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THE YEAR'S WORK IN ENGLISH STUDIES

VOLUME XXI

1940

Edited for

The English Association

BY

FREDERICK S. BOAS

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PREFACE

WITH the publication of this Volume *The Year's Work in English Studies* reaches its coming-of-age. It is of interest to record that during the twenty-one years of its existence it has enlisted forty-three specialist contributors, connected with twenty-six Universities, University Colleges, and Learned Societies and Institutions. There have been four Editors, singly or in collaboration—Sir Sidney Lee, C. H. Herford, Mary S. Serjeantson, and the present Editor, to whom it is a satisfaction to have been a contributor from Volume I onwards.

It is noticeable that during this period, while magazines of a general literary type have become fewer, there has been a considerable increase in periodicals of a specialized and academic character. The scope of *The Year's Work*'s survey has thus been widened, and the number of publications in 1940, the first full year of the present War, requiring notice has been unexpectedly large. To these have had to be added some 1939 publications which, for reasons there stated, had to be omitted from Volume XX.

War-time conditions have necessitated some changes in the *personnel* of the contributors. Dr. F. E. Budd, now holding a Government post, is unable at present to continue his valuable services to *The Year's Work*. His place as contributor of Chapter I has been taken by Miss Ellis-Fermor, and of 'The Restoration' chapter by Miss Beatrice White, respectively Readers of English Language and Literature in the University of London, at Bedford and Westfield Colleges. Professor Wrenn again was prevented by present circumstances from providing the Philology chapter. This has been undertaken by Miss Dorothy Whitelock, Lecturer at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, who has dealt with books published in 1939 and 1940. Owing to limitations of time, and to the difficulty of obtaining overseas periodicals she has not included notices of articles in this chapter, which is now more precisely entitled 'English Language: General Works'. Dr. McIlwraith is still in Istanbul and the 'Poetry and Prose of the Later Tudor Period' have been dealt with by his Liverpool colleague, Mr. Arnold Davenport, who has surveyed the publications of both 1939 and 1940. The occasion has been taken of

making this and 'The Earlier Stuart Age and the Commonwealth' separate chapters instead of sections. The Association and the Editor are fortunate in finding such highly-qualified contributors to fill the vacancies due to the War.

F. S. B.

ABBREVIATIONS

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

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I

LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM: GENERAL WORKS

By Una M. Ellis-Fermor

An Anatomy of Inspiration[1] by Rosamund Harding, one of the few general critical works to be noticed in this chapter, is an attempt to classify (not merely to collect) the existing data relating to the 'mind in creation'. It is from the imaginative element in the author's scientific thought that the book derives its claim to be considered not merely as a clear, systematic, brief investigation of certain phenomena, but as a grouping of data which makes, simultaneously with its lucid exposition of categories and processes, an interpretation by implication of the nature and even at times of the significance of those processes.

There is a welcome absence here of speculation on the artistic process. Miss Harding's book does something at once more modest and more serviceable; it collects together a fairly extensive body of evidence from records left by the creative thinkers themselves and makes a few temperate deductions. For the most part the author is content to reveal her interpretation implicitly, by arrangement and classification, by her sympathetic and imaginative relating of data, and in her use of individual statements to illuminate each other and the whole.

The material thus collected from letters, journals, diaries, or more official pronouncements is grouped in five main chapters; poets and musicians contribute the greater part, but painters, sculptors, and men of science have their share. First comes the stage of 'preparation'; all, that is, which makes up the largely unconscious predisposing of the mind for inspiration. Following this is the chapter on 'The Appearance of Inspiration'; the propitious conditions and states of mind, the accompanying phenomena. Next is the chapter on 'General Procedure', the evidence as to the ways in which various artists and men of science have availed themselves of inspiration or even stimulated it. Two chapters on 'Special Procedure' distinguish the evidence

[1] *An Anatomy of Inspiration*, by Rosamund E. M. Harding. Cambridge: Heffer. pp. x+118. 4*s*. 6*d*.

for certain forms of creative thought, for novel-writing, poetry, music, painting, and scientific research and discovery. These are followed by a conclusion which is in the main a summary of the evidence and deductions so far made, with some interesting comments on the nature of imaginative truth. There is, finally, a very useful bibliography which often serves the reader better as an index than the index itself.

The author draws, as was said, upon the records of their own processes left by creative thinkers, poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, and imaginative scientists, giving, as is fit, actual quotations whenever possible. One or two areas of the field are perhaps too scantily examined; the illuminating side-lights on the nature of the artistic process which often slip from an artist (such as Matthew Arnold) when primarily engaged only in literary criticism, and the large body of evidence as, for instance, in the letters and journals of Hebbel, Ibsen, and Tchekov, on the special process of the dramatist. The second is the more serious in that drama is one of the most significant and exacting of poetic forms and more deserving of consideration than the novel, which is treated specially. But these are only specific omissions, and Miss Harding explains that the book is 'an attempt on a very modest scale . . . a sketch for the picture which the author hopes may one day be completed'. What is of more importance, in a work of this size, is that a task demanding scrupulous sensitiveness and precision has been approached with respect and yet with firmness. The author's conclusions are subordinated to the presentation of evidence, yet the orderly presentation of that evidence indicates that constant and sympathetic consideration has been given to the underlying laws that the evidence reveals.

What is of peculiar interest to the student of literature is the harmony of all the groups of evidence as to the operation of the creative power; the accounts of their artistic experience left by painters and musicians could be applied, with a minimal change of phrase, to that of the poet, and are as nearly akin to those of the man of science.

The Divine Science[2] is almost opposite in kind and approach to Miss Harding's *Inspiration*, attributing considerable—some

[2] *The Divine Science: The Aesthetic of some representative Seventeenth-century English Poets*, by Leah Jonas. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xii + 292. 15*s*.

critics would consider undue—importance to the part played by conscious theory in the artistic process. It is a study of seventeenth-century poetry which assesses the nature of that poetry and classifies it on the assumption that 'the theory underlying the work of representative poets can be traced and used to obtain a broader understanding of seventeenth-century poetic technique'. In the light of this hypothesis and of the theories supposed to be held by the various poets, the author examines the work of several individuals; the studies of their poetry make up the greater part of the book. The basic assumptions as to the nature of poetic inspiration tend often to vitiate rather than to illuminate the specific analyses, though some interesting comments are made from time to time.

W. Hamilton-Fyfe has produced an explanatory text of Aristotle's *Poetics*[3] in English. The translation is that of Ingram Bywater with a few modifications. There is an Introduction on Aristotle and the *Poetics* with special consideration of some of his most important comments and some suggestions for further reading for those who have little or no knowledge of Greek life and literature. Further help is also given to such readers in the thirteen explanatory inter-chapters which sum up, elucidate, and illustrate Aristotle's argument and statements. A number of these illustrations are from English literature, chiefly from Shakespeare's plays.

The reader with a 'modern' background is thus provided simultaneously with a reliable translation and precisely the kind of guidance he needs to enable him to distinguish for himself what is universal in Aristotle's dramatic criticism and what is in any way limited or modified by experience only of Greek drama. The inter-chapters preceding the chapter-groups 1–3, 6, 13–14 are perhaps specially helpful to the present-day Greekless student.

The English Association Presidential Addresses in 1939 and 1940[4] were both published in the latter year.

[3] *Aristotle's Art of Poetry: A Greek View of Poetry and Drama with an Introduction and Explanations*, by W. Hamilton-Fyfe. O.U.P. pp. xxxii +82. 6*s*.

[4] *The Genius of English Poetry*, by The Most Rev. William Temple. The English Association Presidential Address, 1939. pp. 15. 2*s*.

The Timelessness of Poetry, by Sir Edmund Chambers. The English Association Presidential Address, 1940. pp. 16. 2*s*.

The Genius of English Poetry is a valuable brief survey of the nature and some of the functions of poetry, particularly of English poetry. The characteristics of English poetry, as distinguished from some other literatures, are, the author suggests, that it is often predominantly dramatic and that 'the best English poetry is in a peculiar degree "synoptic" '. These views are illustrated by the quotation and analysis of several passages, most of them from the work of Browning.

In *The Timelessness of Poetry*, Sir Edmund Chambers speaks of those aspects of poetry which are permanent and unchanging. He gives a timely warning against undue emphasis on the historic method of studying or teaching poetry, reminding us, on the one hand, of the individuality of the great poet at all times, and, on the other, of the recurrence, century after century, of certain familiar and moving themes. He instances the story of Helen of Troy and the theme of the nightingale's song, tracing the first through the poetry of Homer, Dante, the mediæval re-writers and some nine or ten English poets up to our own day, and the second, similarly, from Greek poetry to that of the twentieth century. A wise and judicious comment follows on the relation of modern poetry to the age-old continuum and on the undue importance attached to some of its peculiarities by certain modern theorists.

E. E. Kellett, well known and widely appreciated as a critic of literature and historian of religion, has written the autobiography of a reader,[5] and in doing so has simultaneously thrown much light on Victorian taste and education and added a chapter to its records. The account covers in some detail his experiences among books from earliest childhood to early manhood, and the outstanding events of his later years in this kind. This means that we have primarily a picture of the mental adventures and experiments, the growth of taste and mental powers, during the formative period of a scholar's life. When we add that this childhood was spent in a Victorian home in which the reading and discussion of books was a daily habit, in which intelligence was taken for granted, and eager speculation and pertinacious inquiry encouraged, indeed expected, in every member, we have implied

[5] *Ex Libris: Confessions of a Constant Reader*, by E. E. Kellett. Allen and Unwin. pp. 284. 8*s*. 6*d*.

that this is in a special sense a book for our generation. General readers and scholars, students and teachers alike, will find stimulus in the standards of that age.

In *Tradition and Romanticism*[6] B. I. Evans begins by considering the opinions of certain recent critics of romanticism and the careers of the terms 'classical' and 'romantic', noticing the effects of these conflicting groups on the present-day estimate of our older poetry. Believing the controversy on this matter to be misleading, he proceeds to reveal the essentially homogeneous character of English poetry, tracing its tradition and observing the ideas on poetry held by poets in successive periods. This examination involves a more detailed discussion of the terms 'romantic' and 'classical', and a series of surveys of the characteristic and representative periods of English poetry from Chaucer's to the eighteenth century and of individual studies of certain outstanding poets from Gray to Yeats. Such a study of the essential continuity of English poetry and so clear a revelation of the plain fact (hitherto, for the most part, overlooked) that it is always traditional and always romantic (and both simultaneously) goes far towards laying to rest the controversy upon the classical and romantic elements, which, though sometimes illuminating, has been often more tedious than profitable.

From the same author and in the same year comes, as a 'Pelican' volume,[7] a survey of English literature for the general reader, which, while brief enough for a continuous impression and free from undue insistence on technicality or detail, is yet full enough to allow some impression to be carried away both of the various periods and of the individual authors. The author covers the ground from the pre-Conquest literature to the present day, preferring, instead of the customary survey of all forms simultaneously, to trace throughout the history, first of the poetry, then of the drama, and then of the prose. The method has advantages that, in a book of this kind, balance its disadvantages. An index would have been welcome, but that is not usual in this series, and probably many of the readers who use the book would not wish for one.

[6] *Tradition and Romanticism. Studies in English Poetry from Chaucer to W. B. Yeats*, by B. Ifor Evans. Methuen. pp. vii + 213. 6*s*.

[7] *A Short History of English Literature*, by B. Ifor Evans. Penguin Books. pp. 215. 6*d*.

Romanticism: A Symposium[8] contains five articles on various aspects of this subject, in German, French, English, Italian, and Spanish literature, with a final essay on *Romantic Permutations and Combinations in England* and a selective bibliography for each literature.

Each essay is independent, except for necessary references to corresponding features in one or more of the other literatures, and gives an outline of the progress and characteristics of the Romantic Movement in the literature of that country. Taken together, they give an impression of the composite nature of the movement and of the interrelations, borrowings, and influences which characterized it. The special features of each form are described and cross-lights thrown by the accounts of the elements adopted or rejected in each case, the parts that were emphasized and those that fell into abeyance. Though, as the foreword says, 'No one article is written primarily for the specialist in its field,' yet each provides an introduction for the non-specialist, and the group as a whole affords an interesting background and succeeds in conveying an impression of the manifold movement.

Most of the articles in *Five Studies in Literature*[9] belong elsewhere, but they are concerned in part with general aesthetic criticism, which gives the collection a claim to be mentioned here. The editor, B. H. Bronson, writes on *Chaucer's Art in Relation to his Audience*, John F. Ross on *Hamlet: Dramatist*, James M. Cline on *Hydriotaphia*, Gordon McKenzie on *Swift: Reason and Some of its Consequences*, and James R. Caldwell on *'Beauty Is Truth'*. The titles of the first four indicate the nature of their contents; the fifth is a study of the relation of certain of Keats's ideas to Hazlitt's aesthetic theory.

A series of essays by John Speirs[10] on Scottish poetry covers the period from the fifteenth century to the present day and includes studies of *The Kingis Quhair*, Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas,

[8] *Romanticism: A Symposium*, by John C. Blankenagel, George R. Havens, Hoxie N. Fairchild, Kenneth McKenzie, F. Courtney Tarr, and Elizabeth Nitchie. *P.M.L.A.*, vol. lv. 1939. pp. 1–60. $1.25.

[9] *Five Studies in Literature*, ed. by Bertrand H. Bronson. Univ. of California Press and C.U.P. pp. 154. 9*s*.

[10] *The Scots Literary Tradition: An Essay in Criticism*, by John Speirs. Chatto and Windus. pp. viii + 191. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Lindsay, Ramsay, Fergusson, and Burns, of which the fullest is that on Robert Henryson.

Two volumes of collected papers appear in this year's list. The contents of *Autolycus' Pack*[11] are as various in matter and alive in interest as the title leads us to expect. In the first part there are groups of papers on libraries and their functions, on Johnson and Boswell, on certain minor figures in English letters, and a survey of minor Greek poetry in English. This paper points us on to the second part and is in turn illustrated by it, for, of the verses there, about a third are translations from the *Anthology* and nearly as many more can claim kinship with it in virtue of the pith and point of the satiric and the compact gravity of the serious poems.

John Buchan's *Comments and Characters*[12] falls only partly within the scope of this volume, as the headings of some of the sections ('Domestic Politics', 'The Empire', &c.) serve to show. But there is also a section on 'Literature and Journalism' containing fourteen brief articles and there are several even briefer extracts on books and writers (chiefly contemporary) in the last section. The whole has been edited with an Introduction (pp. ix–xxxv) by W. Forbes Gray from the contributions made by Buchan to the *Scottish Review* when he was its editor in 1907 and 1908. There is also an index.

In *Some Modern Writers*,[13] a series of papers by Australian scholars bring before their readers the work of certain writers and the progress of certain tendencies that seem to the authors to have in them the seeds of future life. R. G. Howarth makes an honest attempt to estimate the relation between claims and achievement in the work of Ezra Pound, and his article is followed by five other studies of experimental writing in poetic or novel form.

There are some useful bibliographies and the quotations are generally illustrative. The critics are for the most part in sym-

[11] *Autolycus' Pack and other Light Wares: being Essays, Addresses, and Verses*, by Arundell Esdaile. Grafton. pp. x + 221. 12*s.* 6*d.*

[12] *Comments and Characters*, by John Buchan (Lord Tweedsmuir), ed. by W. Forbes Gray. Nelson. pp. xxxv + 422. 7*s.* 6*d.*

[13] *Some Modern Writers. Two Courses of Sydney University Extension Lectures, by Members of the Departments of English.* Australasian Medical Publishing Co. Sydney.

pathy with their subjects, though there is one curiously unappreciative note on T. S. Eliot's *Family Reunion*, suggesting that the author has not yet grasped the nature of Eliot's theme.

George N. Shuster's survey of the Ode[14] covers the history of its development from about the middle of the seventeenth century to about the middle of the nineteenth, tracing the modification of its form and of its uses in the hands of successive writers, noting at the same time the extent to which it influenced and was influenced by other contemporary literary forms. The Introduction defines the scope of the work and the nature of the ode (this last made doubly necessary by the extreme variability of the type, especially in the period immediately after the Renaissance in England). The author then examines the ode in the hands of a succession of poets from Milton to Keats, and, in conclusion, explains that the change of outlook after the time of Keats marks the end of the phase that began with the humanists noticed in the first two chapters. He then surveys briefly the 'foundations of a new and different age' in the work of the ode writers from Tennyson to Bridges, indicating something of the nature and effects of that change of outlook which marked the close of the phase with which he was primarily concerned.

The *Essays and Studies*, vol. xxv, of the English Association, has one contribution of a general character. V. de Sola Pinto traces realism in English poetry[15] from Chaucer to the present day. In the two great ages of realistic poetry, the medieval and that of the eighteenth century, poetic realism, he considers, 'springs from a sense of social stability'. Other periods in which it has thriven are found to be those in which an at least comparable civilization has been achieved; and those (including, the present) in which it is obscured or hindered from developing are those that lack the resultant 'social idiom which was the indispensable instrument of the medieval and Augustan writers'.

In an article in *English* (Autumn) Laurence Binyon discusses the failure of English poetry to acclimatize *terza rima*. He suggests that the secret of this failure lies in a misapprehension of the

[14] *The English Ode from Milton to Keats*, by George N. Shuster. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. vii + 314. 15*s*.

[15] *Essays and Studies, by Members of the English Association*, vol. xxv, collected by Percy Simpson. O.U.P. pp. 115. 7*s*. 6*d*.

nature of the rime scheme in all but a few of those who have attempted to use it. Through disregarding the essential fact that the tercet is a closed stanza which is yet linked by the rime scheme to the preceding and succeeding stanzas, English poets, from Shelley to the present day, have, for the most part (with the exception of Christina Rossetti), made of it something quite other than Dante's metre, allowing the rimes to lose their functional value.

It is an interesting and stimulating survey both of the causes of our failure and of the various approaches to success made by the principal poets who have attempted it.

In his article on *Table Talk* (*H.L.Q.*, Oct.) F. P. Wilson describes his material as the equivalent of ana in the sense of Dr. Johnson's definition: loose thoughts or casual hints, dropped by eminent men and collected by their friends. In terms of this definition, he surveys the history of ana, from the *Tischreden* of Martin Luther (published in 1566) through the period of growth in France to the notable English examples, Selden's *Table Talk*, Drummond's records of Jonson's conversations, and the contributions of Aubrey and Spence, to their culmination in the work of Boswell.

There is, as C. Day Lewis himself suggests in his preface, much justification for the periodic re-translation of Greek and Latin poetry. His version of *The Georgics*,[16] though verbally as literal as can be, is metrically 'more consonant with the speech-rhythms of the present-day' than any predecessor. To this use of modern speech-rhythms (which may itself be compared with those other significant experiments in Bridges's *Testament of Beauty* and Eliot's *Family Reunion*) is largely due our impression that we are reading less a familiar classic than a new English poem of country life; a poem, moreover, which, despite the necessary differences in landscape, farming processes, traditions, and culture, has a surprisingly close underlying kinship with such wholly native poetry as Miss Sackville-West's *The Land*.

The number of anthologies published this year has not shown so striking a proportional decrease. The most noteworthy of these is *The Oxford Book of Christian Verse*,[17] chosen and edited

[16] *The Georgics of Virgil*, translated by C. Day Lewis. Cape. pp. 95. 5*s*.

[17] *The Oxford Book of Christian Verse*, by Lord David Cecil. O.U.P. pp. xxxiii + 560. 8*s*. 6*d*.

by Lord David Cecil. Such a collection, made by the right hands, results in something more than an anthology, in a volume in which poem and Introduction together furnish us, the one by illustration, the other by brief, explicit indications, with a history of the main aspects of religious experience in England.

This is not, as the editor explains, a collection of or selection from all English religious or mystical poetry, but of poems 'consistent with the doctrines of orthodox Christianity'. Nor does it attempt to draw upon all Christian poetry written in the English language, but (with the exception of T. S. Eliot's) only on that written in English by poets born in the British Isles. Its provenance is thus clearly defined. Within those natural and reasonable limits, innate fineness of perception, working upon a wide field of knowledge, has produced a compilation in which catholicity and abundance are only equalled by the genuineness of the aesthetic and religious experience in the individual works.

These limitations, which could not without confusion and inconsistency have been disregarded, exclude some poetry which we might at first expect to find. Obviously the whole body of our Latin devotional verse must go; though Christian and though by men of British birth, it is not English poetry. We may lament its absence but we cannot reasonably ask for its inclusion. Again, some of the noblest Christian verse by men of British birth was written in Irish, and if an editor were to include any of the vast body of Old and Middle Irish Christian poetry, where should he stop? Certainly not at one volume. Thus the total Christian experience of poets of the British Isles is not there. But for good reason it cannot be and the volume achieves unity without it.

The book remains a record such as must satisfy all but the critic who approaches an anthology in a captious determination to find what is *not* there. It is the fruit of an appreciation not only of rare or individual experiences and their records, but of the commonplace where that is inspired by simple truth. Of the sentimental, the mannered, the wilfully obscure, of all that is merely theology on the one hand or religiosity on the other, there is no trace. An austerely sensitive judgement has been at work in a field in which it is notoriously difficult to preserve aesthetic standards. As is fitting, the greatest of English mystical poets, Greville, Donne, Herbert, Crashaw, Traherne, Vaughan, Browning, Hopkins, and Eliot, account among them for 75 poems.

But in the total of 352 poems or extracts nearly 130 poets are represented, several of them by the single poem which is often a man's only (but immortal) claim to memory in this field.

Of the Introduction there is perhaps less need to speak. All those who know Lord David's work as a critic will expect and will find in it the firm, unhesitating distinctions and classifications which, without being dogmatic, guide the reader through a wide sea of heterogeneous literary matter.

The Heritage of Poetry[18] is arranged chronologically and not in accordance with any thematic scheme. Philip Wayne approaches the anthologist's task as does an artist who has 'studied sufficiently the tasks and impulses of poetry to be aware of the poet's aims and of his difficulties, and is thus able to perceive something of the poet's victory'; he both understands the poetic process and reveres the achievements, and to him, as to many of us to-day, it seems 'the chief ground of English pride that such moments have occurred in such abundance to men of our nation'. The result is a collection of over 500 poems and extracts, covering 448 pages and ranging from Chaucer to Auden. As is fitting in an anthology for general readers, some familiar poems are included, but the less well-known verses which are interspersed throw fresh light upon these and are, in turn, illuminated by them. There are 80 pages of notes, mainly biographical, and offering such guidance as the general reader might need by way either of illumination or explanation.

The subject of John Hayward's anthology[19] is love 'in the generally accepted meaning of the word' and the arrangement a progression through the experience which brings together passages that, in a chronological anthology, would be widely separated. This serves, incidentally, to reveal the characteristic preoccupations of different periods, as now one age, now another, preponderates. The authors' names are not included in the text but reserved for an index at the end; the reader who is not overcurious may thereby, as Hayward suggests, receive a more continuous and less distracted experience. In some cases fragments

[18] *The Heritage of Poetry: English Poems from Chaucer to the present day*, ed. by Philip Wayne. Longmans-Green. pp. xvi + 544. 7*s*. 6*d*.

[19] *Love's Helicon, or the Progress of Love Described in English Verse*, by John Hayward. Duckworth. pp. 255. 5*s*.

only, even single lines or phrases, are quoted; this sometimes denudes a passage of some of its significance, but it allows of associations which startle and occasionally illuminate. The collection ranges over the work of 113 named and several anonymous poets.

Diversions[20] is an anthology of a very different kind, being, as its title indicates, a collection of extracts not necessarily from great poetry, but from the verse and prose which entertain or stimulate to reflexion upon the less grave but none the less characteristic interests of Englishmen past and present. An astonishingly large proportion of these interests are covered: sports, recreations, ways of life; the countryside, the city, the sea. The variety of subject-matter, moods, periods, and authors is thus considerable, some 135 writers being represented in 190 extracts from fifteenth-century to present-day literature.

The Christian Heritage[21] falls strictly within the category of devotional literature, but calls for mention here inasmuch as, though devotional, it is literature. The extracts, grouped four at a time in fifty-two weekly sections, bring together some of the noblest passages in prose and verse which religious life and experience, and primarily of Christianity, have called forth from men of diverse nationalities, from the time of the book of Genesis to the present day.

A Book of Short Plays[22] is a companion volume to *Poems of To-day* and *Prose of To-day*, with this difference, that it does not confine itself to contemporary drama, but selects short plays from each of six successive centuries. Certain difficulties are thus automatically imposed, for some periods of English drama produced only a few short plays and those not fully representative. In this selection the earliest and the latest periods are therefore represented best, for the fifteenth century produced little but short plays and the twentieth century is mainly responsible for the revival and growth of the one-act play. The intervening

[20] *Diversions: An Anthology*, selected by C. H. Wilkinson. O.U.P. pp. xvi + 336. 3*s*. 6*d*.

[21] *The Christian Heritage. An Anthology for Our Times*, by E. Basil Redlich and R. A. Edwards. Methuen. pp. xxiii + 287. 6*s*.

[22] *A Book of Short Plays, XV–XX Centuries*. O.U.P. for the English Association. pp. vii + 299. 3*s*. 6*d*.

period, from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth, fares worst, but the editors have succeeded in producing for each of these four centuries a play of some literary merit which represents an aspect (if not the most significant) of the drama of its time.

Finally attention may be drawn to Sir John Marriott's *English History in English Fiction*,[23] though its purpose is primarily historical, and it is designed 'not to discuss the place of history in fiction but the part that historical fiction can play as an adjunct to the study of history'. The student of literature therefore finds in this book familiar material arranged in a different and sometimes suggestive way. The treatment is chronological, but the order is not that of the writing of the novels but of the subject matter, an admirable method for the reader who wishes to know not what works of fiction were written in a given period, but what works of fiction have used for their setting such periods as Roman Britain or the Rebellion of 1715.

