. Freeman also celebrates Davis, Run and a Great Cast, 1614. 4to. Epigr. 100.

Haywood wrote Epigrams, and so did Davis,
Reader, thou doubtest *utrum horum mavis.*

[The following celebration of the same Epigrammatists occurs in Sloan. MSS. 1889.

HAIWOOD and DAVIS, I avouch your writt
Famous for art, invention, and witt.
In you itt seem'd, by each your learned scrowle,
Successively descended Martiall's soule.
Compard to you, wee sluttish are and fowle,
Fearing the light, like the deformed owle:
Our bastard eglets dare not see the sun
So boldly as your true-borne babes have donne.
Yet bee it knowne, wee dare look tow'rds the light,
Though not like you, nor in so great a height.

MSS. Sloan. 1489. 1889. 1947.—PARK.]

In Dunbar's Latin Epigrams, published 1616, there is a compliment to Davies of Hereford, author of the Scourge of Folly, as a Satirist or Epigrammatist. Cent. xx. p. 66.

* [Hust, in his "Clara Stella," has the following odd tribute, addressed "To one that asked me why I would write an English epigram *after* Ben Jonson."

How! dost thou ask me why my ventrous pen
Durst write an English epigram after Ben?
Oh! *after* him is manners:—though it would
'Fore him have writ, if how it could have told.

Hust's Cl. St. 1650. p. 33.—PARK.]

Your present talke, with, *Sir, I'll tell a iest,*—
Of some sweet ladie, or grand lord at least.
Then on he goes, and neer his tongue shall lie,
Till his ingrossed iests are all drawne dry:
But then as dumbe as Maurus, when at play,
Hath lost his crownes, and paun'd his trim array.
He doth nought but retaile iests: breake but one,
Out flies his table-booke, let him alone,
He'll haue it i' faith: Lad, hast an EPIGRAM,
Wil't haue it put into the chaps of Fame?
Giue Tuscus copies; sooth, as his own wit,
His proper issue, he will father it, &c.[w]

And the same author says, in his Postscript to PIGMALION,

Now by the whyppes of EPIGRAMMATISTS,
I'll not be lash'd. .....

One of Harrington's Epigrams is a comparison of the Sonnet and the Epigram.

Once by mishap two poets fell a squaring,
The Sonnet and our Epigram comparing.
And Faustus hauing long demur'd vpon it
Yet at the last gaue sentence for the Sonnet.
Now, for such censvre, this his chiefe defence is,
Their sugred tast best likes his likrous senses.
Well, though I grant sugar may please the tast,
Yet let my verse haue salt to make it last[x].

In the RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, acted 1616*, perhaps written some time before, Sir Roderick says, "I hope at length England will be wise enough: then an old knight may haue his wench in a corner, without any SATIRES or EPIGRAMS[y]." In Decker's VNTRUSSING OF THE HUMOROUS POET, Horace, that is Jonson, exclaims in a passion, "Sirrah! I'll compose an EPIGRAM vpon him shall go thus ....[z]."

[w] Sc. Villan. B. iii. 11.

[x] Epigr. B. i. 37.

* [Or rather in 1602, and printed in 1606.—PARK.]

[y] A. ii. S. 2.

[z] Edit. 1602. Sign. C. 2. Again, ibid. "Heere be Epigrams upon Tucca." E. 3. "They are bitter Epigrams composed on you by Horace." F. 3. "A gentleman, or honest citizen, shall not sit in your pennie-bench theaters with his squirrell by his side cracking nuttes, but he shall be satyred and epigrammed upon," &c. H. 3. "It shall not be the *whippinge o' th' satyre* nor the whipping of the blind beare," &c. L. 3. "He says here, you diuulged my Epigrams." H. "And that same Pasquills-madcap nibble," &c. A.

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N.B. In Mr. Price's addition to note [p] in page xxvi, a reference should be made to note 131 of his Preface, page (63).

Note on some late Publications relating to Anglo-Saxon Poetry and Literature.

In the "Historical Sketch of the progress and present state of Anglo-Saxon Literature in England," the account which the author, Mr. Petheram, has put on record (chap. viii. p. 141), with regard to the project of the "Bibliotheca Saxonica," requires notice, as not being founded on correct information. This plan neither "originated with foreign scholars, nor with Dr. Grundtvig of Copenhagen." In the prospectus issued at the end of the year 1830 by Dr. Grundtvig, that gentleman indeed assigns to himself the whole field of Anglo-Saxon literature, induced to come forward, as he states, by the booksellers, "without whose application," he adds, "I should never have ventured to come before the English public in the capacity of an advocate, as it were, for my poor unhappy *brethren*, those early Anglo-Saxon poets and divines who, for more than a thousand years, have been confined in those dark prison-

houses which in this country I understand are so expressively termed *Presses*. But, during the two last summers, which, by the liberal support of the Danish government, I have spent in England, engaged in the examination of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, it has been my good fortune to become acquainted with the most eminent native Anglo-Saxon scholars; and though *I could not but regret* that they were no way likely to engage in any edition of these works themselves, I take a pride in stating that they are willing and eager to recommend an edition undertaken by me."