[23] *English History in English Fiction*, by Sir John Marriott. Blackie. pp. xii + 308. 8*s*. 6*d*.

II

ENGLISH LANGUAGE. GENERAL WORKS (1939 AND 1940)

By Dorothy Whitelock

Of general works published on the English language, J. H. Jagger's stimulating and provocative study, *English in the Future*,[1] is intended for the general reader rather than the specialist. In Part I he examines present influences and, from a study of its development in the past, makes some conjectures as to its future. He prophesies a steady movement towards uniformity and appears to hope for a continued simplification of structure.

Part II deals with the question of a World English, discussing the extent of the English language abroad, its possible competitors, and its qualifications as a universal language. As Jagger is visualizing no mere adoption of English as a second language, for he believes that 'until mankind has attained a universal speech it will not be able to frame the universal ideals that will enable it to press forward as a single whole towards a freer, wider life of the spirit', the fulfilment of his hopes seems so far from realization as hardly to be worth serious consideration; and the sceptic is left wondering whether, assuming the adoption of English as the sole speech of mankind, even greatly increased facilities of communication could prevent its splitting up into dialects. Nevertheless, in the course of the discussion interesting ground is covered, and the author brings common sense and good humour to a consideration of such subjects as 'correct' grammar, slang, an English Academy, artificial language, &c. A lively dialogue on spelling reform is included, in which the author shows himself much more reconciled to our present system than in his *Modern English* (see *Y. W.* vi. 59–60).

A sane outlook is shown in his examination of the views of pessimists regarding the present state of English, when he compares equally harmful fashions in earlier periods and concludes that there is 'a natural power to resist' the tendencies to degeneration which Dr. Johnson held to be natural to all lan-

[1] *English in the Future*, by J. Hubert Jagger. Discussion Books, No. 61. Nelson. pp. 198. 2*s*. 6*d*.

guages. Too much should not be made of errors in detail contained in a survey of this kind, but in giving the impression that no difference arose until the eighteenth century between the vowel in *hat* and that in Southern English *ask*, that *duty* was once pronounced *du:ti* in English, or that Chaucer's *is went* is historically analogous with Shakespeare's *have swam*, Jagger is at variance with the views of modern scholars.

A work of a very different type is P. Christophersen's *The Articles: A Study of their Theory and Use in English*,[2] a specialist work that discusses with Scandinavian thoroughness not only the use of the article in English, but also the inner psychological reasons that govern this use. Accepting Jespersen's distinction between 'thing-words' and 'mass-words', but using a new terminology by which they become 'unit-words' and 'continuate words' respectively, he first examines what dictates the choice with either type of word in English of the definite or indefinite article, or of 'zero-form', i.e. absence of article. He notes the peculiar position of 'uniques' (words such as *the Equator*) and of proper names, and examines whether the addition of an adjunct causes any modification of rules applying to simple primaries.

His subsequent survey of various views on the function of the article takes us into the realms of philosophy, with a discussion of the theory that the article 'adds a concretizing element to the naked substantive', which is abstract in itself, except for proper names, which, being always concrete, do not require *concretization*. This theory fails to fit exactly the usage of English, where generic plurals and continuate words take no article, and it is therefore necessary to assume that the article has a rather different function in French, where the *concretization* theory fits, from in English. The commonest theory, that of *determination*, Christophersen considers to need reformulating. The article *the* does not mark a contrast but 'narrows the field of vision' by implying an understanding between speaker and hearer that only one possibility can be involved in the context; this function he calls (the indication of) *familiarity*, which 'necessarily entails that the object is felt as marked off with definite limits

[2] *The Articles: A Study of their Theory and Use in English*, by Paul Christophersen. Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard; and O.U.P. 1939. pp. 206. 12*s*. 6*d*.

and insulated from conceptions of a similar nature'. In generic continuate words and plurals, the limits are vague and obscure, hence the omission of the article. Even this definition, however, will not fit all English uses, and he shows that when *the* is used with adjectives, e.g. 'the brave', or in expressions like 'on the go', which obviously have a 'continuous' sense, the need for marking *substance*, i.e. what distinguishes noun from verb, and substantive from adjective, has prevailed over the want of familiarity. The indefinite article, on the other hand, is simply a mark of unity. A careful investigation into the historic development of the articles follows, including some interesting statements on the rise of the weak adjective and its use in poetry without the article.

Part II deals in great detail with various special usages, including constructions such as *the more the merrier* and *the like*, which he derives with considerable probability from OE. *pyllic*. The book does not claim to account for all our vagaries in the use of the article, but it is full of penetrating observations to which a brief summary cannot do justice. The subject is a complicated one, but the treatment is clear if one is willing to interpret words such as *familiarity*, *continuance*, &c., in the limited and specialized sense in which the author uses them.

Another contribution to English syntax is Otto Jespersen's pamphlet, *The 'Split Infinitive' and a System of Clauses*.[3] The first part of this is a convenient brief statement of the usage regarding a construction that appears to be coming into its own again. The widely collected examples emphasize the truth of Curme's claim that the usage is more literary than colloquial, and in this connexion it is to be noted that Fries's investigations published in his *American-English Grammar* (see below, p. 31) show it current among his group of best speakers. Jespersen ends with a series of instances in which ambiguity has resulted from the avoidance of the 'split infinitive'; but in many of his examples this latter construction would sound most unnatural and clarity could better be obtained by placing the adverbial qualification after the infinitive.

The second part of the pamphlet applies to clauses the author's system of the three ranks, and for tertiaries it draws

[3] *The 'Split Infinitive' and a System of Clauses*, by Otto Jespersen. Society for Pure English, Tract No. 54. O.U.P. pp. 22. 2*s*. 6*d*.

up a fourfold classification: (1) mutually independent, (2) compared, (3) contrasted, (4) dependent. The discussion is stimulating to those familiar with other schemes, but its effect on the beginner in grammar is difficult to conjecture. Some interesting comments are made on clauses introduced by *that*, and on the peculiar use of *though*, beside *if*, in hypothetical conditions.

R. W. Chapman's *Adjectives from Proper Names*[4] is a pleasantly written monograph drawing together material from various sources, including the author's personal observation, on one branch of word-formation. It is prefixed with a statement of the rules that govern the English pronunciation of Latin loan-words and a sketch of the classical adjectival suffixes. Separate studies of various aspects of the subject follow, on adjectives from Greek and Latin names, from modern place-names and personal names, &c., and on individual suffixes. The whole forms a very convenient collection, and of especial value is the material gathered from the poets to illustrate the stressing of certain adjectives in earlier periods, e.g. *Herculean, Lethean, Promethean*. Under *Epicurean* is included a discussion of the accentuation of two difficult lines in *Paradise Regained*, while the section headed 'Classical Mythology and History' is an amusing semantic study.

Three works have appeared that deal with slang. Eric Partridge's pamphlet, *Slang*,[5] is mainly a summary of his previous work, *Slang To-Day and Yesterday*, with the omission of the historical portion and the addition of some new matter in the section on Air Force slang. Otherwise there are only minor additions, such as a sixteenth reason for speaking slang, 'to be concise or brief'. He does not include in his list of reasons one implied not only in Oliver Wendell Holmes's definition, 'at once a sign and a cause of mental atrophy', but in Partridge's work elsewhere, namely to save the trouble of choosing a precise descriptive term by using a slang expression of wide or vague connotation.

M. Marples's *Public School Slang*,[6] while not claiming to be

[4] *Adjectives from Proper Names*, by R. W. Chapman, Society for Pure English, Tract No. 52. O.U.P. 1939. pp. 44. 2*s*. 6*d*.

[5] *Slang*, by Eric Partridge. Society for Pure English, Tract No. 55. O.U.P. pp. 24. 2*s*. 6*d*.

[6] *Public School Slang: a Dictionary on the Lines of Fowler's 'English Usage'*, by Morris Marples. Constable. pp. xxi + 192. 10*s*.

exhaustive, has collected material from a wide range of sources, published works as well as communications from Public School men. Such a collection has a value for psychologists and social historians, besides students of language. In a brief introduction some motives for the use of slang are considered, and it is natural that in this branch of the subject stress should be laid on 'the discontent which every new generation feels with the achievements of the old' and on the desire to startle or shock. The 'anxiety to avoid seeming to take things too seriously' is also mentioned, but after an examination of the material one feels that more weight might be attached to the snobbish motive of marking oneself as belonging to a particular community by using words not current among, and often not understood by, outsiders.

Of the material itself, survivals from earlier periods and borrowings from dialect or thieves' cant are of particular interest to linguists, but most of these are already contained in Farmer's *Public School Word-Book*. Marples does not give his reasons for omitting certain entries found there, as, for example, *biddy*, *drifty*. In compensation a few words like *fotch* (1887), *leer* (1870), are added which had escaped Farmer's notice. The value of this book above earlier works lies mainly in its bringing the material up to date and in its arrangement, with its full cross-reference system, for this allows of its easy use for different purposes.

The inclusion of slang used by schoolboys but not confined to them makes it difficult to assess the debt of the standard language to schoolboy slang. *Coach*, *fag*, and *cram* seem cases in point, but the general impression is that its influence has been slight. Most words are singularly ugly and rarely any more expressive than the standard English terms. Word-formation by the young, mainly from undesirable motives, seems not to have been a fruitful source of enrichment of the language.

Marples's book is not provided with a bibliography. For this, one must turn to W. J. Burke, *The Literature of Slang*,[7] which gives full and detailed bibliographies both for slang in general and for all its many departments, with comments on the scope and value of the items. This book, for which Eric Partridge

[7] *The Literature of Slang*, by W. J. Burke. The New York Public Library, 1939. pp. viii + 180.

writes a short introduction, will prove an indispensable aid to all future students of this branch of English.

In the province of nomenclature there are first two volumes of the English Place-name Society to be considered, *The Place-names of Wiltshire*[8] and *The Place-names of Nottinghamshire*.[9] In both the high standards of the society are sustained, and each contains much interesting material. They support previous evidence—that of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as regards Wiltshire, of archaeology in Nottinghamshire—relating to the English settlement, and afford ethnographical data in the *Saxondale* of Nottinghamshire and in several Wiltshire names compounded with OE. *weala* or *brytta*. In Wiltshire, Celtic elements are not uncommon, and *penn*, *chut*, *cors*, and *idover* occur so frequently that it is justifiable to assume their adoption into the English speech of this area. The special linguistic value of the Nottinghamshire volume is its evidence for the extent of Scandinavian influence in this area. This is often indicated in the variant forms now collected, when the surviving form betrays none, as in Apleyhead and Eastwood, where ON. *hǫfuð* and *þveit* have been replaced by native elements.

Both volumes make a contribution to our knowledge of English vocabulary at earlier periods, and contain lists of previously unrecorded words, or earlier instances of known words. As an unusually large number of Wiltshire names have a continuous series of forms from Anglo-Saxon times, this volume is particularly useful for studying phonological development; in Nottinghamshire, on the other hand, comparatively few names can be traced far back, for pre-Conquest records are rare. Many names have perforce been left unexplained, but most readers will approve a cautious policy in this respect.

The second volume of O. S. Anderson's *The English Hundred-Names*[10] (see *Y.W.* xv. 44–5) has now appeared and deals with

[8] *The Place-names of Wiltshire*, by J. E. B. Gover, Allen Mawer, and F. M. Stenton. English Place-name Society, vol. xvi. C.U.P. 1939. pp. xli + 547. 21*s*.

[9] *The Place-names of Nottinghamshire*, by J. E. B. Gover, Allen Mawer, and F. M. Stenton. English Place-name Society, vol. xvii. C.U.P. pp. xlii + 348. 21*s*.

[10] *The English Hundred-Names: the South-Western Counties*, by O. S. Anderson. Lunds Univ. Årsskrift. N.F. Avd. 1. Bd. 35. Nr. 5. Lund: Gleerup; Leipzig: Harrassowitz. 1939. pp. xvii + 234.

eight South-Western counties. In an introductory note it is shown that documentary evidence reveals a close association of the hundred with the manor, and instances are brought together in which the name of the manor has supplanted the ancient name of the hundred. Of the ancient names, most refer to the meeting-place, and generally denote some natural or archaeological feature. References to burial-mounds are frequent, and in some cases, as at Ploughley and at *Cheneward'berge*, Oxfordshire, the mound or its site can still be identified. Commenting on the use of prehistoric earthworks as meeting-places, Anderson notes a tendency to give names of legendary figures to earthworks. *Bigulfesburh* (Belbury Castle, Devon) could be added to his list.

The counties here considered naturally differ from those in vol. i in having no Scandinavian names, but is it quite certain that an ON. *Kilvert* must be left out of count when interpreting Culliford? Though it would be unexpected in this part of England, we must not forget that a Scandinavian lady gave her name to Tolpuddle. There are a few names, e.g. Modbury 'moot hill', Shirley 'shire-court lea', *Letberge* 'court hill', Rapsgate 'gate of arraignment', which indicate more definitely a connexion with the assembly; and perhaps we should add to Anderson's list Damarham 'enclosure of the judges' and Shrivenham, where the first element means 'to adjudge' and the second 'enclosure'; for, though these are the names of the manors also, they suggest ancient places of assembly. The strange fact that *ruh* 'rough' is combined with *beorg* in the names of four separate hundreds makes one wonder if the first element had some more specific meaning in connexion with the hundred.

In his interpretations, Anderson does not often differ from the *Oxford Dictionary of Place-names* where this covers his material, but, as this excludes hundred-names that do not survive also as names of villages or natural features, Anderson's book supplies new matter in those counties not already dealt with by the Place-Name Survey. For example, it adds several instances of one man giving his name to more than one place, as *Cana* to *Canendone* and Canford, *Ēanrǣd* to Andersey and Andersfield, *Finc* to Finchdean and the *Finces stapol* of an OE. charter. The interpretation of the names Mere, Cawden, Startley, and Selkley differs from that in the *Place-names of Wiltshire*, and

this mentions a *Spilsbury* 'speech hill' in Cannings hundred which Anderson does not note. In general, however, his conclusions are well supported by the Wiltshire volume and he can add to its material a *gemotleah* in Kinwardstone and a Rowbury Lane in Rowborough. His collection of his material has clearly been thorough and accurate, and like the preceding volume, this work is an important contribution to the history of the hundred and to place-name studies.

A third volume, dealing with the South-eastern Counties, was not accessible in time and will be dealt with next year. E. Tengstrand's *Genitival Composition in OE. Place-names* was not procurable.

With Part V of *A Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary*,[11] J. F. Bense has brought to an end a weighty and valuable work, which, while owing a great debt to the *O.E.D.*, as the author readily acknowledges, supplements it by material from the English dialects and from South African and American English. Moreover, the careful reconsideration of the words involved has sometimes brought to light fresh evidence, and of especial value are the details regarding the history of the word in the various Low-Dutch languages. Part V includes, in addition to numbers of words of technical meaning, such everyday words as *split*, *stove*, *tackle*, *trade*, *wainscot*, &c. There are also many cases where a Low-Dutch origin is claimed for a word hitherto assigned to some other source. Not all these claims are equally convincing, but in all cases the evidence on which the conclusions are based is set out fairly, so that the reader is in a position to judge for himself. The claim may be reasonable with regard to *stoup*, *waggle*, and the verb *strand*, but it is often too readily assumed that any word not recorded between Old English and the fourteenth century must be a loan-word from Low German, whereas the extant literature of the intervening centuries is neither so extensive nor so representative as to justify this assumption. It is also a pity to base any argument concerning words in the *Ancrene Riwle* on connexions between Bishop Poore of Salisbury and Flemings, for the view that he was its author is no longer accepted.

[11] *A Dictionary of the Low-Dutch Element in the English Vocabulary*, by J. F. Bense. Part V (*Smeary–Zwart-wit-pens*). O.U.P. 1939. pp. xvi + 247. 27*s*. 6*d*.

Anyone opening the dictionary at the words beginning with *un-*, would be surprised to find included ordinary English compounds such as *unhorse, unmake, unploughed.* The explanation is to be found under the prefix, where it is suggested that Flemish and Dutch influence contributed to the revival in its use that is implied by the vast number of words compounded with it first recorded from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. This hardly seems certain enough to warrant the inclusion of such words without any question-mark. If, however, an undue number of words are claimed as Low Dutch, the balance is partly redressed by the exclusion of some words for which this origin has been postulated, such as *timber, sb.*[2], *tallow, tod.* It is to be hoped that Bense will some time discuss these and his other rejects. This part contains also an appendix to supplement the earlier parts, and it ends with a compendious list of books used.

Another part of *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* [12] has been issued this year, dealing with the section *Dignosce—Dull.* Like the preceding parts, it adds considerably to previous knowledge of this branch of the language, and supplies earlier instances, variant forms, and occasionally new words to the material contained in the *O.E.D.* Here and there, as in the noun *doupe* and the familiar adjective *dour*, doubt is thrown upon earlier statements of origin. Among the more interesting of the words added are Scandinavian loans in early Orkney records, such as *domeraw* from ON. *dómrof*, 1576, and *domlad* from ON. *dómlagðe*, 1496.

J. E. Oxley in *The Lindsey Dialect* [13] draws a distinction between the dialect of the Isle of Axholme, plus the area just east of the Trent, and that spoken in the rest of Lindsey, and he concerns himself mainly with this second area, as it seems to have been unknown to Wright and is practically unrepresented in dialect literature. One need hardly stress the desirability of detailed surveys of particular dialects before they entirely vanish. Already some of the features mentioned in

[12] *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue from the Twelfth Century to the End of the Seventeenth*, by William A. Craigie, Part IX (*Dignosce–Dull*). O.U.P. pp. 120.

[13] *The Lindsey Dialect*, by James E. Oxley. Leeds School of English Lang. Texts and Monographs, No. 8. Kendal: Titus Wilson. pp. 117. 5*s*.

this book, such as the use of the glottal stop for the definite article, or of initial *s* in the French loans *sugar* and *sure*, are said to be disappearing before the spread of standard speech, and some of the cases of apparent two-fold development of a single ME. sound may be due to the adoption of one of the variants from Standard English. It is, however, rather mystifying that Oxley should give this explanation for the *ai* in *might* and *bright*, beside *i:* in *night*, while apparently regarding the same *ai* in *right*, *sight*, *fright* as a regular development.

In view of the ever-growing influence of the standard, it is clear that faithful representation is more important than historical explanation. Judged as the latter, this work has inadequacies, but the author appears to have studied the speech of this area thoroughly. He supplies full material, dealing separately with French and Scandinavian influences, of which the latter, as was to be expected, is very strong. The list of words of this origin is a particularly interesting feature. The author is not content with a statement of features that differ from standard, and thus a full picture of the dialect is obtained, but a concluding chapter on its relation to its neighbours and to the standard would not have been out of place. An unusual characteristic is that, as ME. *ū* appears as *ou*, it has fallen together with the sound developed from ME. *ǫu*, which is usually kept quite distinct. The developments before *r*, and the rarity of any rounding influence exercised by initial *w* are also worthy of note.

In two pamphlets, *The Growth of American English*,[14] Sir William Craigie makes a report on the use of the evidence collected in the *Dictionary of American English*. He explains that this work is 'mainly representative of the more serious and solid elements of American English', and he issues a warning against too-ready assumption of priority for an American usage, considering how incomplete the evidence is. In illustration, he disposes of the American claim to *dressmaker*. Among words mentioned later on as first recorded in America occur some for which an American origin seems to the present writer unlikely, as, for example, simple conceptions like *bread-board* and *bed-*

[14] *The Growth of American English*, I and II, by William A. Craigie. Society for Pure English, Tracts Nos. 56–57. O.U.P. pp. 24 and 40. 2*s*. 6*d*. each part.

clothing. The pamphlets give a specimen classification of the information yielded by the dictionary, confining it to the letters A and B. Part I deals with the addition of new senses to existing words, Part II with new derivative forms, attributive collocations, and other compounds, and the introduction of words not previously used. The evidence shows that borrowing from other languages is comparatively infrequent, but apparently sheer invention, as in *boodle*, *boost*, &c., plays a more important part. The survival in America of obsolete English words and usages, as *admire to* and *buggy*, is noted, and the study ends with a list of words whose American priority is doubtful.

The Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles[15] (see *Y.W.* xvii. 53–4) makes steady progress, six more parts having now appeared. It would be easy to gather from these further illustrative material under the heads of the classification mentioned above; e.g. the un-English senses of *chance* and *draft*; new compounds such as *capsheaf* and *duebill*; and so on. Many of us will note with surprise the honourable old age of certain terms, *caboodle* from 1848, *dope* from 1872, *dressing-down* from 1889, and that recorded instances suggest American priority for *chairmaker* and *dress-circle*. These later parts do not fall below their predecessors in their encyclopaedic value, and under such headings as *Cambridge platform*, *Draft riots*, *Dred Scott* material for an understanding of American history is brought together in a convenient form.

The limitation of this dictionary to exclude slang and words appearing since 1900 makes us welcome H. W. Horwill's convenient little book *An Anglo-American Interpreter*.[16] This has the practical aim of assisting the traveller on either side the Atlantic and will also enable Englishmen and Americans to read each other's literature and newspapers with greater comprehension. A previous work of the author, *A Dictionary of Modern American Usage* (see *Y.W.* xvi. 39–40) has supplied the bulk of the material, but fresh matter is added, especially slang words like *blackjack*, *blah*, and *flubdub*. The book will help us to avoid those pitfalls

[15] *A Dictionary of American-English on Historical Principles*, compiled at Univ. of Chicago, ed. by William A. Craigie and James R. Hulbert: Parts IV–VI (*Butterfly Pea—Dew*) 1939; Parts VII–IX (*Dewberry—Gold Region*) 1940. O.U.P. pp. 768. 17*s*. each part.

[16] *An Anglo-American Interpreter: A Vocabulary and Phrase Book*, by H. W. Horwill. O.U.P. 1939. pp. ix + 91. 2*s*. 6*d*.

where words such as *calico* and *solicitor* survive in both languages but with a difference in meaning.

Another work on the American language affords a useful corrective to any exaggerated impression one may have received from works preoccupied with recording American usage as it differs from English. One can read the greater part of Charles C. Fries's *American English Grammar*[17] without finding an illustration that would not apply with equal force to English usage. In fact, in spite of its modest claim to a limited and practical aim, this book must be considered a contribution to the study of English grammar as a whole. Using some files of informal correspondence in the possession of the United States Government, Fries sets out 'to provide the tools for further observation, classification, and interpretation' of the American language, in the hope that this will replace attempts to teach an unreal 'correctness'.

He divides his material into three groups according to the cultural background of the writers, and makes a careful comparison of the usages of each group. As the book is arranged on a clear scheme suited to English grammar and free from the influence of Latin, and as the discussion of each usage is prefixed by a lucid outline of the historical development, with well-chosen examples, it is obvious that its usefulness will not be confined to those to whom it is primarily addressed. One may single out the detailed study of *shall* and *will*, one of the few places in which American and English standards differ noticeably, or some interesting comments on the gerund. Fries's findings prove that the best English used the so-called incorrect constructions such as *none* with a plural verb, *everyone* with a plural reference pronoun, the indicative mood in non-fact clauses, &c.

Now and then one has the impression that the material was too limited for definite conclusions to have been drawn without supporting evidence from elsewhere, as in the statement that, as prepositions, *till*, *off*, *but*, *as* are confined to vulgar use. If this is true, it marks a variation from British use not noted elsewhere. This criticism affects only a minor matter here and there and detracts little from the merit of the work as a whole.

[17] *An American English Grammar*, by C. C. Fries. English Monograph of the National Council of Teachers of English, No. 10. New York: Appleton-Century. pp. 313.

III

OLD ENGLISH

By G. N. Garmonsway

It is fitting to begin a survey of the 1940 contributions to Old English literature with Bertram Colgrave's excellent edition of the *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*.[1] 'To edit the two most important Lives of S. Cuthbert', says Colgrave, 'is almost a pious duty for one who lives under the shadow of Durham Cathedral.' It can be said that the publishers have produced an edition which accords with the dignity of the subject and the careful scholarship of the editor. The text of the *Lives* is printed on the left page, the editor's translation on the right page, with the *apparatus criticus* at the foot of both. The notes at the end of the work not only explain difficulties of interpretation, but throw a considerable light on the secular and religious history of the golden age of Northumbria, a period which Colgrave has made his special field of study, as his *Life of Wilfred* has already shown.

This edition makes it possible to compare the fuller version of Bede with the version of the anonymous writer some sixteen years earlier; and to note, as is pointed out in the Introduction, that there is something fresh about them both, 'something that makes us realise that Cuthbert is a human being and not a mere wonder-worker. . . . Though the author of the Anonymous Life confines himself to the shortest possible space in his description of an event, he often achieves a conciseness and clarity in relating an incident which compares favourably with Bede's more diffuse account.' After describing the historical background of the period, the Introduction discusses sources, date, and authorship, and follows with a very detailed description of the manuscripts of both the *Lives* and their relationship. Here Colgrave has spared no pains: of the thirty-eight MSS. of the Anonymous Life and the seven of Bede's, he personally collated all but six, wherever they were to be found. This study of the

[1] *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life.* Texts, Translation, and Notes by Bertram Colgrave. C.U.P. pp. xiii + 375 + 215. 21*s*.

MSS., while serving to correct many false but well-established readings, has also, as he points out, brought to light a number of particularly interesting MSS. which have not received the notice they deserve; incidentally, one of them, of the twelfth century, is probably the source of the Cuthbert paintings on the stalls in Carlisle Cathedral.

Colgrave has chosen to print the ninth-century St. Omer MS. of the Anonymous Life because it is the oldest; although more accurate, the tenth-century Arras MS. has some nine chapters missing. The University College, Oxford MS. of the first half of the twelfth century has been used as the printed text of the Prose Life. The translation which the editor has provided, although close to the original, reads well and fluently.

Two translations of *Beowulf* were published in this year; J. R. R. Tolkien and C. L. Wrenn have revised J. R. Clark Hall's translation of the poem,[2] and C. W. Kennedy has given us a version in alliterative verse.[3] The first of these two books contains a lively introduction by Tolkien which is divided into two parts: (I) On Translation and Words, (II) On Metre. The author defends the making of a modern English prose rendering of a poem which is 'a work of skilled and close-wrought metre (to say no more)', and points out that although a prose translation is properly an abuse, since thereby no attempt can be made to represent the metre of the poem or its other poetic qualities, yet such a version can be a valuable companion in reading the original, and may serve to convey some of the poem's merits to those critics who in the past have written off its value as only 'small beer'. The translator's dilemma in rendering some of the vocabulary, particularly compound words, is discussed in what is probably the most valuable part of this Introduction. In deciding to fabricate between the extremes of false modernity and the archaic, the translator is advised if he wishes 'to translate, not re-write, *Beowulf*' to use language which is literary and traditional, since the diction of *Beowulf* was 'poetical, archaic, artificial (if you will) in the day that the poem was made'. This

[2] *Beowulf and the Finnsburg Fragment.* A Translation into Modern English Prose by John R. Clark Hall. New Edition revised by C. L. Wrenn and J. R. R. Tolkien. Allen & Unwin. pp. xli+187. 7*s.* 6*d.*

[3] *Beowulf: The Oldest English Epic*, by C. W. Kennedy. New York. O.U.P. pp. lxv+121. $1.65.

is an excellent point, and one which has not been sufficiently weighed by would-be translators.

Part II of the Introduction employs the innovation of using English phrases to illustrate the various types of OE. verse rhythm; but even with the help that this brings, the account will probably perplex the novice; it would best have appeared as an appendix.

Judged by the standards of the Introduction and by other preconceived ideas of what one expects from a translation of an OE. poem, Wrenn's version will satisfy the critical. As promised, the faulty diction of Clark Hall's original version has been eradicated, and there is a convincing verisimilitude to the theme, tone, and temper of the original. Sometimes, however, the style seems to need shaking free from dashes and commas which interfere on the page; often epithets are piled up without breathing space, when some should have been turned into dependent clauses.

The following passage, for example, is not too happily rendered (1407 ff.):

> Then the sons of nobles went over the steep, rocky slopes, the narrow ways, the thin lone paths—an unknown course—the beetling crags, many homes of water-monsters. He with a few skilled men went on before to view the place.

Set it for example against Chadwick's rendering:

> Then the son of princes made his way over steep and rocky slopes, narrow ascents and defiles, by unfamiliar paths, over precipitous rocks and many lairs of sea-monsters; with a few expert companions he rode in front to survey the ground.

It is not often given to a translator to provide a rendering which by its rightness commands immediate acceptance—such as, for example, Sisam's 'a change' for the Frisian sailor—but Wrenn is particularly felicitous in his sea-faring passages, and in his rendering of the Finn episode; his best single phrase is 'the weavèd destiny of success in war'.

It is difficult to assess Kennedy's version, when first one has to dislodge the conviction that alliterative verse is no medium to use in re-creating the poem for modern ears. If alliteration is to find some place in a version, let it be the linked sweetness latent in most harmonious verse and not too obtrusive. To be fair, however, it must be admitted that Kennedy having decided to use headrime as a literary device has kept it within the right

proportions. The paucity of modern vocabulary, however, to represent the technical terms of the original (stressed in Tolkien's Introduction) is already too great a handicap without the narrowed choice imposed by alliteration: in this medium equivalence between original and translation becomes virtually an impossibility. As for the metre, the line, whether an attempt to be reminiscent of the original two half-lines or not, is too light: it is impossible not to weigh it against the iambic pentameter and to find it wanting. Nevertheless the translation reads easily and flows as narrative verse should: that this is achieved by sacrificing the full counterpoint of the meaning will be apparent if the translation corresponding to the passage quoted above is given as a rough test:

1407 By a narrow path the king passed on
Through rocky upland and rugged ravine
A lonely journey, past looming headlands
A lair of monster and lurking troll.
Tried retainers, a trusty few
Advanced with Hrothgar to view the ground.

The Introduction will be found very useful by the beginner, and in this respect has the better of the revised Clark Hall which does not attempt to sketch the background of the poem or deal with any of its problems. There are concise sections on the Scandinavian and Icelandic analogues, the historical background, the Sigemund and Finnsburg lays, the Christian influence, the influence of Classical epic, and finally pages on the Spirit of the Poem. The Classical influence is over-rated, and this section contains the following statement at which to cavil: '*Beowulf* in general form and movement displays a literary quality of richly developed theme, and an epic dignity of speech and action which could hardly have been completely derived from the Scandinavian heroic tale.'

In his article *Time and Place in the Ingeld Episode of 'Beowulf'* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.) Kemp Malone has been moved by the appearance of B. F. Huppé's article in *J.E.G.P.* (1939, April) to consider this aspect of the Ingeld story in detail. He examines the various present-tense forms of the *Beowulf* passage, and concludes 'with certainty' that only lines 2058 ff. have prophetic character: the son of Wiðergyld will kill the *fæmanpegn*, the slayer will escape (he knows the country well): the truce will

be broken. After this analysis is set out the time-scheme of the Ingeld episode, 'which carries with it the presumption that the events described in the episode took place during Ingeld's visit, before the marriage, to Heorot'. During the argument a new reading of l. 2041,

ponne cwið æt beore se ðe beah gesyhð

is proposed: *beah* is taken as the preterite of *bugan* 'retreat'; *ge* as the particle; *syhð* as a variant of WS. *segþ*: the translation offered is 'then he who bowed (i.e. fled) speaks at beer, and says . . .'. This version seems unnecessarily far-fetched.

In *M.L.N.* (Dec.) H. Lamar Crosby, Jr., discusses two phrases from *Beowulf*: *on stefn stigon* (212) and *wudu bundenne* (216). The first he would take to mean literally 'took their places in the prow *or* forecastle'. On the other hand, *stefn* may here be near its original meaning of timber at *either* end of a vessel, to which the side planks were attached, and so be used as a kenning for 'ship' without further significance. In the second phrase *bundenne* is taken literally, to mean 'tied up', 'laced', referring to the binding of bast used (as in the Nydam ship) to secure the planking to the frames. Hence it is suggested that *bundenstefna* (1910) may be best explained as 'laced prow' or, by synecdoche, 'laced ship'.

Beowulf lying on his bed in the hall of Hroðgar waits for Grendel and watches his method of attack. Grendel makes a thrust at him, and Beowulf, intent on mischief, quickly lays hold of Grendel's arm—*ond wið earm gesæt*. Calvin S. Brown, Jr., in his article *Beowulf's Arm Lock* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) would translate 'snaps on an arm-lock' (applying pressure by sitting up). He dismisses the usual interpretation *sat up leaning on his* (*B.'s*) *arm* and suggests that Beowulf, once having put an arm-lock on Grendel, never releases it, and, as soon as he gets a chance to do so, stands up, reinforces his hold by adding a wrist-and-finger lock, and breaks Grendel's fingers, eventually dislocating the shoulder. There is much to be said for this interpretation: the 'ingressive' function of *gesittan*, the use of *wið*, the inconclusive nature of the parallel passage from *Harrowing of Hell*, 67, usually cited in support of the usual interpretation. Passages quoted by the author in illustration and support of Beowulf's use of similar tactics in his fights with Dæghrefn and Grendel's mother,

and the Norse account of Grettir's fight with Glam, do not seem to add anything to the argument—particularly inconclusive, as is well known, in the second example instanced *gefeng þa be eaxle* (? *feaxe*).

The anticipation of events in narration has generally been dismissed as a common device in the epic poems of Germanic literature and as of little significance. It has been pointed out that the element of surprise in the development of a story was usually disregarded by early poets and its absence evidently not considered as a defect in construction.

Adrien Bonjour deals with the *Use of Anticipation in 'Beowulf'* (*R.E.S.*, July) and inquires if it is appropriate to the poem as a work of art, used with intent on aesthetic grounds with relevance to the poet's purpose. He distinguishes between two types of anticipation; the anticipation of events (such as in the three fights of Beowulf) and 'allusive anticipation'—'the anticipation of events which are supposed to happen in a near or distant future, but which are never set forth in the course of the poem' (such as the reference to the fate of Heorot). The various examples of these types of anticipation are pointed out and discussed, and it is noted that such passages are introduced as comments of the poet, never of a character in the poem. From this the writer concludes that their purpose is to strengthen the articulation of the main theme of the poem, which he regards as the role of destiny in human affairs. The audience knows where fate will strike, the characters themselves do not: they therefore appear to us merely as the playthings of fate. The 'allusive' anticipations, in the writer's view, confirm this interpretation of the poem; everything is transient in the poet's world: *gyrn cyme*ð *æfter gomene.*

The first edition of *Beowulf* produced only one review in England, that by an anonymous writer in the *Monthly Review*, 1816. In his article *William Taylor of Norwich and 'Beowulf'* (*M.L.N.*, Mar.), Franklin Cooley identifies this reviewer. The review is identical with the chapter on *Beowulf* in Taylor's *Historic Survey of German Poetry* (1830). This first review was a great improvement on Sharon Turner's description of the poem in the first edition of his *History* which appeared in 1805, but was not equal to Turner's account in the third edition which appeared in 1820;

when the review was reprinted in 1830, *Beowulf* scholarship had advanced beyond its range. Nevertheless, as Cooley points out, Taylor's report of the poem was the best available between 1816 and 1820.

Four Text Notes on 'Deor' is the subject of L. Whitbread's article in *M.L.N.* (March). He first suggests that the unusual doubling in *gesippe* (3) may have arisen by scribal confusion with *siþþan* (5), especially since it appears in the MS. as *toge sippe*. The second passage to be considered is 12*b*. Whitbread does not regard this as an impersonal phrase, possibly with *weorðan* understood, but regards Beadohild as the subject of *sceolde* and would render 'Beadohild did not know how to deal with her sad situation': he quotes in support prose passages which suggest the existence of a phrase *ymbe wesan* (or *beon*) equivalent to the modern idiom 'to be about (something)'. His third point is to justify, by other examples, the use of the phrase *on wenan* (25) with the dat. pl., in the sense of 'hoping for', 'expecting'. The article concludes with the suggestions that *hwile* (36) should be read as 'for a very long time', and that *dryhtne dyre* (37) has the particular force of 'especially dear to my lord', or 'my lord's favourite' a translation which has already been offered by Bruce Dickins.

L. K. Shook (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) provides *Notes on the Old-English Charms* which serve to identify a few of the Christian elements hitherto noticed only in a general way. Interesting is his note on A 13 (i) 37–2 (Grendon's edition) where *se witega* is identified as David, the reference being to Psalm cxi (Vulgate) *Beatus Vir*. The opening words of the Psalm are echoed in *se hæfde are on eorþrice*: the second verse epitomizes the spirit of the entire charm: *potens in terra erit semen eius*. He also notes that the four liturgical prayers cited in the charm to ensure good crops are not selected at random, but with an eye to the purpose of the charm.

The identity of the *Myrgingas* of *Widsith* and the etymology of the tribal name have been the subject of various opinions by critics. Kemp Malone adds to his already well-known discussion of these problems by his article (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) *The Myrgingas of 'Widsith'*. He regards the *Myrg-* of OE. *Myrgingas* as a compound word in origin, going back to a prehistoric **Mēari-gēai*

>WS. **Mīergīe* or *Mȳrgī*, 'mire-district'. To this the -ing suffix was added giving a name *Mȳrgī-ingas* > *Mȳrgingas*, 'inhabitants of the mire-district'. The word *gī* or *gē*, 'district', is familiar as the second element of the shire-name *Sūðri-gē*, 'Surrey', and appears in various other English place-names.

Fr. Klaeber writes *Concerning Old English winterstund* (*P.Q.*, April). He disagrees with the view that Satan, in *Genesis* (*B*) 368, wishes for 'an hour of (wintry) cold, which though longed for as a relief (from heat) would be the alternate torment', preferring the more usual interpretation of this passage 'if I could only get out for a single short winter-hour'. He maintains that the *winter-* element of the compound merely serves to intensify the idea of *an tid*, 'a single hour', the notion of short winter-days having suggested the 'short winter-hour' with which may be contrasted *Juliana* (494) *sumerlongne dæg*.

In *P.M.L.A.* (Dec.) Augustine Philip discusses the *Exeter Scribe and the Unity of the 'Crist'*. He surveys most of the well-known articles which, from the linguistic, metrical, or literary standpoints, have dealt with the problems of the first three poems of the Exeter Book, and in particular with the question whether they constitute one poem, and restricts his own contribution to an examination of the MS. of the *Crist* in the Exeter Book. He notes Wanley's divisions of the Exeter Book poems which prepared the way for the recognition of the three parts of the *Crist*, and notes how Thorpe in his edition ignored the scribe's plain indication of major and minor divisions, which led to confusion and misinformation until Gollancz in his *Cynewulf's 'Christ'* (1892) laid down the proper limits of Part III, as had been indicated by Wanley two centuries before. The writer prints three plates from the facsimile edition of the Exeter Book (1933), the opening of Pts. II and III, and for comparison the beginnings of a number of other sections in the MS.; thereby is demonstrated the scheme of spacing, capitalization, and end-marking of the scribe. The Exeter scribe is shown to be more careful and consistent than the scribes of the Junius or Vercelli MSS. in his use of terminals to distinguish between separate poems and divisions within the same poems, and the conclusion is that the Exeter MS. demonstrates finally that the scribe regarded the first three pieces as independent poems.

Speculum (Oct.) contains an article by Carleton Brown with the title *Poculum Mortis in Old English.* He begins with the passage in the Exeter Gnomic Verses

78 *deop deada wæg dyrne bið lengest*

and suggests that *wæg* represents OE. *wæge, weg,* 'cup', and *deada,* a gen. sg.

This figure, 'the cup of death', appears only in two out of the forty MSS. of the hymn *Rex æterne Domine*; one of these in an eleventh-century Hymnary, with an OE. interlinear gloss, the other in an eighth-century MS. of St. Gall. Having pointed out how essential are the few lines which contain the image to the theme of the temptation which led to punishment in the darkness of hell, Carleton Brown is inclined, in the face of the overwhelming MS. evidence, to consider the lines to be part of the original text of the hymn.

'Wherever this figure of the Cup of Death took its origin, and whatever may have been the date of its first appearance, it certainly was current in Anglo-Saxon England.' This is proved by the references in *Guthlac B* (835 ff.), where the poet is speaking of the entrance of death into the world as a consequence of the temptation in Eden, and again in ll. 953 ff. in the same poem. Carleton Brown points out the close approximation of the *Guthlac* phrase *deopan deaðweges* to the *deop deaða weg* of the Exeter Gnome—in each case with the use of the adjective *deop.* The OE. *Juliana,* too, contains a reference (not found in the Latin *Vita*) where the phrase *ic him byrlade wroht of wege* (in which the devil is again the speaker), recalls the *Guthlac* phrases. Brown considers that this striking figure of pouring out a fateful drink throws light on the much debated *ealuscerwen* (*Beowulf* 769) and *meoduscerwen* (*Andreas* 1526); concluding that, in the second of these examples, 'it is clear that the poet is representing the catastrophe to the Myrmidonians under the figure of dispensing a bitter drink'. The *Beowulf* poet is likewise expressing himself in figurative language to convey the idea of a fatal catastrophe.

The article concludes with a convincing attempt to trace the sequence of the thought of the passage in the Exeter Gnomic verses where the image is introduced. He rejects the translation of *holen,* 'holly', and would regard *holen,* with Thorpe, as the participle of *helan* and print it at the end of l. 78. Taking *dyrne* as a noun, he translates 'the deep cup of death is the secret

longest hidden'. In the line following, *ad*, 'funeral pyre', is supplied to serve as a subject for *sceal*, giving the rendering 'the funeral pyre shall be kindled; the inheritance divided: of the dead man (good) fame is best'. Thus a series of apparently unconnected gnomes becomes a unit with a single theme, mortality. Carleton Brown considers that the figure of the Cup of Death is an inheritance from pre-Christian lore.

The 'Address of the Soul to its Body', a twelfth-century poem, is usually referred to as the Worcester Fragments. Eleanor K. Heningham (*P.M.L.A.*, June) discusses *Old English Precursors of the Worcester Fragments* and tries to show how the poet got his inspiration 'to use English for literary purposes from the Old English writers whose example he cites so fondly' in the prologue to the poem. She claims that this poem is 'the central point in a series of documents *in English* which shows a direct line of influence extending from before the Conquest into the lyric poetry of the thirteenth century'. Carleton Brown has shown its influence on some of the lyrics of that century, but it is to be doubted whether the author has made out a case for its verbal dependence on pre-Conquest written sources. The *ubi sunt* and *memento-mori* themes were commonplaces in Latin as well as in English, as the author recognizes; even close verbal resemblances would prove little, but those brought forward often amount to nothing but the recurrence of the same word, or of a brief, inevitable complete phrase. In a comparison with the phrasing of the Vercelli book in one passage, for example (301), about helping the poor and needy, there are only three words in common—*rest*, *help*, *house*—and the imagery of the passages is as widely different as could be imagined. Of what use is it to compare *Ic was þin imake* (*so þeo*) *bec siggeþ* of the *Fragments* and Ælfric's *swa swa us secgaþ bec*, or the inevitable resemblance of his *þurh þone he gesceop ealle gesceafta* with *He iscop þurh* (*hit*) *þene sune, alle isceafte* of the *Fragments*?

Miss Heningham is anxious that her contribution should reinforce R. W. Chambers's ideas about 'continuity', but account should have been taken of the probable dependence of the *Fragments* on contemporary sermons in English, many of which were never written down. These, as Owst has shown, contained episodes in dialogue on the old themes, which would be acted by the

preacher with the mannerisms natural to his profession, the words and figures of speech inherited from his predecessors down from the days of Aldhelm at the bridge. The best part of the article deals with the arrangement and motivation of the dialogue material by the Worcester poet and there are some footnotes which give useful information.

Bruce Dickins and Alan S. C. Ross (*J.E.G.P.*, April) give a description of *The Alnmouth Cross* (now in the Alnwick Castle Museum) and discuss the transliteration and interpretation of the five short inscriptions found upon it. A bibliography of articles dealing with the cross is given, with comments, at the beginning of the article; and Collingwood's conclusion that the date of the stone must be some time in the tenth century, resembling the work at Lindisfarne, accords well with the fact noted at the end of the article that the acc. sg. form *meh* found on the cross occurs frequently in the Lindisfarne Gospels. The authors also draw attention to the name *Myredah*, i.e. Murdoch, in one of the inscriptions: previous discussions of this name have, it is stated, neglected to mention the fact that this name appears on the cross. There are illustrations, actual size, of three of the most interesting characters in the inscription.

In *Syntax and Style in Old English*[4] S. O. Andrew covers the whole subject from questions of word order to the stylistic implications of the various constructions which he examines. In the Preface he tells us that his inquiry began with the question 'whether certain sentence-forms like *Đa he answarode, Se wæs munuc on ðam mynstre, He ham on mergen foron, Ne ic cuðe him helpan* (to cite a few out of many), which in all our printed OE. texts, both prose and verse, appear frequently as principal sentences, can be accepted as such'. The conclusions reached by the author seemed to answer this question in the negative. The method of proof was to take guidance from Latin originals where these existed, and by examining supposed exceptions in texts which are not translations to show how repunctuation could remove apparent anomalies. Many readers will not agree with the author's conclusions, and here and there his rules do not convince when applied to OE. verse. Page 17, which tries to show

[4] *Syntax and Style in Old English*, by S. O. Andrew. C.U.P. pp. viii + 112. 10*s*. 6*d*.

that a subordinate construction of the þa-clause is important for the meaning of three passages in *Beowulf*, is not convincing. The three main chapters, however, on poetic idioms are instructive; and a chapter on the paratactic structure of OE. does much to substantiate the author's view that, although in certain OE. prose writings certain kinds of parataxis are to be found, 'it is an error to think it characteristic of OE. style at any period, either in prose or verse . . . the prevailing sentence-structure (in *Beowulf*) is not paratactic at all but periodic'.

The Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture at the British Academy was read on 15 March 1939 by Bruce Dickins.[5] His account of the life and work of John Mitchell Kemble, now published, makes a fascinating biographical study; it is the portrait of a man of many parts—orator, metaphysician, democrat, polemic, philologist—described by Wilhelm Grimm as 'the first really loveable Englishman I have seen, young, handsome, lively, *geistreich*, not ceremonious, and very learned in the Anglo-Saxon tongue. . . . He laughed so heartily, and it is very pretty when a man who is learned can laugh heartily'.

Dickins has observed his subject with meticulous care and with a sympathetic eye. His selection of detail is in true perspective and gives a portraiture which is very lifelike within the limits of the canvas he has to work upon. The range of biographical colour from which the final picture has been painted is evident from the notes at the end of the lecture; these reveal the care which has been taken to establish the minutest detail of the portrait.

Particularly interesting to-day is that part of the lecture which deals with Kemble's part in the Torrijos adventure of 1831. Richard Chenevix Trench, later Archbishop of Dublin, was a fellow revolutionary:

> Trench, like Sterling, never spoke of his share in the Torrijos adventure, and his family first heard of it nearly forty years later from Fanny Kemble's *Record of a Girlhood* which the Archbishop read with annoyance, his children with delight. Kemble was less reserved.

[5] *J. M. Kemble and Old English Scholarship*, by Bruce Dickins (Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture). O.U.P. for British Academy. pp. 36. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Kemble's relation (with variations) of one of his Spanish exploits which follows is particularly amusing.

A bibliography at the end of the article lists Kemble's publications and contributions in periodicals. For nine years he was editor of the *British and Foreign Review*. His prowess as an editor of *Beowulf* and as author of *The Saxons in England* made him known in England and brought him recognition from many learned societies in Germany and Scandinavia. Stubbs described him as 'my pattern scholar'. But Kemble, as Bruce Dickins points out, was pursued by ill luck to the grave. At the height of his success he was taken ill with pneumonia and died on 26 March 1857.

An important volume was omitted from the survey of books published in 1939 and should be noticed here. C. E. Wright has written a delightful account of the cultivation of saga in Anglo-Saxon England,[6] showing that there was in existence in the Anglo-Saxon period a fairly developed oral literature side by side with the written literature. Writers of histories in Latin drew upon these traditions acknowledging their debt but casually, sometimes, however, by the significant words '*dicitur*', '*relatio antiquorum*', &c. There is a strong local character in these traditions; the tales were told and re-told, and after each recital discussed by an audience critical of variation and false statement. Wright instances the monks of Bury St. Edmunds gathering together and discussing the legend concerning the origin and early years of their patron saint and adds 'they were enacting a scene which lies at the birth of all sagas, Icelandic as well as Anglo-Saxon'. Until recently such sagas were not considered worthy to be weighed as trustworthy authorities by historians of the Anglo-Saxon period; such familiar stories as 'Alfred and the Cakes' and 'Alfred as the Harpist in Disguise' were banished to the nurseries.

Wright, with great acumen, considers these and other stories in the forms in which they have been preserved to us, together with other narratives by Latin historians which have every appearance of being drawn from oral tradition and hence were most probably originally current as saga. He makes an excellent

[6] *The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England*, by C. E. Wright. Oliver and Boyd. pp. ix + 310. 15*s*.

point when speaking of the opinion widely held that such stories in the pages of post-Conquest writers are derived from ballads, putting forward the suggestion that these *cantilenae* may well have been sagas originally tricked out in a new dress to suit Norman fashions. In the Latin prose, narrative, speeches, and pithy sayings sometimes occur in verse; these remind Wright of a characteristic feature of the Icelandic sagas which use verse in a similar striking way. This trick of style may well have been original in early Saxon days or possibly copied under Scandinavian influence in England. Motives and scenes occur in some of these tales, which are typically Scandinavian; contests of rivalry and bragging, spells and witchcraft, the familiar bear ancestor story, &c. Particularly illustrative of this are the accounts which Wright has brought together of references to the Raven Banner legend (126).

An appendix prints the Latin texts which Wright discusses in turn throughout the book, but we are reminded that these chosen texts do not exhaust the available material: the writer's claim that every period of the Anglo-Saxon epoch is represented is fully borne out. It is good to know that in the future similar studies will be undertaken to prove that the saga form was cultivated also during the same period in Scotland, and on the Continent, especially among the Franks. We look forward to these investigations which will prove, as this one does, valuable ramifications of Chadwick's work on the growth of literature.

The following articles which appeared during 1940 have not come to hand: *Freawaru*, by Kemp Malone, and *Early Danish Criticism of 'Beowulf'*, by Franklin Cooley (*E.L.H.*, Mar.); *Grendel's Abode*, by L. Whitbread (*English Studies*, April); *Ecgtheow*, by Kemp Malone (*M.L.Q.*, Mar.); *The Old English Inscription on the Brussels Cross*—Additional Note by S. T. R. O. d'Ardenne (*English Studies*); *Some Remarks on Ælfric's Lives of Saints and his Translations from the Old Testament*, by A. A. Prins (*Neophilologus*, Jan.).

IV

MIDDLE ENGLISH

I. CHAUCER

By Dorothy Everett

According to a widely accepted opinion, the year 1940 marks the six hundredth anniversary of Chaucer's birth, and it is therefore peculiarly appropriate that it should have seen the appearance of the edition of *The Canterbury Tales*[1] on which J. M. Manly and Edith Rickert were engaged for so long. Unhappily, the feelings of interest and gratitude with which students of the *Canterbury Tales* have hailed the book are mingled with deep regret; for Miss Rickert did not live to see it completed and Manly died so soon after its publication that he could have had little opportunity of witnessing its reception. At least it can be said, however, that these two devoted scholars have left behind them a memorial which even the most carping critic must hold in respect.