Now the fact is, that so far from Dr. Grundtvig having any grounds for stating that "the native Anglo-Saxon scholars were no way likely to engage in any edition of these works themselves," he himself, some months previous to the issuing of his Prospectus, had been present when the establishment of the Society for that very purpose was set on foot; it being, however, at the same time agreed that a proposal should first be submitted to the Society of Antiquaries to engage in the undertaking, as stated in the prospectus issued by the Council of the Society, and inserted in p. 142 of Mr. Petheram's work. If, therefore, Dr. Grundtvig's "plan was superseded by the announcement of a similar one by the Society of Antiquaries," it was because, without having made any communication on the subject, he announced himself as the sole and entire executor of the plan previously arranged, to the exclusion of those who had looked to him as an associate.

With respect even to Dr. Grundtvig's title, "Bibliotheca Anglo-Saxonica," it was precisely that which Mr. Thorpe had proposed whilst also residing at Copenhagen in 1829.

Dr. Grundtvig's prospectus has the following passage, p. 13, respecting Layamon: "Tolerably well read as I am in the rhyming chronicles, both of this country and of others, I have found Layamon's beyond comparison the most lofty and animated in its style,—at every moment reminding the reader of the splendid phraseology of Anglo-Saxon verse, and containing not a few passages which I would have been glad to have written *myself*."

It may be questioned whether Mr. Petheram has any just grounds for intimating that the zeal of the Society of Antiquaries, with regard to this undertaking, had cooled. Labours, such as the transcribing, translating, and satisfactorily illustrating and editing of Layamon, and the *Codex Exoniensis*, although in such able hands as those of Sir F. Madden and of Mr. Thorpe, necessarily require a considerable time for their execution. Little encouragement indeed has been afforded by the public; but the most generous support has been given by one, whose zeal and munificence are well known in the Society.

Something should be said of the Anglo-Saxon poetry in the Vercelli MS. The transcript of it was made by order of the late Record Commission, and upon its arrival was sent by Mr. Cooper to Mr. Thorpe, who, on perusal, found it to consist partly of homilies,—most, if not all of which, were already extant in our public libraries;—and partly of the metrical pieces afterwards printed as Appendix B. to the Report on Rymer. This Report (on the cessation of the Commission, in consequence of the death of William IV.) shared the fate of its other publications—victims of Parliamentary caprice and mismanagement. Some few copies of the Appendix had, however, been given away as

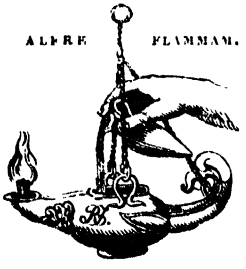
presents, from one of which Dr. James Grimm published the two principal poems contained in the collection, under the following title:—"Andreas und Elene: herausgegeben von Jac. Grimm. Cassel. 1840."

Mr. Petheram errs in ascribing the *metrical* version of the Ode on Athelstan's Victory in "Ellis's Specimens" to Mr. Henshall. It was the *prose* version, or rather perversion, and "the learned notes", which that eccentric person contributed (see vol. i. pp. lxxii., lxxvi.). The metrical version Mr. Ellis ascribes to an Eton school-boy, and states, that it was intended as an imitation of the style of the fourteenth century.

It is strange also, that Mr. Petheram should give serious credit to what he terms "a vile conspiracy" against poor Henshall. It is utterly improbable that so strenuous and jovial a denouncer of presbyterians and jacobins should in 1798 have been selected as the object of a persecution, in which the British Critic, the Gentleman's Magazine, the Antijacobin, and the Analytical Review, all conspired. Surely, the ludicrously confident manner in which the rector of Bow gave out his random guesses at the meaning of words, founded on any resemblance that might strike his eye or ear,—his denial that the Saxon language had any grammatical construction, solely because he was ignorant of it,—and the contempt which he expressed for the labours of others,—may be considered as sufficient to account for the judgements of the critics, without giving credence to his complaint of a conspiracy. That he should have obtained credit with any, is but a proof of the low state of Saxon studies in England at the time of his publications.—R. T.

THE END.

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