The range of the book is in itself immensely impressive. Its mere title suggests a task which many would regard as a life-work, yet the book actually includes a great deal more than the title indicates. For instance, the descriptions of each individual MS. given in vol. i include, not merely all the kinds of information usually found in such descriptions (and this in unusual detail), but also the results of long and careful researches into the history of each MS. (The ownership of MS. Harley 7333, for example, has been traced 'from the scriptorium in which it was written to the British Museum' and several of the scribes who wrote it have been successfully identified.) The editors' very thorough investigations into all the details of the make-up of the MSS. have been rewarded by some discoveries of great value, the most striking instance being those about the origin of the text of the Hengwrt MS.

[1] *The Text of the Canterbury Tales, studied on the basis of all known Manuscripts*, by John M. Manly and Edith Rickert, with the aid of Mabel Dean, Helen McIntosh, and Others. With a Chapter on Illuminations by Margaret Rickert. Univ. of Chicago Press and C.U.P. vol. i, pp. xxiv + 690; vol. ii, pp. viii + 518; vol. iii, pp. x + 537; vol. iv, pp. viii + 536; vol. v, pp. x + 554; vol. vi, pp. viii + 673; vol. vii, pp. viii + 617; vol. viii, pp. viii + 551. £12 the set.

The second volume, which deals with the classification of the MSS., is the most formidable of the eight. The editors' study of the text soon revealed the fact that the MSS. grouped themselves so differently in the different parts of the *Tales* that it would be necessary to consider each tale separately; indeed, the grouping did not always remain the same even throughout a single tale (the *Knight's Tale* is an example). This, of course, immensely complicated the task of classification and explains why a whole volume had to be devoted to it.

In volumes iii and iv the editors present their text of the *Canterbury Tales* as established by the process of recension. Critical Notes, which help to explain their choice of readings, are provided at the back of each volume, and at the foot of each page of the text there is a selection of readings from the best-known MSS. The complete record of variant readings from all MSS. occupies the last four volumes of the edition.

It is not possible in a limited space to give a comprehensive account of Manly's and Miss Rickert's work and all that will be attempted here is a summary of some of the most important results of it.

Their investigations have thrown a great deal of light on the way the extant MSS. came into being. It seems clear that the complicated relationships which exist between them can be explained only by the assumption that they 'do not go back to a single archetype, derived from a completed MS. of Chaucer's, . . . but rather to a body of incomplete material, in different stages of composition and only in part put in order and corrected'. In the case of some tales it seems likely that there were several varying copies in circulation among Chaucer's friends. Manly thinks that, shortly after the poet's death, 'several separate attempts were made at gathering and arranging the tales Chaucer was known . . . to have written', and that some of the scribal-editors began by assembling tales already in circulation. This would explain the shifting from one exemplar to another which is apparent in many extant MSS. Scribes who failed at first to get all the parts of the *Tales* might pick up missing parts from a quite different source; others might correct their text from MSS. other than their exemplars, or might edit them independently. Examples of all these practices can be found in the extant MSS.

These facts go far towards solving certain problems which have

been the subject of controversy. The state of the extant MSS. indicates that (as Tatlock earlier suggested) Chaucer himself could not have been responsible for the order of the *Tales* as it appears in any MS. or group of MSS., and modern editors would therefore seem to be justified in adopting an arrangement which accords with internal evidence, such as allusions to time and place. (In other words, the arrangement in Skeat's edition and the Globe edition is more defensible than, for example, that adopted by Robinson, who follows the Ellesmere order with its manifestly wrong placing of Group B^2.) Further, the view much discussed of late, that the MSS. fall into two main groups, representing a 'revised' and an 'unrevised' version, would now appear to be untenable. Though there is plenty of evidence of revision by Chaucer (e.g. passages existing in early and late forms, such as the Modern Instances in the *Monk's Tale* or the Physician-Pardoner Link, and passages added or rejected by Chaucer) there would appear to be no evidence that any particular MS. or group of MSS. consistently presents an early or a late (unrevised or revised) text.

The discoveries which Manly and Miss Rickert have made about the Hengwrt MS. are of vital importance both for the understanding of the state in which Chaucer left the *Canterbury Tales* and for the establishment of the text. In vol. i the editors explain how their study of the signatures, and of the variations in ink observable in different parts of this MS., led them to the discovery that its text must have been written certainly in two, possibly in three, stages. The main body of the text is written in a dark brown ink and the fact that Group D is in an ink lighter than this would suggest that it was written later. That this was so, and that the scribe wrote it just where he had space, seems to be confirmed by a break in the series of signatures, which does not appear in any quire of D and does not allow for the quires on which D is written. Other parts of the *Tales* (e.g., the links in E–F, the Mk–NP link, the NPPT and McPT) are in a bright yellow ink, differing from that used anywhere else in the MS. This suggests that they, too, were written later than the main body of the text, though it is not possible to decide whether they were written before or after D. These facts and the additional one, confirmed by the evidence of the signatures, that the unusual position of part of Group B^2 and of Group H in Hengwrt is due

to 'an accidental misplacement of quires', have enabled the editors to go far towards solving the puzzle of the unique order of the Hengwrt MS. In making his MS., the scribe was apparently not following any pre-established order for the *Tales*, but had to evolve his own. In the view of the editors, his efforts represent the earliest attempt made by any scribe to arrange in a single MS. the tales and links which Chaucer left unarranged. If, as seems likely, the Ellesmere MS. was written by the same man but rather later, he had evidently in the meantime acquired more material and he may, on this occasion, have worked under a supervisor; as a result, Ellesmere has the tales in an order that is much more reasonable than Hengwrt's. Yet, though Ellesmere is superior to Hengwrt in arrangement, the present editors have made it clear that, textually, it is not so. Hengwrt contains remarkably few accidental errors and, unlike Ellesmere, it is entirely free from editorial variants and for these reasons its text is 'of the highest importance'. This view of the relative value of the texts of Hengwrt and Ellesmere is, of course, completely contrary to that which has been held by preceding editors and it accounts for a large number of the readings in Manly's and Rickert's text which are different from those familiar in earlier editions.

The interest of their text, the first to be based on all the manuscripts, needs no emphasizing. Probably the point that will first strike its readers is that it is a good deal more irregular in versification, and rather less correct in grammar and even in sense, than those in the editions to which they are accustomed. The methods of earlier editors, and in particular their reliance on the 'edited' Ellesmere text, tended to smooth out defects, with the result that all the more familiar editions have texts that are undoubtedly more regular than those which Chaucer himself left. (Robinson's text is a good deal less regular than most others.) In the *General Prologue* alone there are some fifteen or so instances of readings (incorporated in Manly's and Rickert's text) which seem to represent what Chaucer himself wrote and which are clumsier metrically or less correct grammatically than those of the well-known editions. Not all the unfamiliar readings in the new text are of this kind, however; there are, in all parts of the *Tales*, some which are clearly aesthetically preferable to the familiar ones. Two instances

must suffice as illustration. In the *Squire's Tale*, F.514, the new text reads 'this god of loues ypocrite', whereas all the well-known editions read 'this god of love, this ypocrite'. As Manly remarks, 'it ought to have seemed strange' that the falcon spoke of her false lover as 'this god of love' (cf. iv. 483). The second instance is the last line of the *General Prologue*. In all the familiar editions the Prologue ends with the statement that the Knight 'bigan with right a myrie cheere His tale anon, and seyde in this manere'; the correct reading, according to Manly and Rickert, is 'and seyde as ye may heere'—a natural way for an author to introduce his first tale to a listening audience.

The new text is likely to be closely examined, and both the principles on which it is based and its readings will, no doubt, be subjected to much criticism. It should be made clear, therefore, that the value of the edition does not primarily depend on the acceptance, whether partial or complete, of the text presented in it. It depends rather on the vast amount of material, otherwise inaccessible, which it has put into the hands of students of the *Tales*. The editors have, in fact, provided the material that would be needed for criticism of their own work, and, equally, they have provided for further constructive work on the text of the *Canterbury Tales*.

Articles and notes which deal with single items in the *Canterbury Tales* will be recorded, as usual in this chapter, in an order which agrees with that of the *Tales* themselves in Skeat's edition of Chaucer's works.

In *Chaucer's Monk* (*M.L.N.*, May), J. S. P. Tatlock criticizes the article in which Ramona Bressie claimed that she had found in William de Cloune a prototype of the Monk of the *Prologue* (cf. *A Governour Wily and Wys*, *Y.W.* xx. 48). Tatlock remarks that Chaucer's Monk is 'of course . . . a Benedictine monk' and he thinks that he may have belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Westminster, since he proposes to tell the life of St. Edward, the patron saint of the abbey. It is therefore, on the face of it, unlikely that his prototype should have been, like William de Cloune, an abbot of Augustinian canons, and Tatlock does not find that the resemblances noted by Miss Bressie between Chaucer's character and William de Cloune are sufficient to counterbalance this fundamental improbability. Certainly, both

men were notable hunters of hares and belonged to prosperous houses; but 'there were many such monks'. The resemblances merely prove that the Monk, like Chaucer's other pilgrims, was true to type.

In *M.L.N.* (June), E. P. Kuhl argues that two of the statements made in Tatlock's article are open to question. He believes that Tatlock is wrong in saying that the term 'Monk' would not, in medieval times, be used of an Augustinian canon, and in thinking that St. Edward was not a specially prominent saint in the fourteenth century. Tatlock's reply to Kuhl is to be found in *M.L.N.* (Jan., 1941).

J. W. Spargo's article *Chaucer's Love-days* (*Spec.*, Jan.) examines the exact significance of the statement about the Friar, 'In love-dayes ther koude he muchel helpe'. Spargo chases the word 'love-day' through many legal systems and finds that, though the *O.E.D.* suggests that it is a translation of the medieval Latin *dies amoris*, neither canon law nor Roman law knows the expression, nor, in spite of the existence of the term *jour d'amour*, is the institution known in French law. In the oldest collection of Scandinavian laws, however, there is the word *lof*, which is used in a special legal sense, frequently as 'one of the alliterative pair *lof eða lög*, i.e. licence or law, permission or law'. Spargo thinks that the form *love* (in 'love-days') may represent Scand. *lof*, though he admits that it is difficult to account for the OE. form *lufe*, recorded in Bosworth-Toller under *lufu* 'love', with the special legal meaning of 'amicable settlement as opposed to litigation'. The difficulty would be cleared up if one could accept the suggestion that ON. *lof* was 'assimilated to the familiar OE. *lufu*', giving ME. *love* in the special sense in which it is used in 'love-day', i.e. 'licence-day, permission-day, day on which legal disputes are settled out of court ... through arbitration or mutual agreement'. Spargo concludes with some references to the institution denoted by ON. *lof* and ME. *love*-day.

In a brief note on the *Knight's Tale* (A.1506–14) entitled *Arcite's Maying* (*M.L.N.*, March) Henry Savage remarks that, in making 'hym a gerland of the greves', Arcite was behaving in a way that would, in medieval times, have seemed natural at the beginning of May. In a Calendar of Months in the Old French *Heures de Turin* (a book made for Chaucer's contemporary, Jean,

Duc de Berry) there is an illustration for May which shows young men picking the boughs of trees, and it is likely that such an illustration would record a familiar and usual happening.

Mary V. Rosenfeld suggests in *Chaucer and the Liturgy* (*M.L.N.*, May) that in writing Constance's prayer to the Holy Cross (*Man of Law's Tale*, B.451–62), Chaucer probably had the liturgy in mind. It was noted by Skeat that a similar address to the Cross is found in the hymn *Lustra sex qui iam peregit* by Venantius Fortunatus, but Miss Rosenfeld remarks that this hymn, and another to the Cross which is also echoed in Chaucer's lines, appear in the breviary as antiphons and in the missal as part of the ritual of the Mass. Constance's prayer is, in fact, a 'free translation of certain antiphons in the office for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14)'. Chaucer would know that in the votive Mass for the protection of travellers by sea the Cross is besought for aid for a safe harbour and it is probably for this reason that he makes Constance pray to the Holy Cross before beginning her perilous journey.

In *Knaresborough Castle and 'The Kynges Moodres Court'* (*P.Q.*, July), A. C. Edwards notes that while in Trivet's *Chronicle*, from which Chaucer took the *Man of Law's Tale*, and in Gower's version of the same tale, Knaresborough is mentioned as the place where Donegild lived, Chaucer merely speaks of 'the kynges moodres court'. Chaucer's omission of the name, Edward thinks, is due to the fact that Knaresborough Castle was owned by John of Gaunt. The poet may have thought it wiser not to identify his patron's property with the scene of Donegild's treachery.

R. A. Pratt's note on *Chaucer's Shipman's Tale and Sercambi* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) draws attention to the close resemblances between the *Shipman's Tale* and the thirty-first tale in Sercambi's *Novelle*. Sercambi's version of the tale differs in certain particulars from Boccaccio's (in the *Decameron*, viii, i), and in several of these points Chaucer and Sercambi are in agreement. Pratt does not definitely claim that Chaucer took his story from Sercambi, though he evidently thinks it a possibility. If it was so, Chaucer made some modification in it; for instance, the wife's method of repaying her husband for the money she had spent (cf. B.1614, 'I wol nat paye yow but abedde') is peculiar to Chaucer.

The phrase 'taillynge ynough', used at the end of the *Shipman's Tale*, is once more discussed, this time by R. A. Caldwell in *Chaucer's 'Taillynge Ynough'*, (*M.L.N.*, April). Caldwell rejects Claude Jones's interpretation (cf. *Y.W.* xviii. 83) and follows Koch in connecting the word 'taillynge' with the wife's remark 'score it upon my taille'. The word 'taillynge' has, Caldwell thinks, the meaning one would expect, i.e. 'tallying', but the hearers of the tale would have interpreted the 'tallying' in the light of the wife's remark and of her description of her method of paying her debts.

The suggestion that Chaucer may have known the Auchinleck MS. was first made by Laura H. Loomis some years ago (cf. *Y.W.* xvi. 108–9). She has now fulfilled her promise to deal with the matter more fully and contributed an article entitled *Chaucer and the Auchinleck MS: 'Thopas' and 'Guy of Warwick'* to the volume of *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown*.[2] Her belief is that, when Chaucer referred in *Sir Thopas* to 'sir Gy', and included in his *Rime* many reminiscences of that romance, it was precisely of the *Guy of Warwick* of the Auchinleck MS. that he was thinking. Mrs. Loomis shows that none of the facts known about the MS. would preclude the possibility of Chaucer's having read it and that there are some striking indications that he had. Of the six 'romances' mentioned in the list at the end of *Sir Thopas*, three ('Horn child', 'Beves' and 'sir Gy') are in the Auchinleck MS.; 'Horn child', indeed, is found nowhere else. As is well known, the Auchinleck MS. contains two different versions of *Guy of Warwick*, a couplet version and a tail-rhyme version (the latter known only in this MS.). According to Mrs. Loomis, it can be proved that Chaucer used both these and that he sometimes 'dovetailed them together'. (She quotes examples in *Sir Thopas*, stanzas 6, 10, 13, &c.) This combination of the two versions 'points most urgently to his use of the Auchinleck MS.' itself. Further, if the couplet *Guy* in the Auchinleck MS. is compared with that in MS. Caius College 107 (the nearest to it of all those extant), it appears that it is the Auchinleck text (and not Caius) that has 'the crucial combination of words, phrases, rimes, details, &c., which identifies Chaucer's borrowings'.

[2] *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown*. New York Univ. Press. pp. xiv + 336. Further referred to as *In Honor of C. Brown*.

The clinching of Mrs. Loomis's argument seems to come with her demonstration that two of the emphatic phrases in the Host's denunciation of Chaucer's 'drasty ryming' ('the devel I biteche' and 'nat worth a toord') are themselves echoes of the Auchinleck *Guy*; for there would seem to be something peculiarly Chaucerian in making the Host unconsciously use phrases from this work while condemning the verses which were, in part at least, based upon it.

In *The Tale of Melibeus* (*In Honor of C. Brown*) W. W. Lawrence considers the question 'why Chaucer should have busied himself with this sort of thing'. The gist of his answer is that Melibeus is 'very much in the taste of its own time', and both in manner and in matter it would have had a powerful appeal.

There is no question that the work from which *Melibeus* was ultimately derived, the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii* of Albertanus of Brescia, was highly esteemed; the number of vernacular translations made from it bears witness to its popularity. It seems certain, too, that it was for the very quality for which we dislike the work—its didacticism—that the Middle Ages liked it. Considered simply as a story, it is thin and conventional, but this would not have troubled the medieval reader for, to him, the interest of the story lay in its being an allegory. Melibeus is the man who has drunk 'the hony of sweete temporeel richesses and delices', until he has become drunken and forgotten Christ. Therefore the three enemies of mankind, the world, the flesh, and the devil, have wounded his soul (that is, his daughter Sophie) in five places (his five senses). Such is the significance of the story as expounded by Dame Prudence. It is true, as Lawrence remarks, that the allegory 'creaks a good deal at the end' when Melibeus becomes reconciled to the three enemies, but 'the medieval man was not censorious; he took allegory as he found it'.

One feature of the *Tale* which Lawrence thinks would have particularly interested the medieval reader is its insistence that legal punishment is better than private vengeance. The conflict between private revenge and organized justice which is presented in *Melibeus* reflects that stage in the development of law which had been reached when the Latin original was written. It would still have been interesting to Chaucer's contemporaries, for in

the reign of Richard II the perversion of justice was a theme much in men's mind.

The mysterious 'holy Jew' referred to by the Pardoner in his Prologue is the subject of a note, *Jacob and the Hooly Jew* (*M.L.N.*, April), by Leo J. Henkin. The 'Jew' has usually been identified with the Biblical Jacob, but Henkin sees no good reason for this, and suspects that Chaucer did not mean him to be identifiable. He recalls a passage in the *Parson's Tale* in which the shoulder-bone of a sheep is mentioned among other objects used by false enchanters in their practice of the art of 'conjuracioun', and he suggests that this passage inspired the one in which the Pardoner makes similar claims for the sheep's shoulder-bone which he possesses. Henkin thinks that the Pardoner connects his shoulder-bone with 'an hooly Jew' simply in order to make his relic more impressive to an ignorant audience; but, as a result, the passage gains in humour, for the relic of the 'hooly Jew' is one that possessed 'pagan, even sacrilegious powers'.

The comparison used in l. 491 of the *Squire's Tale* is discussed in a note by C. S. Brown, Jr. and R. H. West entitled '*As by the Whelp Chastised Is the Leon*' (*M.L.N.*, Mar.). Skeat thought that this comparison was a proverbial saying, but Brown and West believe it to be a reference to an actual practice. They refer to the sketch book of Villard de Honnecourt which contains a drawing (reproduced by Coulton in his *Life in the Middle Ages*) of a lion chained to a stake, while just beyond his reach stands the trainer with his two dogs. The accompanying text explains that, if the lion will not obey the trainer's commands, the dogs are beaten; it adds that the 'lion here was portrayed from the life'.

In a later note (*M.L.N.*, June) this suggestion that Chaucer was here concerned with the actual practice of the lion-tamer is rejected by Grace Frank. She remarks that the proverb 'to beat the dog before the lion' was well known before Chaucer's day and she mentions a large number of writers, from the fourth century onwards, who use it.

In the article *Chaucer and the Liturgy*, mentioned earlier in this chapter (cf. p. 52), Miss Rosenfeld suggests that the *Second Nun's Tale* contains reminiscences of the Life of St. Cecile as

quoted in the breviary. The speech of Cecile in G.463–5 is more like the words given to her in the office for St. Cecilia's day in the Sarum breviary than it is to those in any other account; the breviary may, therefore, have been a secondary source for Chaucer's *Tale*.

E. H. Duncan's aim in his article *The Canon Yeoman's 'Silver Citrinacioun'* (*Mod. Phil.*, Feb.) is to show more exactly than has been done hitherto the depth and accuracy of Chaucer's knowledge of alchemy. For his investigation he has chosen the *Prima pars* of the *Canon Yeoman's Tale*, since it is here, rather than in the *secunda pars*, that Chaucer's real knowledge appears. For comparison with it, Duncan has used the *Works of Geber* and the alchemical treatises of Arnold of Villa Nova.

The whole process of the transmutation of metals is described in Geber's *Sum of Perfection*, but it is his discussion of 'medicines' of the first order that is most important for the understanding of the *Canon Yeoman's Tale*. Duncan thinks it can be assumed that, in order to make an Elixir or Medicine (to be used to transmute a lower metal into a higher), the Canon had undertaken the process of citrination of silver. In ll. 750–76 of the *Tale*, the Yeoman seems to be giving as straightforward a description of some steps in this process as he is capable of and, as Duncan shows, details in his account can be compared fairly closely with some in Geber's chapter 'Of Medicine citrinating Luna'. Later in the *Prima pars* the Yeoman pours forth a confused stream of alchemical terms and, though many of them are still connected with the process of 'silver citrination', it can be shown by reference to Geber that he has jumbled together with these a number that have no relation to it. Thus Chaucer indicates the Yeoman's lack of understanding of the operations in which he has assisted.

Of the two analogues to the *Manciple's Tale* discussed by Gardiner Stillwell in *Analogues to Chaucer's 'Manciple's Tale' in the 'Ovide Moralisé' and Machault's 'Voir-dit'* (*P.Q.*, April), that in the *Ovide Moralisé* had not hitherto been noted. It uses the same tale as Chaucer tells to point much the same moral—that a man should hold his tongue and avoid 'jenglerie' or 'bavardage'; but it adds, as Chaucer does not, remarks against 'losengeours'. Machault, in *Le Livre du Voir-dit*, draws from the story of Apollo and Coronis the same moral as Chaucer and the *Ovide Moralisé*,

but, since he is using the tale in connexion with a situation in which he is himself supposedly involved, the moral has a less general application than in the other two versions. In both these analogues, however, the moral is more strongly emphasized and nearer in intention to Chaucer's than that found in other well-known versions. Stillwell holds, therefore, that these two are among the most important versions for the study of the *Manciple's Tale*, and that, though neither can be 'positively established' as a source for the *Tale*, either is a 'possible' source.

A note on the *Source of the Quotation from Augustine in 'The Parson's Tale', 985* (*M.L.N.*, Mar.), by Kevin Guinagh, traces the quotation introduced by the words 'And herof seith Seint Augustyn' to St. Augustine's *Liber de Vera et Falsa Poenitentia*, x. 25. Reference to the original shows that Miss Petersen was right in her conjecture that the quotation continued to the end of the sentence (to the words 'greet mercy of God').

The following publications deal with various points in Chaucer's early poems and with *Troilus and Criseyde*.

The word 'archaungell', used as a bird-name in the English *Romance of the Rose* l. 915, is once more considered in J. G. Kunstmann's note, *Chaucer's Archangel* (*M.L.N.*, April). Kunstmann agrees with Thompson (cf. *Y.W.* xix. 62) that the form must be the result of scribal corruption, but he does not accept Thompson's proposed derivation. His own view is that 'archaungell' is corrupted from some form of the vernacular bird-name which now appears in provincial English as *wariangle, weirangle*, &c., a name for the red-backed shrike. This word is found in Middle English (cf. *Wars of Alexander, wayryngle*) and Chaucer himself uses it in *Cant. Tales* D. 1408.

A puzzling passage in *The Book of the Duchess* is discussed by S. W. Stevenson in *Chaucer's Ferses Twelve* (*E.L.H.*, Sept.). In ll. 721–6 the Dreamer, in answer to the Black Knight's complaint that Fortune played at chess with him and took away his 'fers' (l. 654), replies that, even if the Knight had lost 'the ferses twelve', he would not be justified in killing himself. The reference to the single 'fers' is clearly to the piece we call the Queen (here used to designate Blanche the Duchess); but the 'ferses twelve' are not so easy to interpret. Stevenson rejects Skeat's view (repeated in Robinson's edition) that the phrase means all the pieces

used in chess excepting only the King, and he suggests that the reference here may not be to the game of chess at all, but to draughts, the 'ferses twelve' being the twelve pieces used in that game. Stevenson believes he has found evidence that draughts was played in England half a century before the *Book of the Duchess* was written, and he thinks that, since the game originated as a simplified form of chess with the moves of the pieces imitating those of the Queen (or 'fers') in chess, it is quite likely that all the pieces might be referred to as 'ferses'. His interpretation of the passage in the *Book of the Duchess* would therefore be that the Knight refers to chess, but the Dreamer in his reply speaks in terms of draughts.

In the second of the *Three Chaucer Notes* by Haldeen Braddy (*In Honor of C. Brown*) he discusses the Ceys and Alcione episode in the *Book of the Duchess*. He supports the view that the words of the Man of Law 'In youthe he made of Ceys and Alcione' and Lydgate's reference in the *Falls of Princes* (i. 304) both suggest that Chaucer originally wrote an independent poem on this story. There is a *balade* by Deschamps on the subject which narrates both the storm at sea and the shipwreck, and Braddy remarks that this provides 'a contemporary illustration of the independent treatment of this episode'. If *Ceys and Alcione* did at first exist separately, its subsequent inclusion in the *Book of the Duchess* is easy to explain, since it forms an appropriate opening to an elegy and 'foreshadows perfectly the central motive of a grief-stricken lover'.

A parallel to certain lines in Dido's complaint in Book I of the *Hous of Fame* is indicated by R. M. Estrich in *A Possible Provençal Source for Chaucer's 'Hous of Fame', 300–310* (*M.L.N.*, May). Though Chaucer clearly says that he did not find this speech in any 'auctour', yet one of the *chansons* of the late Provençal poet, Daude de Pradas, is 'strikingly similar'. Daude depicts himself as having achieved exactly the condition which, according to Dido, men crave for. He has achieved three women 'a *dompna* . . . per mais valer' (cf. *H.F.* 305–6), a *piucella*, that is, a friend who will gladly sit by him when he visits her (cf. *H.F.* 307, 'another for frendshippe'), and a *soudadeira*, a gay wench that 'shal be take for delyt' (*H.F.* 309). Estrich remarks that, though most critics have scouted the idea that Chaucer knew

Provençal, it is not inherently improbable that he should have read its literature, and the parallel here noted is so striking that, unless a 'likelier origin' is discovered for Chaucer's lines, it must be assumed that Chaucer knew at least one poem by a Provençal writer.

The title of T. A. Kirby's book, *Chaucer's 'Troilus'. A Study in Courtly Love*,[3] gives a fairly clear indication of the nature of its contents. The book is divided into three parts, the first of which deals with the courtly love convention as it appears in the writings of its chief exponents, the second with courtly love in Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, and the third with Chaucer's poem, particularly in its relation to Boccaccio's.

The author begins with Ovid as the fountain-head of medieval love-poetry, and he shows, by copious quotations from his works, what the Roman poet has to say about the powers of the God of Love and about the effects of love on the lover. Many of these ideas were taken over by medieval writers, but Ovid knows nothing of the 'exaltation of womanhood characteristic of Provence' and his conception of love is of something purely physical. The doctrine of love expressed in the lyrics of the troubadours and in the works of Chrétien de Troyes and Andreas Capellanus is very fully described by Kirby.

At the beginning of his examination of *Il Filostrato* Kirby stresses the fact that the poem is 'in most respects a typical courtly love poem', and he notes that Boccaccio's position as compared with that of his lady, Maria d'Aquino, made this the most appropriate kind of poem he could have written for her. Boccaccio uses most of the ideas of courtly love; for instance, the symptoms and behaviour of Troilo and the emphasis laid on secrecy are completely in the convention. Even the conception of love as a great spiritual force finds its place in the poem, chiefly in the poet's descriptions of its regenerating effect on Troilo. According to Kirby, the most original feature in th. *Filostrato* is the character of Pandaro, who differs a good deal from the type of the go-between found in most medieval literature. Boccaccio may have been partially influenced in his conception of him by the character of Galehot in *Lancelot du Lac*,

[3] *Chaucer's 'Troilus'. A Study in Courtly Love*, by Thomas A. Kirby. Louisiana State Univ. Press. pp. xii + 337. 17*s*.

and he may also have had in mind some unknown friend of his own who helped him in his love affair with Maria.

The author's method in the third part of his book is to take the characters in Chaucer's poem one by one and compare them minutely with their originals in the *Filostrato*. Pandarus, who is given a much more important rôle than Pandaro, is the instigator of action in the English poem; 'everything that takes place is due to his intervention'. In aiding the lovers he is playing a part 'sanctioned and approved by the courtly love code', one that is completely in the convention of courtly love—a fact which has often escaped the critics. He only departs from the convention when he expresses doubts about the propriety of his actions, and it is significant that all these qualms of conscience may be traced to the *Filostrato*.

Kirby sums up his opinion of Criseyde in the word 'opportunist', explaining that he does not mean by this that she is a 'scheming adventuress', but that she 'sees exactly what is happening and coolly decides to face the facts' and 'more than this . . . she has decided to make full use of these "facts"'. As a 'typical courtly love mistress', she is not, of course, to be condemned for her relations with Troilus; her sole offence is that she abandons one of the best of lovers for one who possesses none of the virtues of a courtly lover. Kirby's explanation of her infidelity (which is, of course, the most complete departure from the courtly code) is that the poet here rejects the artificiality of the code for the naturalness of life, making Criseyde act just as a person 'of her type' would in similar circumstances.

The Diomede of Chaucer's poem is more precipitate, and thus less courtly, than Boccaccio's character and Kirby thinks that Chaucer has deliberately presented him 'as an example of what a courtly lover should not be'. Troilus, on the other hand, is presented as a more perfect lover, according to the convention, even than Troilo. Kirby believes that we are to understand that Troilus ascends straight to heaven, without any period of purgation, because his love has been so noble and spiritual. The stanzas describing the flight of Troilus's soul and the following lines he sees as 'Chaucer's final stamp of approval on the conduct of his hero'.

Kirby's book is in some ways a very useful one. The many quotations from the earlier exponents of courtly love (and the

translations of them provided in the Appendix) and the minute comparison of Boccaccio's and Chaucer's poems all furnish a wealth of material for the understanding of the courtly love tradition and of Chaucer's *Troilus*. But, in spite of his patient care for detail, when he comes face to face with the most difficult points in Chaucer's poem (such as the problem of reconciling the faithless Criseyde of the last book with the lady of the courtly tradition which Chaucer has carefully built up in the earlier books, or the meaning and implications of the last stanzas of the poem), the solutions he proposes are not always satisfying.

The publications to be considered next have little in common except that they are all concerned with Chaucer's writings in general and not with single works.

P. Van Dyke Shelly's book, *The Living Chaucer*,[4] is primarily concerned with Chaucer as poet and artist, 'rather than [Chaucer] as a subject for scholarly research or as an historian and illustrator of his age'. Its author begins by making large claims for Chaucer as a poet, saying, for instance, that he is supreme over all but Shakespeare in his 'grasp of life'.

He then proceeds to trace the development of Chaucer's art step by step. In the *Book of the Duchess*, written when Chaucer was supposed to be most in bondage to French literature, he finds freshness and originality, and the power to plan and co-ordinate material. The *House of Fame* is interesting because it is so 'clearly experimental'. Shelly maintains that the much discussed meaning of this poem is not, in reality, hard to grasp. Chaucer, he thinks, himself explains it when he says that he went to the House of Fame to hear 'tydynges . . . of love'. In short, he wrote the poem as a love poet who felt himself for the time being at a 'dead end', at a loss for a suitable subject. There is in the poem, however, a wealth of new matter from the classics in which Chaucer clearly found huge enjoyment—so much, indeed, that at times it got the better of his art.

Shelly remarks that the reading of the *Teseide* and the *Filostrato* was an event of great importance in Chaucer's life because in Boccaccio he first found what he needed as a love poet, namely, stories that stood by themselves (and were not merely episodes

[4] *The Living Chaucer*, by Percy Van Dyke Shelly. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press. pp. viii + 331.

in long epics or romances) and that were about real people, not about allegorical figures. In his discussion of *Troilus and Criseyde*, Shelly brings out well the qualities of the three chief characters and, what is rather less common, he shows appreciation of the structural excellence of the poem. It is clear from *Troilus*, he thinks, that Chaucer possessed both the power of design and the art to carry out his design; there is nothing in the *Canterbury Tales* to match it 'in grandeur or sustained perfection of art'.

The brief chapter on the *Legend of Good Women* is interesting because, unlike most discussions of that poem, it is concerned mainly with the legends themselves, rather than with the Prologue. It is followed by one which considers more generally Chaucer's attitude towards and use of classical stories. In contrast to Gower, who uses them as 'exempla in a didactic discourse', Chaucer is interested in them for themselves, and delights in them for their human interest. He has a love of physical beauty which is like that found in Renaissance writers and he is like them too in his 'hearty and robust acceptance of life, and in the fact that he is always the artist, not the moralist'.

Shelly's chapters on the *Canterbury Tales* reveal his power of appreciating the distinctive qualities of poetry of varying kinds. The Prologue he sees as 'one of the supreme illustrations of what can be accomplished in literature by the sense of fact'; but, though the pilgrims are drawn with realism, they are also 'to a certain extent, idealised'. In the Links the realism is of a higher order and the method is different, for here Chaucer is the dramatist. Shelly describes the Wife of Bath's Prologue as 'a long dramatic monologue five hundred years before Browning'.

In one of his last chapters Shelly considers Chaucer's style, maintaining that Spenser's phrase 'well of English undefiled' is peculiarly apposite, since Chaucer's preference is always for the simple word. He does not, like the alliterative poets, use archaic and provincial diction, nor does he, like some later writers, indulge in excessive Latinity. It is not true, in Shelly's view, that Chaucer is without a lyric gift, but many of his most lyrical passages are embedded in his longer works.

This book should do good service to the cause its author has at heart—the spread of a fuller knowledge and appreciation of Chaucer's poetry. It is written with vigour and zest and its

judgements, though they are not always new nor indisputable, are freshly and independently perceived and expressed.

Die Wertwelt Chaucers[5] by W. Héraucourt, which last year could receive only a bare mention, has come to hand and, since its author's approach to Chaucer is an unusual one, it will now receive fuller attention.

Héraucourt's aim, as stated in the Preface, is to present in a systematic and comprehensive manner, the ethical views of Chaucer. His method, briefly stated, is to examine in great detail the means by which Chaucer conveys ethical conceptions, to attempt to ascertain, in fact, the exact force, significance, and origin of the words and phrases he uses to express them.

The first part of his book gives a brief summary of the conceptions of the universe and of man's place in it which were generally accepted in the Middle Ages. In the medieval view, the organization of human society was merely a repetition in little of the order of the universe and was equally static. Each of the three classes of society, the nobility, the clergy, and the commons, was fixed and distinct from the others; each had its proper and peculiar functions and its appropriate virtues. For instance, Truth and Bravery were virtues belonging to the nobility, while Industry and Humility belonged to the commons. During Chaucer's life-time, however, there was great social unrest in England; class distinctions were breaking down and with them the view of society as something fixed and unchanging; his ethical conceptions are, therefore, of special interest.

From the courtly circles in which he moved, and from the literature of France, Chaucer imbibed the chivalric ideals of knightly conduct. These 'ritterlich-höfisch' ideals were in part inherited from the ancients (through such writers as Cicero, Seneca, and Boethius), in part they were the product of medieval Christian thinkers. Héraucourt proceeds to show how Chaucer expresses these ideals, beginning his study by examining all the words and phrases used to convey the general conception of moral good—the conception for which the Romans used the term *honestum* (and for which Chaucer sometimes uses *gentilesse*). This conception includes, of course, the four cardinal virtues,

[5] *Die Wertwelt Chaucers, die Wertwelt einer Zeitwende*, by W. Héraucourt. Heidelberg: Winter 1939. M. 15.

and the main part of Héraucourt's book is occupied with the examination of Chaucer's expression of the conceptions of *prudentia*, *justitia*, *fortitudo*, and *temperantia*, and of all the ideas related to each of these. *Justitia*, for instance, has three chief branches; it can be exemplified in 'trouthe', in 'pitie' (mercy or liberality), or in humility; and Héraucourt discusses fully every word or phrase used in connexion with all three.

Héraucourt's method is, of course, slow and even laborious, but on the whole it is justified by the results. It is clear from his investigations that Chaucer paid very careful attention to the expression of ethical ideas and that he had a genuine interest and understanding of them. His perception of moral worth or moral defects was acute. Though in many respects his values were those of the medieval world, in others he looked forward to new ideas, and Héraucourt thinks it might be said that, in regard to ethics, he belonged equally to the Middle Ages and to the Renaissance. He finds signs that Chaucer's own point of view underwent a change during his life-time, and that his conceptions developed from the ideals of the knightly caste into ideals that were no longer those of a class but could be called national.

In the course of his investigations Héraucourt succeeds in throwing a good deal of light on the precise significance and value (including the emotional connotations) of the various words he studies. He finds that the native words (or 'Germanic', as he calls them) are of more fundamental importance than the Romance words for the expression of Chaucer's ethical thought; they designate conceptions 'in der realen Welt realisierbare und realisierte' and 'echt und warm gefühlte', whereas the Romance words are '"kalt" gedachte', and apply usually to the external values of the world of courtly society.

Among Héraucourt's discoveries about the origin and meaning of Chaucer's words there are some which should be of interest to students of language as well as to Chaucerians.

The six-hundredth anniversary of Chaucer's birth was celebrated by R. W. Chambers in the article *Geoffrey Chaucer. Springtide of English Poetry* (*T.L.S.*, April 20) in which he also paid tribute to Manly's and Rickert's edition of *The Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer should not be thought of exclusively as the poet of St. Valentine's Day; his life was lived in 'grim and terrible'

times and his own circumstances were not always easy. It has been truly said of him that his 'divine gift of humour preserved him from the abject vice of self-pity'. Though the crude idea that Chaucer was the first to combine native Saxon and aristocratic Norman-French elements can be disproved, yet it is true that his poetry is the product of the culture of both nations; he is 'the mouthpiece of an Anglo-French ideal of knighthood which . . . was the noblest product of the Middle Ages'.

Henry Alexander's anniversary article, *Chaucer after Six Centuries* (*Q.Q.*), takes the form of a review of the poet's writings, with special reference to *Troilus* and the *Canterbury Tales*. In his appreciation of *Troilus* he stresses its 'dramatic structure' and singles out Pandarus as the poet's greatest achievement in characterization. What impresses him in the *Canterbury Tales* is the combination in it of 'universality and definite historical truth'.

R. S. Loomis (*In Honor of C. Brown*) discusses the question *Was Chaucer a Laodicean?* He maintains that Chaucer did not look with 'bland unconcern' on the important issues of his time. Though he makes no direct references to most controversial matters (he says nothing, for instance, about the struggle for power between the young King Richard and his uncles) Loomis thinks it is sometimes easy to gather his views. From his sympathetic portraits of the Knight and the Clerk of Oxenford, both members of classes which supported Lollardry, and, still more, from his picture of the Parson, Loomis deduces that he was favourable to Wyclif and his followers. Significant, too, are his remarks on the use and abuse of royal power in the speech of Alcestis in the *Legend of Good Women* and in *Lak of Steadfastness*. These and other passages indicate that Chaucer was neither a 'sycophantic time-server' nor a 'cheerful philosopher' looking on with 'amused detachment'.

Some interesting points are made by B. H. Bronson in *Chaucer's Art in Relation to his Audience*, the first item in *Five Studies in Literature*.[6] Bronson refers to a number of passages in Chaucer's poetry which make it clear that 'the constant awareness of a listening audience' was 'a primary condition of his writing', and

[6] *Five Studies in Literature*. See above, p. 12.

he shows how this affected his work. Chaucer's care that his audience should be able to follow easily led him to mark the beginnings and ends of speeches clearly (*Troilus*, ii. 1154 ff. affords an instance of particularly skilful manipulation of conversation, in which action is also indicated). He displays 'manifest anxiety to avoid boring his readers' (here may be instanced his many references to prolixity), and he avoids topics that might be offensive. Chaucer's poetry was 'a social art' and as such it was bound to be restrained.

The conditions for which he wrote did not, however, affect his poetry merely negatively; they afforded him certain definite opportunities. Bronson traces to their influence the 'unparalleled immediacy' of Chaucer's poetry and its characteristic tone as of easy and intimate conversation. The liveliness of his writing, his use of sly allusion, even the over-emphasis in his characterization of some of the pilgrims (who are, as has been often remarked, almost all 'nonpareils')—all these are the marks of the good *raconteur*. Naturally he was conscious of himself in relation to his audience, and he adopted an air of deceptive simplicity, under cover of which he was able to talk about himself. When he comes to the point in the *Canterbury Tales* at which he himself must tell a tale, he solves brilliantly what was a real social problem. As a professional, he could hardly assign to himself a tale that was only fairly good, so he told *Sir Thopas*; but he was not content with this for, after all, he was a man of weight among his contemporaries and one whose judgement was widely trusted. It is for this reason, Bronson thinks, that he chose *Melibeus* as his second tale—a serious work, to be seriously considered, but, by its very nature, hardly a rival to the other tales.

Bronson's final remarks are a tribute to the audience which can be discerned behind Chaucer's writings. Though it evidently tolerated some barbarities and indecencies, it would appear to have been far more civilized than that for which Shakespeare wrote and, judging from the nature and quality of the poems written for it, it must have been endowed with sensitiveness and perception in a remarkable degree.

The first of Haldeen Braddy's *Three Chaucer Notes* (*In Honor of C. Brown*) is concerned with Chaucer's use of symbolic colours. Braddy has found that he introduces this device, which was

familiar in medieval literature, especially in passages about courtly love. He uses blue to symbolize the loyalty or fidelity of the lover in the *Squire's Tale* (F. 644 ff.), where he himself indicates its significance, and in *Anelida and Arcite* and *Troilus* (iii. 885 ff.). The colours black, red, and white he seems to use 'in the respective meanings of sorrowful, ardent and joyful' (cf. the 'Black' Knight in the *Book of the Duchess* and the use of the colour red in connexion with the Wife of Bath. Cf. also *Anelida*, ll. 146–7, where two of the three colours are mentioned together). Green of course signifies jealousy (cf. *Squire's Tale*, 646). Braddy thinks that the consistency with which Chaucer uses this symbolism may indicate that he derived it from some literary tradition, and he notes that Machault's *Le Remede de Fortune* employs colours in the same way. Finally, he suggests that this colour symbolism helps to interpret two passages in Chaucer's works which have, he thinks, hitherto been misunderstood; the first is *Complaint of Mars*, 8, where 'Wyth teres blewe' should be taken as meaning that the 'foules' were loyal and faithful; the second, *Troilus*, iii. 901, where 'a fewe wordes white' probably means 'a few joyful words'.

Certain points in F. N. Robinson's edition of Chaucer's works are criticized by Frederick Tupper in *Chaucer and the Cambridge Edition* (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.). Tupper defends his own explanation of the MS. gloss 'Ille vates Chaldeorum Tropheus' (cf. *Cant. Tales*, B. 3305) and his identification of the characters in *Anelida and Arcite*, to both of which Robinson has objected. He maintains that Robinson has misrepresented his views on the connexion between the Canterbury pilgrims and the Seven Deadly Sins. He has never stated that 'each pilgrim represents in his person a sin which he condemns in his tale'; he has claimed only that some of them do, notably the Pardoner. Finally, Tupper protests against the order (that of the Ellesmere MS.) in which the *Canterbury Tales* are presented in Robinson's edition; it is, he says, 'based not always on the sovereign authority of Chaucer, but on the servile blundering of copyists'.

An historical problem is discussed in Ramona Bressie's article *Was Chaucer at the Siege of Paris?* (*J.E.G.P.*, April). She asks what happened to Chaucer after he was ransomed from the French on March 1st, 1360. Did he rejoin the English army at Guillon

and then move to Paris? She finds that the evidence is not conclusive but that, on the whole, it points against Chaucer's having been at the siege of Paris in April. It is known that the vanguard of the English army was disbanded after the death of its commander, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, who was wounded in a raid on Rouvray on February 26. The record of Chaucer's ransom is to be found among payments made mostly to members of March's household, some of which are dated the last day of February and others March 1st. It has been supposed that Chaucer was captured at Reims or Rethel, but Miss Bressie thinks the evidence for this is open to question and suggests that, if Chaucer had been in March's retinue and had been captured at Rouvray, the date of his ransom would be explained. Further, in his evidence at the Scrope-Grosvenor trial, Chaucer does not, like many other witnesses, say that he saw the Scropes bearing the disputed coat-of-arms at Paris; he merely says that he saw the Scropes before Rethel. His omission of any reference to Paris would be explicable if he himself never took part in the siege.

In his *Three Chaucer Notes* (*In Honor of C. Brown*) Haldeen Braddy gives some additional facts about Sir Guichard d'Angle, who is mentioned by Froissart as one of Chaucer's associates in the embassy to France in the spring of 1377. D'Angle at first sponsored the French cause, but he later became a partisan of the English king, largely, it would appear, because of his admiration for the Black Prince. He was clearly a person of some prominence in England. He was well treated by King Edward, who in 1374 appointed him as his personal representative to treat with France and in 1375 gave him a pension; in 1376 the Black Prince made him guardian of his son Richard. On d'Angle's death in 1380, two of Chaucer's friends, Sir Lewis Clifford and Sir John Clanvowe, acted as executors of his will, and during his life-time he seems to have been acquainted with various literary men, such as Oton de Graunson, who were also known to Chaucer.

Dorothy F. Atkinson notes, in *Some Further Chaucer Allusions* (*M.L.N.*, May), that Chaucer's name is given as a reference after a number of words in some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books of heraldry and also in Thomas Blount's *Glossographia: or a Dictionary* (London, 1656).

V

MIDDLE ENGLISH

II. BEFORE AND AFTER CHAUCER

By GLADYS DOIDGE WILLCOCK

THERE is little to record in 1940 of comprehensive literary history or synthesis in the Middle English field. The most active line of research seems to be the editing of texts and annotation of difficulties of reading or interpretation. The order of consideration in this chapter will proceed from very brief mention of studies in the general background of life and thought and in cognate subjects such as art, Anglo-Latin or Anglo-Norman, through secular and religious poetry to prose and drama and will conclude, as usual, with linguistic and bibliographical topics.

There appears to be a growing determination to popularize in inexpensive forms the principal fruits of modern investigation of the intellectual and social world of the Middle Ages—even while scholars in certain fields are seeking to abolish the concept 'Middle Ages' altogether. The general line of G. G. Coulton's approach to medieval history, ideas, and conditions is too well known to need discussion here; some of his findings have been made readily accessible in two recent books: *Studies in Medieval Thought*[1] and *Europe's Apprenticeship*.[2]

G. T. Salusbury-Jones has published a condensed, but brief and balanced, résumé of his researches in *Street Life in Medieval England*[3] which, from civic records of London, Coventry, and other towns, illuminates the conditions described in more realistic writings. It also illustrates from its own social approach that evolution or consolidation of the late medieval consciousness in the fifteenth century—an evolution for which no extraneous factors of 'Renaissance' need be postulated—which has independently emerged in other recent considerations of fifteenth-century material.

[1] *Studies in Medieval Thought*, by G. G. Coulton. Nelson. pp. 229. 2*s*. 6*d*.
[2] *Europe's Apprenticeship*, by G. G. Coulton. Nelson. pp. 288. 8*s*. 6*d*.
[3] *Street Life in Medieval England*, by G. T. Salusbury-Jones. Oxford: Pen-in-Hand Club. pp. 205. 5*s*.

At the opposite extreme from these modest publications are the two sumptuous volumes of a 'Festschrift' edited by Wilhelm R. W. Koehler: *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*.[4] Here are gathered magnificently illustrated specialized studies by a host of experts in medieval European pure and applied art. In Part I will be found three strenuous essays on more general aspects of art and literature: *Das Irreführende an Begriffe 'Mittelalter'* by Josef Strzygowski, *Die Mittelstellung der mittelalterlichen Kunst zwischen Antike und Renaissance* by Hermann Beenken, and *Chivalric and Dramatic Imitations of Arthurian Romance* by R. S. Loomis. The first two of these articles concern themselves (from the point of view of contacts, diffusion, and development in the arts) with the meaning and validity of the concept 'Middle Ages'. They are marked by that pursuit of Continuity the growing importance of which in cultural history was noted last year. 'Die Renaissance ist ein Kind des Mittelalters' is a characteristic *dictum*. Loomis's article is an exploratory study of the reflection of Arthurian legend and literature in drama and in courtly and social institutions—a study undertaken explicitly in the spirit of Wilde's paradox: 'Life holds up the mirror to art'. No more recondite sources than guide-books to various British localities are necessary to illustrate the processes by which Arthur's bones have been planted here and there and the countryside inoculated with Arthurian associations; in this article material is gathered from generally remote sources (French, German, and British) to show how, under the impulse of the Romances, 'Round Table' societies or ceremonies sprang up in courtly circles and how Arthurian masques, mummings or rudimentary plays expressed the hold of this material on both the courtly and the popular mind. The texts quoted reveal a curious semantic development by which 'Graal' comes to denote a place of sensual delights, a bower of bliss. In general, they demonstrate 'Romance in action'.

In Part VII (vol. ii) are grouped together essays on medieval art in Scandinavia and the British Isles. Of these some establish contacts with literature and legend or illustrate a cultural diffusion relevant to literary history—notably, Esther I. Seaver's *Some Examples of Viking Figure representation in Scandinavia*

[4] *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, ed. by Wilhelm R. W. Koehler. Camb. Mass. 1939. 2 vols. pp. xxiv + 728. £7.

and the British Isles and Adolf Goldschmidt's *English Influence on Medieval Art of the Continent.*

The process of recovering for the learned the scientific works of Roger Bacon has made progress by the appearance of Fasciculum xvi of the *Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi* edited for the Oxford Press by R. Steele.[5] The work now printed is the *Communia Mathematica*, in its extant form (like the *Communia Naturalia*) an assembled work. In a brief Introduction Steele draws attention to the main points of interest in Bacon's mathematical writings, reminding us that, to the early medieval mind, Boethius was a Master of Arithmetic as well as of the Consolations of Philosophy.

Carl Selmer in *A Latin Collection of Pseudo-Aristotelian Paroimiai and its Relation to the Sayings of the Seven Sages* (*P.Q.*, Oct.) notes the paucity among medieval sources of pseudo-Aristotelian material other than the scientific or the occult and illustrates the transition from *dicta* of Greek philosophers to circulating proverb-lore in the Middle Ages.

The exploration of the medieval world of books and education has been pushed forward actively in recent years, and a general trend among the explorers has been to find more and more educational light and leading where older scholars saw monkish ignorance and Gothic night. It is not surprising therefore, that Lynn Thorndike in his article: *Elementary and Secondary Education in the Middle Ages* (*Spec.*, Oct.) should find that 'in the period of developed medieval culture elementary and even secondary education was fairly wide-spread and general'. Thorndike notes the fourteenth-century English villeins who paid fines for sending their sons to school without their lords' permission and he points out that Universities presuppose schools (allowance must be made here, however, for the extent to which the Universities had to arrange for, if not provide, their own school teaching). It is well to be reminded of the discipline imposed by the actual reading of medieval Latin manuscripts; it certainly increases our respect for the literate in Latin. Thorndike finds that his local archives point to a decline in the fourteenth and

[5] *Communia Mathematica Fratris Rogeri, Partes Prima et Secunda*, ed. Robert Steele. O.U.P. pp. vi + 152. 15*s.*

fifteenth centuries—yet evidence from other sources has come in of an increase of lay literacy (at least in the vernacular) in the fifteenth century.

K. G. T. Webster in *Walter Map's French Things* (*Spec.*, July) endeavours to pierce the tantalizing ambiguity in the hints thrown out by Map and his friend Giraldus Cambrensis as to the nature and range of Map's literary activities; the chief problem is whether or no the recorded words indicate that Map was a writer of popular French verse, i.e. of romances. The same writer in *Galloway and the Romances* (*M.L.N.*, May) recalls that the country north and south of the Solway Firth was in the Middle Ages a land of romance. William of Malmesbury calls Galloway the kingdom of the greatest Gawain and in some early romances the name becomes synonymous with otherworld. Percival and Gawain are two heroes who appear particularly at home in Galloway.

Geoffrey of Monmouth never lies completely dormant. Jacob Hammer (*Spec.*, Oct.) continues earlier studies begun in 1935 by *A Commentary on the Propheta Merlini* (*Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'Historia Regum Britanniae', Book VII*). In the present article he prints the complete interlinear commentary (drawn from MS. Fonds Latin 6233) and some additional lines to make possible a comparison of Welsh and Latin versions. Analysis and discussion will appear later, together with two shorter documents.

Several recent discussions in the field of British romance have depended for important items of evidence on the history, phonological and otherwise, of British romantic names. There is ample scope here for investigation. Notices have appeared of a new study (Univ. of California Press and C.U.P.), A. E. Hutson's *British Personal Names in 'Historia Regum Britanniae'*, which has not been accessible for this survey.

Arthur C. L. Brown pushes his pursuit of the origins of the stories of *Arthur's Loss of Queen and Kingdom* (*Spec.*, Jan.) back into the Celtic hinterland of myth behind Geoffrey. It is his opinion that study of the romances has been hindered by the school of thought which asserts the impossibility of establishing the existence of pre-Geoffrey Welsh originals. The most cautious and conservative views of early Welsh romance do not dispose of the large body of Irish storytelling, from which it is legitimate

to argue a similar activity among the Welsh. Brown finds in the class of beings in Irish legend known as Fomorians (roughly, powers of death and evil), and in their struggles with good and friendly powers, characters and events analogous to Armageddon and Götterdämmerung myths, which, in turn, constitute analogues to the Morte Darthur series of events—the usurpation, the carrying off of the Queen, the last battle and departure. The latter part of the article follows up intricate speculations into Modred as a Fomorian figure and into the mythological theme of the Tower of the Dead.

Before passing to more specifically English subjects, mention can be made of Sister Mary Amelia's account of notices and editions of Nicholas Bozon, Anglo-Norman poet (*Spec.*, Oct.) and of the distribution of the Bozon family. She shows reason to believe him a Franciscan and a member of the Norfolk branch of the family.

Layamon's *Brut* has not been much to the fore lately. R. B. Blennerhassett (*M.L.N.*, May) in a brief article *The English River-names in Lawman's 'Brut'* annotates five names. The two most interesting notes are those on 'Sture and Avren' and 'that watre Desse', where reference to Wace explains or clarifies Layamon's forms.

Work on English romances is represented by one article and two editions. L. H. Hornstein in *Trivet's Constance and the King of Tars* (*M.L.N.*, May) has considered the relation of Trivet's Constance story (the source of the *Man of Law's Tale*) to one of its sources, *The King of Tars*. Trivet bowdlerized a part of his story by substituting for the episode of the incestuous father the story of a marriage to a Saracen monarch, whose love had been inflamed by merchants' reports of Constance's beauty. The article argues that Trivet drew this from a widely known romantic theme of the marriage of a Tartar Khan to an Armenian princess, the ME. version of which is known as the *King of Tars*. The writer is able to show that reference to the *King of Tars* explains details which are obscure and unmotived in Trivet's version.

In a sense, W. H. French's work on *King Horn*,[6] though it contains a critical text of the poem, is not an edition or offered as

[6] *Essays on King Horn*, by Walter H. French. Cornell Studies in English. XXX. O.U.P. pp. v + 204. $2.50.

such. The text appears as an Appendix to a series of 'Essays' of a challenging character, contesting 'orthodox' views about the type and quality, the metre and manuscripts, of the tale. Essays I, 'The Type', and III, 'The Evidence of the Names', are more directly open to corroboration by comparative and historical evidence than II, 'The Meter and Text', where the discussion is inevitably circular. French will accept none of the current views about the metre of this work as being, for example, a fumbling development under French influence out of the native alliterative line. His respect for *King Horn* as a good English exemplar of the (Breton) *lai* at an interesting point in its evolution predisposes him to find in it a more consistent and artistic use of metrical technique. He believes the *original* poem to have been composed on a trimeter basis—an uncommon but not unparalleled form in the early period to which first composition is assigned. But if this were at all clear in the surviving texts, rival explanations could not have been put forward. 'I hope to show', says the writer, 'that most of what has been written about the meter of the poem has been incorrect because no one has taken the trouble to ascertain the right readings of several hundred lines.' Consequently, to establish the metre it becomes necessary to examine the authority of the manuscripts; the upshot of this is to deny the (hitherto accepted) superior status of the Cambridge text, in spite of its chronological priority. The writer here admits the circularity of his argument: the trimeter theory is to be accepted as a working hypothesis; 'the hypothesis is derived from the text, yet if the text contradicts the hypothesis it must be revised to meet it.' Corroboration can only be found in careful weighing of manuscript readings and French accordingly embarks on a long series of Textual Notes, after which he comes back to his metrical hypothesis. The version of the text given in the Appendix is the complete demonstration of the working-out of the hypothesis. It is deliberately 'extreme'.

There is much here that will require careful scanning, in more senses than one. But this is an agreeably radical study. It is now some ten years since the same writer first edited *King Horn* and the poem has clearly stood the test of time. His respect for it has enabled him to review with a fresh vision the relation of *Horn* to the courtly and the popular (he finds it courtly) and to its *genre*—it is a *lai* and not a romance *manqué*.

There remains under this head the important re-edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*,[7] in which Gollancz's text has been re-issued with a new general Introduction by Mabel Day and an account of the language by M. S. Serjeantson. To deal adequately with the host of Gawain-problems within the limits of a moderate Introduction has become a very difficult task. The editor must strike a nice balance between the monotonous impartiality of an *in utrumque paratus* synthesis and the riding of his own hobby-horses. It is clearly the aim of this editor to handle cautiously and conservatively the manifold speculations that make up the critical background of this poem. She is *in utrumque parata* on the subject of the relation of *Gawain* to the *Wars of Alexander*. She will admit only one genuine biographical pointer—Gawain's itinerary through North Wales to the Green Chapel. She shows good reason for locating this, neither near Clitheroe nor in the Derbyshire Dales, but at Wetton Mill in Staffordshire. Though, very justly, she refuses to sponsor without evidence some clerk of the Earl of Pembroke as author, yet, by not unfair emphasis on a detached use of 'Englonde' and 'Englych' in *Gawain* and *St. Erkenwald* respectively, she suggests an orientation of the poet's outlook from Wales to England. There are one or two instances where the old E.E.T.S. text and its apparatus seem slightly out of line with the inferences of the Introduction. For example, in an unglossed, unannotated text Gawain would appear to set out, if not in a Celtic twilight, in a purely Arthurian geography, and to ride at first through a romancer's realm of Logres; he emerges into topography and winter daylight at Holyhead, with Anglesey, very precisely, on the left. This is a very striking and interesting transition, and whatever identifications of Camelot and Logres have been made by romancers and their commentators, there is much to be said for leaving it like this. In the text as printed here, however, the old marginal gloss 'He rode through England till he came to North Wales' and the Note on Logres (l. 691), suggesting (though by no means asserting) an identification of Logres with the London area, make Gawain's itinerary from (south-east) England to a West Midland destination *via* Holyhead, North Wales, and the Wirral offer a certain analogy to the famous route to Brighton

[7] *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. by Sir I. Gollancz, M. Day, and M. S. Serjeantson. O.U.P. for E.E.T.S. pp. xxxix + 186. 10*s*.

by way of Wigan pier. There is no suggestion, of course, either in the Introduction or in this notice, that the poet was a Welshman. Mabel Day is content to refer to him as 'the West Midland poet', and few commentators have felt any hesitation in accepting a West Midland localization for the Green Chapel. The consistent west to east direction of all of Gawain's journey that the poet actually describes (he whirls him to the Menai Straits in a few crisp summarizing sentences) affords topographical justification (quite independent of the dialect of the manuscript) for searching for the Green Chapel in some appropriate West Midland rough country—east, that is, of Wirral.

On the origin of the story or stories, the editor offers a condensed summary of the Beheading-game analogues and very rightly stresses the difference in supporting parallels between these and Temptation-motives. The Temptation or Test-theme is common enough, but it does not offer convincing narrative analogues in the same way. The three main bodies of opinion as to the connexion between the stories which combine in *Gawain* are impartially set forth—those associated with the names of J. A. Hulbert, Kittredge, and Fräulein von Schaubert. On the whole, the last is favoured, though not altogether for the original reasons. It is in the Temptation-motive, Mabel Day believes, added by the poet himself to the Gawain-and-Beheading story and linked to it not unskilfully by the device of the exchange of winnings, that he becomes truly himself. He was not a mere romancer, though a fine one. We accept him as also the poet of *Cleanness* and *Pearl*, a poet of a deeply moral and religious nature, a poet not likely to be content with whales without prophets, Jerusalems that stopped short of the Heavenly, or Green Knights without a deeper challenge than to a Beheading game. By the poet's combination of themes primitive Irish game or French knightly test grow into a thoroughly Anglo-Saxon piece of work.

A second Introduction describes the language of MS. Cotton Nero A x. Here M. S. Serjeantson analyses under the heads usual in E.E.T.S. editions the phonological, grammatical, and lexicographical material offered by the texts. As description and catalogue this is most generous in scale, and meticulous in detail, but the actual dialect is nowhere clearly stated or characterized. Those of us who fear to be routed out of our old happy

certainties may be reassured by one or two unobtrusive references, e.g. to a development for which there is so little evidence in the West Midlands 'that it is unlikely here', but there seems no reason why testimony so lavishly provided should not be made to testify.

There is less to record on fifteenth-century poetry this year. *Essays and Studies*, vol. xxv, includes an important article by Sir William Craigie on the *Language of the 'Kingis Quair'*. This has been framed to demonstrate that an aspect of the poem's language, fundamental for the discussion of its authorship and *provenance*, has been hitherto omitted from consideration. It has been too readily assumed that the language is basically Scots—even by those who felt some doubts as to the validity of the ascription to James I. It is the thesis of this essay that the original poem was written in *post*-Chaucerian Southern, and that the Scottish colouring is the result of transcription by Scottish scribes. It is a strong plank in Craigie's platform that the scribe responsible for the *Kingis Quair* has also copied out the first folio of *Troylus and Criseyde* in the Selden manuscript, thus enabling the process of scribal Scotticizing to be demonstrated. The essay builds up a very strong case for the view: 'If the *Quair* had come down in a Southern form as an anonymous piece in an English manuscript, its right to be there would never have been questioned'. This does not mean, however, that Craigie doubts the validity of the scribal ascription to James I. He shows that the grounds on which J. T. T. Brown rejected the MS. testimony need revision. Yet there is a link or two that cannot as yet be said to be secure. It is well, at all events, to be on one's guard against too simple and literal an approach to the poem as autobiography. What seems to be real and significant in it is its tradition and its art. The last part of Craigie's article offers a series of valuable notes on points of text and language.

Curt F. Bühler (*M.L.N.*, Dec.) discusses the relation of Lydgate's *Horse, Sheep and Goose* to some stanzas in Huntington MS. HM. 144. The version of the text given here has not been used in critical editions of this poem up to date. The MS. has been assigned to a period *c.* 1460, but Bühler finds from textual evidence that it was very probably transcribed from Caxton's first edition. The MS. has additional stanzas (not included in modern editions but found in the old printed text) which Bühler

prints. They shed a somewhat amusing light on the fifteenth-century 'poetic' world for they appear to show how a passable 'Lydgatian' sequence could be made by picking up stanzas here and there and stringing them together.

ME. religious verse may be introduced by mention of Eleanor K. Heningman's study of one of its transitional phases in her article *Old English Precursors of the Worcester Fragments.* As noted, p. 41, the object is to forge another link of Continuity between *pre-* and *post*-Conquest English poetry in the tradition of the Address of the Soul to the Body. The theme is cosmopolitan; the most interesting section of this article is the illustration of some particularly English modifications of the homiletic method and their reflection in this poetic *genre.*

N. K. Ker in *Med. Aev.* (Feb.) has printed *Unpublished Parts of the Ormulum from MS. Lambeth 183.* The interest of this MS. lies in its relation to the mid-seventeenth century philological studies of Francis Junius and his collaborator, Van Vliet. It is a miscellaneous collection of transcripts and linguistic notes ranging from Gothic to Middle English. Van Vliet's *Ormulum* material in this MS. is drawn from columns of the poem not now extant. His underlinings of words show his interest to have been lexicographical; he looked for words extending his knowledge of Middle English vocabulary. The additional bits of the *Ormulum* provided by Van Vliet's transcriptions are here printed together with his underlinings.

Piers Plowman criticism seems to have had, after the recent spate of activity, a brief lull in 1940. M. E. Richardson has an article in *T.L.S.* (Jan. 13) *On Characters in 'Piers Plowman'* in which is carried further the attempt to identify characters in *Piers Plowman* with living contemporaries of the poet. Here evidence is gathered from records to show that William Hervy, weigher of wool and holder of several offices, a Norfolk man, is the original of Couetyse or Avarice as described in the A-text (ed. Skeat, p. 158).

Rossell H. Robbins continues to explore the by-ways of religious verse. In *Two Fourteenth Century Mystical Poems* (*M.L.R.*, July) he publishes with notes two of the few so far unprinted fourteenth-century religious poems. Both belong to the mystical tradition

of 'passion-longing' and are found in a MS. now in the Newberry Library, Chicago, together with a collection of Latin mystical tracts. The first here printed is unique; the second is a variant of *Iesu dulcis memoriae*, of which an identical translation is included in MS. Harleian 2253, and of which several varying and expanded versions are known. There is nothing very remarkable in these poems; they are further examples drawn from the common reservoir of mystical and religious verse.

In *J.E.G.P.* (April), Robbins discusses *The Authors of the Middle English Religious Lyrics*, and concludes that before the Black Death, in the middle of the fourteenth century, they were nearly always friars, generally Franciscans. In the course of their preaching mission they found it convenient to introduce rhymed tags into their sermons which 'show the English religious lyrics in microcosm', nor were they in general hostile to poetry. Turning to more direct evidence Robbins points out that of the five main fourteenth-century MSS. collections of sermon materials the two most important are Franciscan and the third is Dominican. Of the eight thirteenth-century verse miscellanies five are known to have been compiled and probably composed by friars. The 'closethymns' and carols are also mainly of Franciscan origin. After the Black Death the Franciscan production of poetry declines from 66 per cent. to 15 per cent.

A considerable amount of annotation and commentary appeared in periodical form during 1940 and it will be convenient to collect it here without too rigid distinction as to subject or *genre*; sometimes notes on very different works are included in the same article.

Angus McIntosh in '*Neuere Yet in Game ne in Grene*'. *A Havelok crux* (*R.E.S.*, Apr.) points out that so far no satisfactory explanation of 'grene' (*Havelok* 996) has been forthcoming. 'Grene and game' appears to be one of those alliterative clichés of which the two members would be either repetitive or antithetic. The analogy of 'game and glee' suggests that 'grene' may well be a variation of 'game'. McIntosh has found in a farcically amorous passage in the story of St. Oswald and the Monk (MS. Verson Temporale, ed. Horstmann) the expression 'leyke on grene' where the meaning 'love-dalliance' seems clear. It remains to find an

etymology with the help of the modern Scottish verb 'green' (=long, yearn) and the verbal noun 'greening'. It is suggested that the source is the ON. 'girn' (EWS. *giernan*) with metathesis and lengthening of i to ē. The phonology as presented here is not without difficulties, but the explanation is tempting.

J. W. H. Atkins returns to *The Owl and the Nightingale* with a brief note (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) reviewing the argument as to whether the words 'King Henri ... Iesus his soule do merci' (ll. 1091–2) mean or do not mean that Henry II was dead at the time of writing them. He is able to point to *A Lollard Tract on Translating the Bible into English*, printed by Curt Bühler in *Med. Aev.* VII for illustration of distinctions in these ejaculatory expressions between the dead and the living which go to support the common-sense reading of the lines as indicating that Henry was dead.

C. T. Onions (*Med. Aev.*, June) uses ll. 289–92 of *The Owl and the Nightingale* ('wiþ þan ofne ȝonie') to explain the expression 'gaping against an oven' which makes the title of his Note. He supplements from Middle Dutch and early Modern French the information on this saying available in Atkins's notes and the *O.E.D.*

Wilfred Lister in *Notes on the Text of the Middle English Romance 'Ywaine and Gawin'* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) offers suggestions for interpreting or emending four passages in this romance. He makes full and legitimate use of the Old French original as guide to what the ME. poem may be expected to say. The most interesting note is perhaps the first showing that 'burde' (translating French *table*) means a gong.

Henry L. Savage in *M.L.N.* (Dec.) contributes a *Note on Gawain*. He argues that 'may' in l. 1795 'I may bot mourne upon molde as may that much lovyes' is to be translated not 'maid' but 'kinswoman' (Old English *maeg*).

In *Three Textual Notes on Fourteenth century Poetry* (*M.L.N.*, May) James Sledd endeavours to clear up *Piers Plowman*, Passus VI. l. 104 C Text by reforming Skeat's punctuation. Apropos of the disputed 'rewarde' in *Pearl*, l. 604, he favours 'reward' not 'regard'. Thirdly, in Barbour's *Bruce*, ll. 647–8, Bk. VII, MS. St. John's Cambridge 23, he suggests 'swavrand' (tottering) for the unsatisfactory 'svavnand'. The usual meaning has, however, to

be stretched to cover 'writhing' and this cannot be considered a clear solution.

The text of many beautiful ME. lyrics, especially in Harleian 2253, is notoriously difficult and much work has yet to be done if editions are to be fair to them. R. J. Menner in *Notes on Middle English Lyrics* calls attention to the persisting obscurity of this manuscript in spite of the excellent work done by Carleton Brown on those poems from it included in his anthologies. The notes in Menner's article are intended to supplement the information given by Carleton Brown.

A particularly careful discussion of a crux is found in Sister Mary Immaculate's *Note on a Song of the Five Joys* (*M.L.N.*, Apr.). She finds theological as well as linguistic objections to Carleton Brown's translation of 'when God was bore on þoro lay' as 'when God was born in due form'. She takes 'laye' as a variant of 'ley(e)' (Old English *lēg, liēg*) 'light', and finds thus an equivalent for the *lucem* of the analogous Latin hymn and a meaning which is doctrinally sound.

Elizabeth M. Wright in *Additional Notes on the 'Pearl'* (*J.E.G.P.*, July) continues earlier annotations of this poem. Her notes are mainly semantic and interpretative; many of them reveal a just and sensitive reading of the poem.

ME. prose is represented by three editions, two of them a tribute to the continuing enterprise and staying power of the Early English Text Society.

Hali Meiðhad has been edited from MSS. Bodleian 34 A (B) and Cotton Titus D viii (T) by A. F. Colborn.[8] The Text (printing the two versions on opposite pages) is given first and is followed by sections on the manuscripts and the language. There are Notes and an Index but no Glossary. Editorial material is almost entirely linguistic and is full but not very effectively set out. Following Tolkien (*Essays and Studies*, xiv), the editor localizes the dialect of B in Herefordshire and supports its 'validity', that is, its consistency of speech-type, the result of harmony between the scribe and his exemplar, of a relatively isolated area and an undisturbed literary and linguistic tradition. In this it contrasts with T, where a scribe is clearly copying matter not in his own

[8] *Hali Meiðhad*, ed. by A. F. Colborn. O.U.P. for Copenhagen. pp. 143. 8 Kr.

dialect. Hall's explanation of the resulting mixture as due to a scribe copying a North Midland text, but not himself long enough resident in the Midlands to have forgotten his own Southern speech, is found unnecessarily fantastic. For it is substituted the copying of an exemplar in the same language as B (that is, in the original dialect) by a man using an Eastern speech. Thus the study and re-study of the works of the 'Katherine Group' proceeds. There is a pleasing, but probably inadvertent, description of Orm as 'an isolated methodist'.

W. O. Ross has edited from MS. B.M. Royal 18 B xxiii a collection of ME. sermons.[9] Editorial material is ample under the various heads of the Introduction and in the Notes. The language reveals itself under analysis as South West Midland with some admixture of Northernisms and fits an Oxford *provenance*, which is independently suggested by some items of internal evidence. A considerable number of the sermons seem to have been composed during the Great Schism (1378–1417). The MS. can be assigned to the mid-fifteenth century. The collection appears to be a sort of anthology of sermons made for lay audiences at the University of Oxford. Ross devotes considerable space to the relation of these sermons to the evolution of homiletic technique during the later middle ages. He finds that a number of them show the influence of (though none exemplify completely) the modern or 'university' sermon-structure in six parts—theme, protheme, &c. This fits well enough with other evidence of Oxford origin, but it cannot be claimed for the collection (nor does the editor do so) that any remarkable learning or intellectual power is revealed. On the subject of the use of *exempla* and those little 'real life' touches which, to us, tend to light up the dreary wastes of their context, Ross utters a judicious *caveat*; they, like 'division' and 'subdivision', &c., are a part of the technique. They are not in themselves proof of a clerical respect for life or care for common things. Their use was taught and facilitated by manuals and accumulated examples.

An even more generously planned publication is *The Booke of Margery Kempe*, vol. i,[10] edited by S. B. Meech and Hope E. Allen.

[9] *Middle English Sermons*, ed. by W. O. Ross. O.U.P. for E.E.T.S. pp. lxvi + 396. £1. 10*s*.

[10] *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. by Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen. O.U.P. for E.E.T.S. pp. lxvii + 441. 20*s*.

Since the publication of the modernized version of her Book, Margery Kempe has become the best-known English woman mystic. The Book now appears with full critical apparatus—biographical, textual, and linguistic by Meech, and illustrative, mainly mystical, by Miss Allen. Lavish notes, signed H. E. A., fingerpost from wide reading in the subject all the twists and turns of the mystic way as travelled by Margery Kempe. These notes are largely samples from the material accumulating for the study of Margery in relation to continental women mystics, the fuller discussion of which is promised in a projected second volume. In the meanwhile the subject of Margery's indebtedness and her originality is briefly touched on in a condensed Prefatory Note. With inevitable, but somewhat tantalizing, brevity, Miss Allen indicates that her views of Margery Kempe have undergone a certain evolution. She describes her present attitude (accepting Margery as a genuine, though minor, mystic) as editorially 'opportunist'. Her full discussion will be eagerly awaited by all interested in the subject.

Work on medieval drama has not been very active this year. Lawrence Blair (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) in *A Note on the Relation of the Corpus Christi procession to the Corpus Christi Play in England* prints some new material from churchwardens' accounts. It is his contention that this evidence encourages an attitude of reserve towards the 'orthodox belief' in the stage-by-stage detachment of the pageants or plays from the *Corpus Christi* procession. The accounts published here from thirty-six churches, as far as they go, certainly seem to keep apart pageant and procession, in the sense that the entries for a given church point to either a procession or a play, not to both. That is, they will mention *either* items like gloves for the actor presenting God *or* canopies, banners, and garlands. But the bulk of these entries are late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, when evolution was complete. As Blair himself points out, only earlier records than have yet come to light could settle the matter. The article supplements our accessible *Corpus Christi* records, but it is of necessity and admittedly inconclusive.

F. M. Salter has concluded (*R.E.S.*, Jan., April) his strenuous series of articles on *The Banns of the Chester Plays*, the first of which (Oct. 1939) was briefly noticed last year (*Y.W.* xx. 66). It

is his view that the Early and Late Banns 'originally composed about one hundred years apart, can be obliged to yield an epitome of the larger history of the cycle during the last hundred years of its existence'. He begins with the Late Banns and works back to the Early, and by often intricate textual and bibliographical study of the MSS. he examines every aspect of the relation of the two sets of Banns to the plays. It is an exacting and fruitful study; the last phases of the medieval cycles in post-Reformation England are by no means the least interesting sections of their history. Of particular interest is the conclusion as to the circumstances of the composition of the Late Banns (in 1575, as the result of a commission to amend them in the face of episcopal opposition). The last two articles are mainly taken up with the text of the Banns.

Of linguistic work unconnected with textual annotation, there is not much to record. E. J. Dobson's research into *The Etymology and Meaning of Boy* (*Med. Aev.*, Oct.) necessarily takes him back from the sixteenth-century forms and meaning, where he begins, into ME., the period of the word's importation and popularization.

There has been a marked revival of interest in ME. prosody in recent years. Margaret M. Roseborough Stobie in her article *The Influence of Morphology on Middle English Alliterative Poetry* (*J.E.G.P.*, July) carries the pursuit of Continuity into this field. Following Oakden for a considerable part of the way, she combats the prevalent view that the change in verse-rhythms in ME. is to be ascribed to the impact of French and Latin models after the Norman Conquest. It is her thesis that ME. sound-changes inevitably produced the iambic rhythm of Chaucerian and early Elizabethan verse. Accepting Sievers's Five Types as valid descriptions of the permissible rhythms in Old English verse, she considers the effect on them of three groups of ME. linguistic change—the loss of inflexions, the lengthenings, and the shortenings. Prosody is a prickly branch of scholarship and possibly no prosodist accepts easily the findings (and certainly not the terminology) of another. W. H. French's conviction of a more or less regular trimeter base for *King Horn* (under French influence) can be aptly recalled here. The function of prosody is to ensure a periodical return with quickened awareness to the aural realities of verse. From this point of view the juxtaposition in this article of three

passages—from *Beowulf*, *Piers Plowman* and *Scottish Field*—in order to demonstrate, when read aloud, the 'rhythm-shift' is a proper and pretty prosodic exercise.

Under the heading of bibliography and allied topics, it may be useful to mention two large-scale works of reference of which portions are relevant to this chapter: *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century*[11] (issued by the Dean and Chapter to subscribers) and volume iii (the Indices) of De Ricci and Wilson's *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*.[12] The habits of Adam Scriveyne and his tribe are illustrated by Charlton Laird from a study of the workmanship of MS. Huntington HM. 103 (*A Fourteenth Century Scribe*, *M.L.N.*, Dec.). The *John Rylands Bulletin* for Oct. contains an account by F. Taylor of *Some Manuscripts of the 'Lybelle of Englyshe Polycye'*. The main purpose of this article is to investigate the grouping of the numerous extant MSS. and to describe the Rylands copy. In this a seventeenth-century hand has added a note: 'Presented to ye L. Archbp Chichele by John Lidgate. . . .' Taylor finds no grounds of any kind for accepting ascription to Lydgate. Finally, C. L. Wrenn (*Essays and Studies*, xxv) explores a pleasant by-way in *Curiosities in a Medieval Manuscript, MS. Jesus College, Oxford 29*. The MS. is valuable and interesting in itself, but Wrenn is concerned chiefly with certain scribblings on margins and blank spaces in their bearing on the vicissitudes of its history. The scribblings are sixteenth and seventeenth century in date and they shed some interesting sidelights on the survival and adventures of medieval antiquities among cultivated Welsh families in that time.

[11] *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts. To the end of the Twelfth Century*, by the Dean and Chapter. O.U.P. £5. 5*s*. to subscribers.

[12] *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. Vol. iii. New York: W. H. Wilson. $3.00.

VI

THE RENAISSANCE

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

THE publications of 1940 dealing with the literature of the century preceding 1579 are for the most part concerned with prose works and their authors. The poetry and drama of the period have received less attention than usual, though they are included by Elizabeth J. Sweeting in the comprehensive range of her study of *Early Tudor Criticism*.[1]

In the first phase she shows Hawes and Skelton on the one hand perpetuating the aureate terms of medieval allegory, on the other introducing individual romantic or realist elements. In prose Caxton in his prefaces, even when catering for aristocratic patrons in his translations, insists upon his preference for a plain, though not excessively homely, style. Caxton's importance as a linguistic critic is well emphasized and his attitude is contrasted with that of Lord Berners, 'the most deliberate stylist' of the period, whose version of Guevara is the patterned speech preluding Euphuism.

In dealing with the linguistic, often involving theological, controversies raised by the vernacular renderings of the Bible Miss Sweeting is on familiar ground, but from there she proceeds to secular translation, which 'with its responsibility towards the general welfare of people unable to derive benefit from classical knowledge in the original . . . must be considered as one of the most important of Early Tudor interests'. Miss Sweeting quotes a number of *dicta* by Elyot, Wilson, Udall, and others, showing their anxiety to express in English as far as possible the meaning of the original, which did not imply a word-for-word reproduction. This further involved a study of the diction and structure of the vernacular in comparison with those of classical or foreign tongues. Passing to the field of education, Miss Sweeting illustrates the influence of classical training upon critical theory in the hands of such humanists as Elyot and Ascham, who had absorbed the precepts of Quintilian. In the Universities the

[1] *Early Tudor Criticism, Linguistic and Literary*, by Elizabeth J. Sweeting. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. xvi + 177. 12*s*. 6*d*.

chief 'germinal centre' was Sir John Cheke and his Cambridge group, whose enthusiasm for classical scholarship was matched by a zeal for the refinement of the vernacular. It was Cheke who introduced Aristotle's *Rhetorica* and *Poetica* into England, but the early Tudor rhetoricians, Cox and Sherry, and, more doubtfully, Wilson, are not indebted to him.

In the chapter on drama attention is directed to John Rastell's belief in the capacities of 'our vulgar speech', to classical influences in modifying the looser medieval conceptions of tragedy and comedy, and to the critical views of Christopherson and Grimald. 'The new courtly poetry' is the offspring of a reaction against the ideals of medieval chivalry embodied in the romances which were giving place to a new conception of the gentleman as set forth in *Il Cortegiano*, and of which Wyatt and Surrey were interpreters in verse. Miss Sweeting's volume, after the fashion of an academic treatise, is somewhat overloaded and takes in some matter that can scarcely be called criticism, but it is to be welcomed as an independent and scholarly study.

In *The Friendship of Thomas More and John Colet: An Early Document* (*M.L.Q.*, Dec.), William Nelson has made an important addition to our biographical knowledge of the two humanists. Hitherto the earliest evidence of their association has been a letter from More, written probably on 23 October 1504, from London urging Colet to return to what was then his suburban parish of Stepney, where he was vicar of All Saints' Church. Here on 26 January 1502/3 he resigned from his prebend of Goodeaster in the church of St. Martin's-le-Grand. Nelson draws attention to a document among the Westminster Abbey muniments recording the resignation, and including the clause, 'presentibus adtunc ibidem discretis viris Thoma more de london generoso et Edmundo paynter literatis'. More must therefore have been on sufficiently intimate terms with Colet by January 1502/3 to act as a witness at an important ceremony. Nelson also suggests that his presence on this occasion, coupled with the terms of his letter of October 1504, makes it likely that More was living in Stepney in these years.

In discussing *The Continental Origins of English Humanism* (*H.L.Q.*, Oct) Albert Hyma draws a sharp line between the Christian humanism of More and Colet and the secular humanism not

only of Poggio and Lorenzo Valla, but even of Erasmus who was greatly influenced by Valla, and whose interest in the classics had far more of a literary than a theological basis. Hyma's view is that the part played by Erasmus in the development of English humanism has been exaggerated by Seebohm and some later writers. He points out that Erasmus did not visit England after 1517, thus severing his relation with the so-called Oxford Reformers, of whom he was never a real member.

Hyma further discusses the debt to Italian humanism of Grocyn, Linacre, and William Latimer, who occupy a position midway between More and Colet on the one hand and Valla and Erasmus on the other. To this trio was mainly due the introduction of Greek into England. But in Hyma's eyes English humanism lost its original character almost entirely and turned to the reform of the Church. His article deserves attention but is too sweeping and dogmatic.

An interesting sidelight on the more secular side of the great Dutch humanist's interests is thrown by C. R. Thompson in *Erasmus' Translation of Lucian's 'Longaevi'* (*Classical Phil.*, Oct.). In 1506 there was published in Paris a volume containing twenty-eight translations of Lucian into Latin by Erasmus, together with four by More. A later edition in 1514 contained seven additional versions. But there was still missing a translation of *Longaevi* which Erasmus stated that he had dictated to a 'notarius' who had published it 'pro suo'. This was Gervasius Amoenus, whose *Lucubratiunculae* (1513–14), of which a copy was discovered in 1933, included the dictated translation. He had been a servant-pupil of Erasmus in 1606–7, and he dedicates the translation of *Longaevi* to Lord Mountjoy, among whose papers he asserts that he had found it. But he does not claim it 'pro suo', affecting not to know whether it is by Erasmus or someone else. Thompson prints it in full, while noting that the authenticity of the Greek original has now been questioned.

A monograph by Thompson on the wider related subject of the *Translations of Lucian by Erasmus and St. Thomas More*, published at Ithaca, N.Y., has not been available for further notice.

Reed E. Peggram in *M.L.R.* (July) makes an interesting comparison between *The First French and English Translations of Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia'*. This French translation of the Latin

work (Louvain, 1516) from the pen of Jehan Le Blond appeared in 1550, thus preceding by a year Ralph Robynson's English version in 1551. In all respects of *format* the French octavo, which is prefaced by some verses by Le Blond 'à la louange de la saincte vie des Utopiens', is the superior. It is well printed in Roman type; it contains twelve woodcuts, marginal notes, an index of chapters, and a list of errata. The English version is also an octavo. It is very incorrectly printed, but has no list of errata. It is without woodcuts or marginal notes or index, and there is neither paragraphing nor numbering of pages. In a second edition in 1556 the last defect was remedied, and marginal notes were added.

Le Blond aimed throughout at as correct a rendering as possible of the 'très élégant' original, and apologized for any inaccuracies. Robynson, on the other hand, was not concerned about literal interpretation; his fear was that through his 'rudeness and ignoraunce in our Englishe tonge' he could not do justice to the 'eloquence' of More's Latin. The result, as Peggram sums it up, is that 'the Frenchman composes a dignified, aristocratic and refined work, as faithful to the original text as the language will allow. The Englishman, on the contrary, takes all sorts of liberties, leaves out lines on occasion, inserts a few more, and sometimes rearranges an entire sentence to suit himself. . . . The ingenuity of Ralphe Robynson's *Utopia* is the key to its lasting success. With all its faults the 1551 translation is much more vibrant and scintillating than that of 1550.' A number of passages in Latin, French, and English are quoted in illustration.

An important problem concerning the canon of More's English writings is involved in W. Gordon Zeeveld's discussion in *P.M.L.A.* (Dec.) of *A Tudor Defense of Richard III*. This *Defense* was published in 1616 and 1617 as one of William Cornwallis's *Essayes of certaine paradoxes*, and has since been attributed to him. But it also is extant as *A Brife discourse in praise of King Richard the third* in four MSS., of which one, in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, is dedicated by Cornwallis to John Donne. This MS., entitled briefly *The Encomium of Richard y^e^ third*, differs in important respects from the three others. The defence is not treated as a paradox; references to Elizabethan events and books are absent; it is not a generalized refutation of malicious historians and 'witty play makers' but a direct answer to the attack of one

writer. Zeeveld proves the last point by convincing parallel quotations, and draws this conclusion.

> Obviously the Devonshire manuscript is a palimpsest through which an earlier defense repeatedly appears. . . . [It] reveals the outraged indignation of a supporter of Richard at the unscrupulous attack on the good name of a king by 'a man of base fortune', who after renouncing his former allegiance to Richard had become Richard's political enemy. The genuine rancor which shows through the Devonshire manuscript draws inevitably to the conclusion that the protagonists in this battle were contemporaries of Richard.

Zeeveld cannot identify the author of the *Defense*, but he maintains that the political enemy of Richard, and turncoat, was John Morton, and that he was the original author of *The History of Richard III*, included among the English works of Sir Thomas More (1557). It was Sir George Buc in his *History of Richard III* who first explicitly attributed the work to Morton as an act of revenge. He 'made a booke in Latyne, of Kinge Richard which came afterwards, to the hands of Mr. Moore (sometyme his servant). . . . Doctor Morton . . . made the booke, and Mr. Moore . . . sett it forth, and adding something unto it'. Zeeveld quotes from Buc's MS. version (1619) of his *History of Richard III* in the British Museum some words, omitted in the printed text (1646), which identify Morton as the source of the accusation that Richard was responsible for the death of Henry VI. 'Doubtless from that one man whome the English gentleman [i.e. the author of the anonymous *Defense*] meaneth, which was the malicious Morton, all the succeeding wryters have sucked this slander.'

In support of Buc's authority Zeeveld refers to his family's hereditary association with the Yorkist cause and his own antiquarian interests. He has made a case with which the supporters of More's authorship will have to deal. Apart from this his discussion of the anonymous *Defense* is in itself of much interest.

Zeeveld deals with a phase of English humanism after the death of More in *Richard Morison, Official Apologist for Henry VIII* (*P.M.L.A.*, June). Morison, after graduating at Oxford in 1528, became some years later an inmate of Reginald Pole's household in Padua, where he became intimate with both English and Italian humanists. His letters show that in 1535 he was reading an extensive range of Greek literature. In May 1536 he returned to

England, to enter the service of Thomas Cromwell, where his first task was to write a tract *Apomaxis* answering a treatise by his former patron Pole opposing Henry's divorce. The Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536–7 drew from his pen two further tracts in support of the Government: *A Lamentation* and *A Remedy for Sedition*. They were written hastily. He tells a friend that he 'dyd' *A Lamentation* 'in my botes as my lord and the King also doth know in an after none and a nyght'. Yet two MS. drafts and fragments of *A Remedy* prove considerable revision before it reached its final printed form.

Among the characteristics of Morison's style in the pamphlets are his occasional, effective homely realism, his Biblical and classical references, especially to Plato, and his quotations from contemporaries, including Machiavelli. A close paraphrase in *A Remedy* from the Florentine's *Discourses on the Decades of Troy* is, according to Zeeveld, the first printed or written reference to Machiavelli in England. In this connexion Zeeveld brings evidence to support the view, which has been challenged recently, that Machiavelli influenced Cromwell's statecraft. In Morison's next important tract, *An invective ayenste the great and detestable vice, treason* (1539), there is a reference to *The Florentine History*. His later career as a diplomatist is outside this survey, except to note that Roger Ascham acted as his secretary abroad and that together they studied the classics and also Ochino and Machiavelli.

In *Religion and the English Vernacular*[2] R. R. Williams traces how the English Bible and the English liturgy became gradually established, but he is mainly concerned with the religious experience that lay behind the vernacular movement. It is sufficient therefore to draw attention here to his book and to a letter on *Tyndale and Persius* in *T.L.S.* (May 11) in which C.W.B., referring to a quotation by Williams from *Obedience of a Christian Man*, shows how closely it resembles some lines of the Roman satirist.

John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation, by Jesse W. Harris, one of the University of Illinois 'Studies in Language and Literature', has not been available for further notice.

[2] *Religion and the English Vernacular: A Historical Study concentrating upon the years 1526–53*, by R. R. Williams. S.P.C.K. 4*s.* 6*d.*

An addition to the canon of Bale's writings is advocated by Christina Garrett in an article (*Library*, Sept.) on *The resurrecion of the masse*, a small volume of doggerel verse, of which only three copies survive. The name of the author is given on the title-page as 'Hughe Hilarie', followed by a question mark, which may have had a special significance to the initiate. Nothing is known otherwise of Hilarie, and Miss Garrett claims that this is a pseudonym for Bale. The verses are a burlesque upon the Mass in five-line stanzas, and according to the title-page were published at 'Strasburgh' in August 1554. Bale is the only Protestant pamphleteer in the years 1553–9 who is known to have employed anything but prose, and the verses are marked by the alliteration, the laboured conceits, and the coarseness characteristic of his plays. *The resurrecion of the masse*, on this showing, would be among the writings which he had in mind when he added to his list of publications, 'Facetias ac iocos sine certo numero feci'.

Miss Garrett, on grounds for which her article must be consulted, upholds Strassburg as the genuine place of publication, but she would substitute 1555 for 1554 for the date. The verses contain a clear protest against the Proclamation against seditious books that had been issued on 13 June 1555, and which included on its Index the works of John Bale.

While Bale is a product of the Renaissance movement in both its humanist and religious aspects, *John Foxe and his Book*, discussed anew by J. F. Mozley,[3] is related almost entirely to the latter. Mozley has been stirred by the attacks of S. R. Maitland and his school upon Foxe's trustworthiness to examine again the problems presented by his life and writings. He begins by vindicating completely the authenticity of the memoir of Foxe in Latin and English written by his son about 1611, which was first printed in the 1641 edition of *Acts and Monuments*, and of which the Latin version, the earlier, is also found in Lansdowne MS. 388. It had been traditionally assumed that the author was the elder son, Samuel, who had died in 1630, and Maitland disproved this. But from some Latin verses included in a letter from a kinsman bound up with the Lansdowne MS. version of the memoir Mozley shows beyond doubt that it was written by the younger son, Simon, president of the college of physicians,

[3] *John Foxe and his Book*, by J. F. Mozley. S.P.C.K. pp. xi + 254. 12*s*. 6*d*.

1634–40, who was alive when the 1641 edition appeared, and could have repudiated any forgery. On the basis of the memoir, supplemented by extracts from Foxe's letters and from his minor works in English and Latin, of which he gives an impressive list in an appendix, Mozley furnishes a spirited and attractive account of his career, 1517–87.

The present survey, however, is concerned less with biography than with Mozley's detailed examination of the successive editions of Foxe's great martyrology and his estimate of its permanent value. The prelude, so to speak, is the octavo *Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum*, Strassburg, 1554, dealing chiefly with Wycliffe and the Lollards.

In 1559 there follows the folio *Commentarii*, printed at Basel, including the first account of the martyrs under Mary. This was expanded in translation, with the addition of many fresh documents, into the first English edition, *Acts and Monuments*, a folio of nearly 1,800 pages, printed by John Daye, in 1563, which included also accounts of continental martyrs, with woodcuts as a graphic commentary on the text. This, in its turn, was revised and much enlarged, though there were regrettable omissions, in the 1570 folio two-volume edition, which was ordered to be installed in each cathedral church and in the house of every ecclesiastical dignitary. There were two further editions with minor changes during Foxe's lifetime, in 1576 and 1583.

Having traced through its stages the 'making' of the book, Mozley discusses its 'method', particularly in relation to the Tudor, above all the Marian, period. 'This is the heart of his book; here is his citadel.' He stresses the fact that Foxe's method is not that of a historian but of a compiler on a gigantic scale. He illustrates this from a number of the leading cases in the book which have been assailed or questioned. And he sums up as follows:

> He worked in haste, he was casual by temperament, a partizan by conviction, and not averse to violent language; he wrote for a somewhat credulous age, whose standards of exactitude are not ours: but these are but spots on the sun. Such errors count for little against the solid mass of historical fact that is the strength of his book. First-hand documents jostle one another, that would never have been preserved but for his zeal, documents written by simple folk straight from the heart... And his method of using them proclaims the honest man, the sincere seeker after truth'.

As a reward for dedicating the 1563 edition to the Queen, she bestowed upon him the prebend of Shipton. In *John Foxe and Shipton* (*T.L.S.*, Sept. 21) E. St. John Brooks gives details of Foxe's connexion with Shipton-under-Wychwood, and of his descendants there.

In an important article in *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) D. T. Starnes draws attention to *Literary Features of Renaissance Dictionaries.* Sir Thomas Elyot, influenced by Calepine's Latin dictionary (1502), set a long-enduring precedent when in his Latin-English Dictionary (1538) he included items of biography, mythology, natural history, and other subjects more closely related to literature than to language. These were arranged in alphabetical order, but in 1559 Thomas Cooper, editor and reviser of Elyot's *Bibliotheca*, placed all such entries at the end under the heading 'Dictionarium Historicum et Poeticum, propria Locorum et Personarum Vocabula'. This arrangement was followed in the larger dictionaries, but two compilers of shorter English-Latin lexicons, Richard Hulvet (1552) and John Withals (1556), adhered to Elyot's original method. All the lexicographers stated that they included such matter for the benefit of readers of poetry.

Starnes groups and illustrates these literary features under various headings: (1) Proverbial sayings; (2) Pseudo-natural history, where Elyot's lengthy accounts of the 'Elephas' and the 'Gazella' pave the way for *Euphues*; (3) classical myth and legend, often vividly related; (4) anecdotes of contemporary interest; (5) biographies, especially of classical worthies, which furnished matter to Pettie, Gascoigne, and others; (6) instructions on composition, beneficial to writers and speakers of English.

In general these dictionaries made the great classical writers better known to readers and they helped to supply English authors with the tools of their trade. Starnes points out a number of parallels between dictionary entries and passages in Shakespeare.

In an examination of *The Vocabulary of Sir John Cheke's Partial Version of the Gospels*, about 1550 (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.), Herbert Meritt points out that an exaggerated view has been formed of the Anglo-Saxon element in it. The use of *frosent, crossed, gain-rising*, for *apostle, crucified, resurrection*, and similar formations in Cheke's translation or notes has attracted undue attention to

this aspect of his phraseology. Meritt adds to the list of such 'pioneering' words used by Cheke in his effort to keep his English 'clean and pure'. But he shows that he is not consistent in his use. He writes *crucify* as well as *cross*, both *wash* and *baptize*, *ill speech* and *blasphemy*. He also keeps such classical terms as *corban*, *legion*, *phastasm*, and he even turns the ἀκρίδες eaten by John the Baptist into the nonce-word *acrids*. Though he borrows from other tongues with 'bashfulness', to use his own phrase, he is too much of a Tudor to be a linguistic doctrinaire.

A link between prose and poetry is supplied by the edition in which two American scholars have joined of the *Oratio in Laudem Artis Poeticae* by John Rainolds with an English translation.[4] Rainolds held a prominent position in the academic and theological life of his time. A scholar and fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he was elected in 1572 Reader in Greek at his college and lectured on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, but in 1578 resigned and devoted himself henceforward chiefly to religious controversy. His *Sex theses de Sacra Scriptura, et Ecclesia* (1580) went through several editions in Latin and English. It was followed by *De Romanae Ecclesiae Idolatria* (1596), a reply to an attack on Protestantism by his Romanist brother, William. In 1598 he was elected president of Corpus, and in 1604 as chairman of the Hampton Court Conference he appears to have suggested the translation of the Bible known as the Authorized Version, but, owing to his death in 1607, did not live to see it completed. In *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes* (1599) he printed his violent attack on the acting of plays by University students, occasioned by the performance of some of William Gager's Latin dramas at Christ Church in 1592.

From its narrow and bitter tone one would not have expected from its author an oration in praise of poetry. But some twenty years lay between them during which Rainolds's Calvinistic outlook had hardened. The oration was one of twelve published posthumously by a pupil of Rainolds in 1614 and twice reprinted. The other eleven were lectures delivered by him as Reader in Greek, but the *Praise of Poetry*, as Ringler argues from various data, appears to have been his final exercise for the M.A. degree,

[4] *Oratio in Laudem Artis Poeticae* [*circa* 1572], by John Rainolds, ed. by William Ringler, with an English translation by Walter Allen, Jr. Princeton Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. vii + 93. $1.50.

delivered on 14 July 1572, when he was 23 years of age. But even in this early oration he approached poetry from the point of view of its moral rather than its aesthetic value. To quote one fundamental sentence in his Latin and in Allen's spirited translation:

> Haec, haec nimirum est illa Suada, quae molles ad pericula, socordes ad proelia, timidos ad mortem animosè oppetendam concitat.
>
> This, this certainly is that famous Persuasion, which spurs on the pleasure-loving to danger, the indolent to combat, and the cowardly to seek death boldly.

He proceeds to show the superiority of Poetry to the arts studied in the academic curriculum of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*.

Ringler points out that though there are considerable differences between the oration and Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie* they are fundamentally akin in insisting that it is the function of poetry to move to specific action of some sort. They were drawing upon 'a common reservoir of ideas' and sources upon which Ringler throws helpful light in the parallels quoted in his 'commentary'. He has previously drawn attention to Rainolds's lectures as a source of Euphuism (see *Y.W.* xix. 162). In the *Praise of Poetry* he finds the typical schematic pattern, but not the parallels from fantastic natural history.

Nearly contemporaneous with Rainolds's treatise on the art of poetry, and inspired by a kindred purpose in a different field, is Thomas Blundeville's *The true order and Methode of wryting and reading Hystories, according to the precepts of Francisco Patricio, and Accontio Tridentino*, published in 1574. This rare small quarto has been reprinted by Hugh G. Dick in *H.L.Q.* (Jan.), with an introduction and footnotes. It is an adaptation and abridgement of two Italian treatises, and is dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, who delights in reading histories, 'not as many doe, to passe away the tyme, but to gather therefrom judgement and knowledge'. The first half of the quarto is a comparatively close translation of the last five of Patrizi's *Della Historia Dicce Dialoghi* (Venice, 1560). Patrizi took a broad view of the historian's function as contrasted with the chronicler's. He was to present a pattern, as Dick sums it up, 'of the origin, developement, climax, decline, and fall' of his subject, whether it were a race or an individual, and to 'teach, by the precept of

specific examples, lessons of great moment to man'. He also laid stress upon the importance of environment.

One of his disciples was Giacomo Concio (Acontius), born in Trent but forced, owing to his heretical religious views, to take refuge in England, where he became a follower of Leicester to whom he dedicated a MS. treatise on history, *Delle osseruationi...*, preserved among the State papers, and listed under August 1564. A translation of this, with omissions and additions, forms the second half of his friend Blundeville's pamphlet, which, as Dick points out, is significant of the enthusiasm for the study of history of an important group at Court, attached to Leicester's circle.

Another testimony to Leicester's encouragement of historical writing is found in Edmund Campion's dedication to him of his *Historie of Ireland*, which has been reproduced in facsimile from a copy of the first edition, included in Sir James Ware's *Historie of Ireland*, Dublin (1633),[5] in the Folger Shakespeare library. Campion, composing his work hurriedly in ten weeks before the date of the dedication, 27 March 1571, on the eve of his departure from Ireland, could not rise to the height of Blundeville's conception of the historian's function. He is a chronicler whose chief merits are the vividness of some of his narratives and his dramatic power when he makes use of dialogue. In his introduction Gottfried shows that Campion, though an avowed Catholic, takes a more moderate standpoint than might have been expected from his later career. 'He writes as a scholar rather than as a martyr, in the spring of 1571.'

Gottfried also shows that though Holinshed and Stanyhurst made use of MS. copies of Campion's *Historie* neither can be said to have published it in their volumes. There is only slender evidence of Spenser having gone to it direct in his *View of the Present State of Ireland*. In any case, Campion's *Historie* is first found in print in 1633 together with Spenser's *View*, though with separate pagination, in Sir James Ware's volume. Other copies also include another *Historie* by Meredith Hanmer. The title-pages of the different copies are reproduced, though their order does not seem to correspond with the bibliographical note. The reprint deserves a cordial welcome.

[5] *A Historie of Ireland* (1571), by Edmund Campion, ed. by R. B. Gottfried. New York: (Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints). pp. xi+139. $4.50.

In *William Breton, Nicholas Breton and George Gascoigne* (*R.E.S.*, July) Fitzgerald Flournoy gives substantial additional proof that William, the father of Nicholas, was well-to-do. He gives documentary details of thirteen acquisitions by him of property in London and in the country, including 350 separate pieces of real estate. He also summarizes six records of sales by him, in addition to four already known, on which he made a quick profit.

William left to Nicholas two pieces of real estate in Lincolnshire and Essex besides other bequests. How then are we to account for the son's bitter complaints of poverty? The blame appears to attach to his mother Elizabeth, and to George Gascoigne whom she married before her second, in some way irregular, union with Edward Boyes had been legally dissolved. William Breton in his will had directed that his widow should forfeit all rights, if she married again. But Flournoy prints an extract from the *Lincoln Episcopal Records*, 1566, proving that, in defiance of the will, Gascoigne and Elizabeth were acting on behalf of the elder son, Richard. Moreover, another document shows that Gascoigne had transferred to Richard, and to his own guardianship, the Lincolnshire estate bequeathed by William to Nicholas, whose hereditary rights were thus flouted.

The publication concerned chiefly with a poet of the period is the study of *George Turbervile*[6] by J. E. Hankins. His biography has still to be largely conjectural. Neither the date of his birth or his death is definitely known, nor any particulars of his marriage. There is no documentary confirmation of Anthony Wood's statements (though they are not unlikely) that he was at school at Winchester, was a fellow of New College, and a member of one of the Inns of Court. Hankins pieces together such slender evidence as can be gathered from his writings and from such records as have recently been found. The most important of these relates to the killing by Turbervile, in self-defence on 26 September 1573, of Robert Jones who had attacked him. Though he obtained the Queen's pardon this episode was probably the source of the 'troubles' to which he refers in more than one of his publications soon afterwards. His literary activity seems to

[6] *The Life and Works of George Turbervile*, by John Erskine Hankins. Univ. of Kansas. Humanistic Studies, No. 25. pp. v + 98. $1.00.

have ended in 1575, though Hankins gives plausible grounds for supposing that he lived till 1597.

With regard to Turbervile's works there is much more information from entries in the Stationers' Register and from the numerous editions through which most of them passed. Hankins gives a full list of these and of modern reprints, and discusses the problem of two or three editions that seem to have disappeared. The 1567 *Epitaphs, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* is described as 'Newly corrected with additions', and in his dedication to Lady Warwick Turbervile refers to an earlier published collection of his poems, but nothing otherwise is known of this. The only extant edition of *Tragicall Tales* is 1587, but Malone and Lowndes speak of a 1576 issue, and as Turbervile does not mention his *Booke of Hawking* (1575) in a list of his works prefixed to *Tragicall Tales*, it has been inferred that there was an edition of still earlier date.

The discussion by Hankins of the style and metrical quality of Turbervile's translations from Ovid, Mantuan, Mancinus, or from Boccaccio and Bandello, where prose is rendered into verse in *Tragicall Tales*, is scholarly and suggestive. His poems are shown to be mainly derivative, borrowing largely from Tottel's *Miscellany*, from Ovid, and from the Greek Anthology in the collection made by Cornarius (1529). His two prose works, the books on Hawking and Hunting, are also translations, but they are valuable handbooks, and they show him as a lover of old sports and old customs. As Hankins sums up: 'If anyone wishes to know what the educated Elizabethan gentleman read, thought, and talked during the years 1565–1575, he can scarcely do better than study the works of George Turbervile'.

In an article on *Versions of Lindsay's 'Satire of the three Estates'* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) Raymond A. Houk seeks to show that Douglas Hamer in his Scottish Text Society's edition of the play (see *Y.W.* xiii. 142–3) was wrong in his view that Lindsay had revised the play between the 1552 performance at Cupar and the 1554 one in Edinburgh, the former version being represented by the Bannatyne MS. (1568) and the latter by the quarto (1602). His main argument, which needs to be read in detail, is based on the episodes in the quarto of the unfrocking of the Prioress and the Friar's appeal not to be hanged. In opposition to Hamer

who finds here a 'clumsy join', showing the hand of the reviser, Houk maintains that the unfrocking was included in the 1552 performance and, instead of being added in 1554, was one of the omissions which Bannatyne admitted he had made in his version.

In *Ralph Roister Doister: 'An Immaculate Copy'* (*N. and Q.*, April 13) Frank Sullivan drew attention to a statement in *The Nation and Athenaeum*, April 22, 1922, by C. K. S[horter], that a copy of this play, with the title-page which is missing in the Eton College hitherto unique copy, had been discovered by the owner of a country house, in a chimney corner behind a modern grate. Nothing further is known of this alleged 'discovery', and Sullivan's query as to its whereabouts has brought no reply. A sceptical attitude is therefore not out of place.

By the publication of his edition of *Roister Doister*[7] G. Scheurwegs has furnished the first instalment of the plan, conceived in 1903 by W. Bang, of a full study of the work of Nicholas Udall as a playwright and translator. This volume includes not only a reprint of the comedy from the Eton original, with a critical apparatus, but also a life of Udall based on documentary evidence. H. Chitty's discovery of the record of a Thomas Owdale, a notary in Winchester, who may have been the father of Nicholas (see *Y.W.* xx. 76), was only in time to be mentioned in a prefatory note. The chief stages in his school and college career are illustrated from the registers. It is curious that when supplicating for his M.A., after publishing his *Flowres* from Terence, he was asked not to translate any other Latin books into English. After his dismissal in disgrace from the headmastership of Eton in 1541, Scheurwegs identifies the long letter in which he vainly sought reappointment as addressed to Sir Thomas Wetherby of Titchfield. There follow documented notes on Udall's embarrassed finances, on his London residences, and his tutorship of Edward Courtenay, a prisoner in the Tower in 1549. With his appointment to a prebend in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, at the end of 1551, and to the rectory of Calborne, in the Isle of Wight, early in 1553, his fortunes improved, and in December 1555 he was appointed headmaster of Westminster School, only a year before his death in December 1556.

[7] Nicholas Udall's *Roister Doister*, ed. from the Eton copy, by G. Scheurwegs (Materials for the Study of Old English Drama, N.S. xvi). Louvain: Lib. Univ. Uystpruyst. 1939. pp. lxxxiv + 132.

Though much of this biography is well known the facts have not hitherto been given in so much detail and supported with so full documentary citation. As far as Udall's authorship is concerned little is added to Bale's notes, though his Latin elegies in 1551 on Martin Bucer and Henry and Charles, Dukes of Suffolk, are reproduced from the anthologies in which they appeared. A list of books which belonged to Udall, with his autograph, is a useful appendix.

The Introduction to *Roister Doister* itself sums up the evidences of date as pointing to 1552, and find in the *Eunuchus* (with illustrative quotation) rather than in the *Miles Gloriosus* the chief source, with *Phormio* and the poem on *The Death of the Duke of Suffolk* as subsidiary. The reprint is preceded by the editor's long list of supplementary stage-directions, and is followed by (1) textual notes giving doubtful and irregular readings, (2) explanatory notes dealing particularly with linguistic features, (3) a list of proverbial sayings in the play, (4) an index of words of special interest, and their quotation or otherwise in *O.E.D.* No pains have been spared to make the edition a quarry for students of the play in all its aspects.

In an article on *The Authorship of Gammer Gurton's Needle* (*P.Q.*, April) Charles W. Roberts makes an attempt to identify 'Mr. S. Mr. of Art' of the title-page with Sebastian Westcote, Master of the Children of Paul's, and producer of a large number of plays 1551–82. Roberts quotes from household accounts, diaries, and legal documents to show that Westcote was familiarly known as Sebastian. But only twice is there the prefix 'master', and it is highly improbable that a publisher would have used this familiar designation, especially with merely an initial, on a title-page.

As there is no evidence that Westcote had a M.A. degree Roberts suggests that the printer may have found *Mr. S. Westcot* in his copy, misread it as *Mr. S. Mast. art*, and printed *Mr. S. Mr. of Art.* To support his theory Roberts makes a number of other suppositions. He finds some points of contact between *Gammer Gurton's Needle* and *The Contention between Liberality and Prodigality*, printed 1602, acted 1575. He follows H. N. Hillebrand in the assumption that this play, or an earlier version of it, may have been by Westcote, and he adds John Heywood as a

collaborator. From this he argues that Heywood and Westcote took part together in the composition of *Gammer* and it may have been the play for which payment was recorded to them in Princess Elizabeth's Household Accounts 12 February 1551–2. To the present writer this contribution to a difficult problem seems very unsatisfactory.

In *Items of Elizabethan Usage* (*N. and Q.*, Nov. 2) J. J. Elson gives a dozen words and phrases from Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra* (1578) which extend the account of them in *O.E.D.* and often give earlier instances of them than are there quoted.

VII

SHAKESPEARE

By Allardyce Nicoll

The year 1940 has seen the appearance of yet another life of William Shakespeare, the work of Hazleton Spencer.[1] This is a lively, a scholarly, and a stimulating book. Spencer is no dry-as-dust and although his investigations carry him into the minutiae of historical and critical research, he shows continual evidence of the enthusiasm that prompted him to write this volume. Nowhere does he get buried in the past; his vision of Shakespeare's work is the vision of a modern deeply interested in the art of to-day. As he sees it, 'naturalism on our stage has gone about as far as it can go'; surface realisms are losing their appeal and there must inevitably be a return to the exercise of the human spirit. 'Whenever', he remarks, 'during the last two hundred years, literature has returned to that for its inspiration, Shakespeare has come to the front again. That is what is happening today.' It is with this idea in view that he decides 'the time is ripe' for a new survey of the facts of the poet's career and a new estimate of his achievement. Balanced and sound in judgement, Spencer has here written a book which ought to be of real service; it would form an excellent introduction for a student and it contains material likely to excite the attention and interest of the maturer scholar.

A general discussion of Spencer's book and examination of some particular aspects of it is contributed by Robert M. Smith to *S.A.B.* (April). To his own *William Shakespeare* Sir Edmund Chambers has written *An Epilogue* (*R.E.S.*, Oct.) in which he refers to Harbage's essay on Elizabethan acting (see *Y.W.* xx. 91) and to Hart's attempt to determine the acting length of plays in Shakespeare's lifetime (see *Y.W.* xvi. 170–1). In this connexion it may be observed that Chambers quotes, apparently with acceptance, Schücking's statement that the full-length *Hamlet* took 4 hours and 22 minutes to play, without intermission, at the Old Vic. The danger of taking modern, professional stage examples as indicative of earlier practice is,

[1] *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare*, by Hazleton Spencer. New York: Harcourt, Brace. pp. xx + 495.

perhaps, indicated by the fact that at Yale University in 1941 the complete text was presented on a reconstructed 'Elizabethan' stage in less than 3 hours 45 minutes, including one intermission of a quarter of an hour; the verse, although delivered rapidly, was clearly spoken and scenes which demanded slowness of performance were not unduly rushed. The concluding section of Chambers's essay contains a discussion of the way in which Shakespeare's imagination was permeated by thought and reminiscence of the theatre.

A very valuable volume on *Shakespeare and Other Masters*[2] has been published by E. E. Stoll. Along with chapters on certain plays by Jonson, Racine, and Molière, Stoll examines the dramatic texture in Shakespeare and provides stimulating essays on Hamlet, Othello, Iago, and the composition of *The Tempest*. While the present writer does not feel able entirely to share Stoll's enthusiasm for the 'historical' approach towards these subjects, no doubt remains in his mind that this is one of the most important contributions made during recent years to Shakespearian criticism. Stoll's emphasis on the dramatic presentation of passion rather than of character is significant, as is his emphasis on the immensely greater opportunities offered to the theatre by the conventional poetic form than by the modern realistic pattern. Because of the penetrating nature of his critical approach and because of the wide range of his interests, Stoll has here written a book of value alike to the student of Shakespeare and to the student of—and to the contributor to—contemporary dramatic literature.

A reprint of *Shakspere and his Predecessors*,[3] by F. S. Boas, has been published, with an additional introductory chapter, in which a survey is made of the new facts which have been brought to light, and the fresh perspectives that have been opened, since the book first appeared in 1896.

Pursuing a line of investigation already adopted by Thaler and Berkelman (see *Y.W.* xix. 121), Edwin R. Hunter discusses variants of speech patterns distinguishing Shakespeare's characters in *Shakspere's Mouthpieces: Manner of Speech as a Mark*

[2] *Shakespeare and other Masters*, by Elmer Edgar Stoll, Harvard Univ. and O.U.P. pp. xiv + 430. $4.50.

[3] *Shakspere and his Predecessors*, by Frederick S. Boas. Seventh impression, with a new introductory chapter. Murray. pp. xxiii + 555. 8*s*. 6*d*.

of Personality in a few Shakspere Characters (*Sewanee Review*, July–Sept. 1939). After noting various devices employed by the dramatist—Dialect, Foreign Speech, Ignorant Misuse, Garrulity, Prolixity, Quality of Voice—Hunter explores in detail the speech patterns given by Shakespeare to six of his *dramatis personae*, Portia, Viola, Brutus, Othello, Imogen, and Perdita.

In *The Continuity of Shaksperian Prose* (*S.A.B.*, July) Henry W. Wells observes that the prose style of the plays does not exhibit, as does the verse, a clearly marked progression. Shakespeare's prose style was fully formed in his earliest comedies, although, as he advanced to maturity, he tended more and more to utilize prose in serious scenes which before would certainly have been penned in the verse form.

Phyllis Cook, in *William Shakspere, Botanist* (*S.A.B.*, July), notes the numerous allusions to plants in the plays and provides a useful catalogue of botanical references. Shakespeare's allusions to horses are somewhat similarly surveyed by Paul Fatout in *Roan Barbary* (*S.A.B.*, April).

Arthur M. Sampley's *A Warning-Piece against Shakspere's Women* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.) echoes the praise which has in the past been lavished on Rosalind and her sisters. An essay in the 'Draper' manner on *Shakspere's Gulls* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.) is contributed by J. Stewart Schell.

In *Shakespearian Comedy* (*T.L.S.*, May 4) Ralph E. C. Houghton suggests that Charlton (see *Y.W.* xviii. 131) is wrong in thinking that the 'dark' comedies preceded the 'mature' comedies. A similar topic attracts the interest of James Smith in *As You Like It* (*Scrutiny*, June), an essay which, taking Jacques as a core, seeks to prove the integration of Shakespeare's work from the pure comedies, through the problem plays, to the tragedies. *The Integrity of Shakespeare's 'The Taming of the Shrew'* (*J.E.G.P.*, April) occupies the attention of Raymond A. Houk: this article presents a discussion of the revisions made in the treatment of the *Suppositi* theme.

Inspired by an article written by Christine White (*Y.W.* xx. 85), Merritt Y. Hughes, in *A Classical vs. a Social Approach to Shakspere's Autolycus* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.), argues for a development of this rogue's character out of classical sources as interpreted

by the Renaissance. In the same journal (Oct.) William T. Hastings, *The Ancestry of Autolycus*, also argues for a literary development of the type; he sees this as a 'stock figure of the older drama brought to life by the touch of Shakspere'. That Caliban was fundamentally a seriously conceived character who is later made laughable by being taken out of his proper environment is argued by John C. McCloskey in *Caliban, Savage Clown* (*College English*, Jan.).

Turning from Shakespeare's comedy to darker realms, H. B. Charlton examines *'Romeo and Juliet' as an Experimental Tragedy*.[4] An effort is here made to place this early tragic drama in the setting of contemporary and earlier Renaissance experiments; this is followed by a discussion of the relationship of the play to Brooke's and other versions.

C. F. Tucker Brooke deals with *Romeo* in *Shakespeare remembers his Youth in Stratford* (*in Honour of C. Brown*); he thinks the play shows that, at the time of writing, the poet was not familiar with aristocratic households.

The State in Shakespeare's Greek and Roman Plays[5] is well surveyed by J. E. Phillips, Jr. After a careful study of the dramatic texts themselves and of current political theory, the author decides that Shakespeare did not formulate any particularly independent or unusual social concepts of his own. The fact remains, however, that, original or not, a kind of political 'vision' illumines these dramas, gives them their depth and intensity, and is expressed in vivid emotional terms.

Similar in scope to her earlier volume (see *Y.W.* xix. 118) Blanche Coles's *Julius Caesar*[6] presents a scene-by-scene commentary on the action, with explanatory notes on the historical Roman background. *Brutus's Forum Speech* in this play (*R.E.S.*, Jan.) is examined by R. W. Zandvoort as a perfect example of Euphuistic prose. David Brown, in *'My Gracious Silence!'* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.), draws attention to an affectionate irony in Coriolanus' greeting of his wife.

[4] O.U.P., for the British Academy (Annual Shakespeare Lecture). pp. 43. 2*s*. 6*d*.

[5] *The State in Shakespeare's Greek and Roman Plays*, by James Emerson Phillips, Jr. Columbia Univ. and O.U.P. pp. xi + 230. $2.75.

[6] *Shakespeare Studies: Julius Caesar*, by Blanche Coles. New York: Richard R. Smith. pp. xii + 281.

Criticizing Dover Wilson's opinion of Hamlet as the 'most adorable of heroes', L. C. Knights in *Prince Hamlet* (*Scrutiny*, Sept.) suggests that this hero was not intended to be entirely sympathetic: to prove this he enumerates Hamlet's errors and vices as revealed in his words.

W. W. Greg, writing on *The Mouse-Trap—A Postscript* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.), refers back to his own theory regarding Claudius' guilt: a re-examination of the evidence, he thinks, leaves the matter still uncertain. The same subject is dealt with by C. J. Sisson in *The Mouse-trap Again* (*R.E.S.*, April). Sisson thinks the dumb-show was introduced as explanation to the audience and postulates the convention of 'frozen action' in the performance of it. His suggested staging would place the actors in the inner stage with the King so far upstage as to prevent his seeing their pantomime—a rather improbable arrangement, it would appear, since the whole was a court performance with the King the chief and honoured spectator. *Hamlet's Treatment of Ophelia in the Nunnery Scene* (*M.L.R.*, April) is, according to Taraknath Sen, entirely understandable on psychological grounds without the necessity of introducing Dover Wilson's motivation. A discussion of Schücking's views regarding *The Sequence of Scenes in Hamlet* (*M.L.N.*, May) is presented by Leo Kirschbaum.

A strange volume of reveries occasioned by *Hamlet* goes under the names of Henry Miller and Michael Fraenkel.[7] Jacques Barzum treats the prince as a liberal in *Hamlet's Politics* (*S.R.L.*, April 13) and M. E. Finch stresses his inherent honesty in *Hamlet's 'Antic Disposition'* (*N. and Q.*, July 27). He is considered in his capacity as a dramatist by John F. Ross in *Five Studies in Literature*.[8]

E. E. Williams essays to define the qualities of the *Tragedy of Destiny*, with special reference to *Macbeth*.[9] Finding the impression of *Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Athalie*, and *Macbeth* to be the same, he endeavours to describe its essence and to speculate on the possible future of this dramatic form.

John W. Draper, writing on *The Old Age of King Lear* (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.), sees in Shakespeare's hero a portrait of dissolution, con-

[7] *Hamlet: A Philosophical Correspondence*. Paris: Carrefour. pp. 330.

[8] See above, pp. 12 and 65.

[9] *Tragedy of Destiny: Œdipus Tyrannus, Macbeth, Athalie*. Éditions XVII Siècle: Cambridge, Mass. pp. 35.

trasted with Hamlet, who is never conquered, and Macbeth who, though a lost soul, dies fighting. *The Staging of 'King Lear'* (*R.E.S.*, July) is discussed by W. W. Greg. Noting the peculiar simplicity of the setting and action, he suggests that this play was designed for some performance where only a bare stage, possessing no alcove and possibly no balcony, was available. Following from this is the deduction that the act and scene divisions in the Folio were Shakespeare's own. A double scheme of time flowing (an old dramatic device) is noted by the same author in *Time, Place and Politics in 'King Lear'* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.).

In *The Authorship of 'Timon of Athens'* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.), Ralph A. Hang surveys the theories of dual authorship of this play and decides that Shakespeare's hand and tone are traceable throughout. John W. Draper writes on *The Psychology of Shakespeare's Timon* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.). He notes that, in order to to make his hero more sympathetic, Shakespeare explained his fall by stressing, not wastefulness, but virtuous generosity. In terms of Elizabethan humours this Timon moves from a sanguine nature to a choleric, and at last passes into bitter melancholy.

Passing to the studies related to Shakespeare's sources, we come to Moriz Sondheim's interesting essay on *Shakespeare and the Astrology of his Time* (*Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Jan. 1939). That Shakespeare believed in the influence of sun, moon, and stars is certain, but he thought that that influence was confined to the realm of nature. Horoscopy, believes Sondheim, he deliberately rejected, and emphasized only the *astrologia naturalis*.

Writing on *Don Armado and the Commedia dell' Arte* (*S. in Ph.*, April), Daniel C. Boughner deems that Oscar Campbell's derivation of the character is too narrowly conceived. He, in turn, sees Armado as the captain of the *commedia erudita* held within the bounds of Elizabethan reality. *Shakespeare's Map for 'The Comedy of Errors'* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.) is identified by George B. Parks as the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* of Abraham Ortelius.

In *Studies in the Greene-Shakspere Relationship* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.) Thomas H. McNeal stresses the importance of *A Most Rare and Excellent Dreame*, published in the *Phoenix Nest*. Against this poem, which he is certain was written by Greene, Shakespeare

drew a bow in sonnet cxxx and in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Referring to an earlier article by Draper (see *Y.W.* xx. 82), Allan H. Gilbert writes of *Jacques' 'Seven Ages' and Censorinus* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.). He thinks it likely that Shakespeare had read the *De die natali liber* of Censorinus and that memory of this coloured the speech in *As You Like It*. Jewish sources in the *History of Susanna* are discussed by Cyrus H. Gordon in *'A Daniel come to judgment'* (*S.A.B.*, April): he points out that the reference was inappropriately placed in the mouth of Shylock.

Alwin Thaler deals with *Spenser and 'Much Ado about Nothing'* (*S. in Ph.*, April), noting that Margaret is closer to the English poet's character than to Ariosto's. In *The Bulgarian Origins of 'The Tempest' of Shakespeare* (*S. in Ph.*, April) Henri Grégoire suggests that certain episodes in Bulgarian history described in *Il Regno degli Slavi* (1601) by Mauro Orbini may have found their way into a now lost Italian novella, into Ayrer's *Die Schöne Sidea*, into the fourth story of Eslava's *Noctes de Invierno*, and into Shakespeare's play.

In an article in the *John Rylands Library Bulletin* (Oct.), since reprinted in eight-page pamphlet form by the Manchester Univ. Press, Alan Keen wrote *A Short Account of the Recently discovered copy of Edward Hall's 'Union of the Noble Houses of Lancaster and York', notable for its manuscript notes*. This copy of the 1550 issue of Hall's *Chronicle* belonged in 1565 to Richard Newport, connected with a family which from 1567 to 1597 owned Shakespeare's later property, New Place. Keen seeks to identify the dramatist with the annotator who set down about 400 MS. marginalia on the pages of this copy dealing with the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V.

With reference to this claim R. F. W. Fletcher in *Annotations by Shakespeare* (*T.L.S.*, Sept. 14) points out that *Henry V* certainly was based, not on Hall, but on the 1587 edition of Holinshed. He wonders whether these annotations may not have been made by the latter historian. *A Note on 2 Henry IV* (*S.A.B.*, July) by Russell K. Alspach suggests that for a passage in v. ii. 112–17 Shakespeare had in mind an episode in the life of Trajan when that emperor presented a sword to the chief of the Praetorium. Concluding his earlier studies (see *Y.W.* xx. 82) W. B. D. Henderson writes on *Montaigne's 'Apology' and 'King Lear'* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.).

This is a careful and interesting study although occasionally the author appears to be a trifle over-curious in his search of parallels. A. B.'s *An Echo of the 'Paragone' in Shakespeare* (*Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Jan. 1939) discusses the poet-painter scene at the beginning of *Timon*. This he deems to be a reflection of a long-standing argument between the poets and their fellow-rivals, in which the former, being intellectual, claimed greater moral force than the latter, who dealt with externals. *Iago's Age* (*T.L.S.*, March 23), observes E. H. W. Meyerstein, is given by Shakespeare as 28: this, he conjectures, may have been a memory of the age of Holinshed's *King Iago*, noted in a woodcut as having an identical number of years.

The Date of 'King Lear' and Shakespeare's Use of Earlier Versions of the Story (*Library*, March) is fully discussed by W. W. Greg. He believes that the play was most probably produced in the winter of 1605–6, although it may have come as early as the spring of 1605. Many verbal echoes from *King Leir* are listed; in addition to this source, however, Shakespeare used Holinshed, *A Mirror for Magistrates* and *The Faerie Queen*. Greg also contributes a note on *Shakespeare and 'King Leir'* to *T.L.S.* (March 9). He there enumerates two 'echoes' of *Leir* in *Hamlet*. If these be accepted as genuine borrowings then, of course, Shakespeare must have read *Leir* in manuscript (it was not printed until 1605) and consequently this play cannot be used as an aid in determining the date of *King Lear*. One may, however, suggest that the 'echoes' are so faint that they may, in fact, have nothing to do with the *Hamlet* lines.

Anglo-French Relations in 'King John' (*Étud. ang.*, Oct.–Dec. 1939) are examined by D. F. Ash. He holds that many of the additions to and omissions from the old play were made in order to keep the subject-matter in line with the situation of 1595–6. In general, the drama might be regarded as a warning against permitting France to drift into peace with Spain. In *The Northumberland of Shakespeare and Holinshed* (*Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, 1939) Sarah Dodson finds that the main outlines of Northumberland's character in *Richard II* and *Henry IV* are to be discovered in Holinshed; in these plays, however, he loses every remnant of true independence and thinks only of his own personal good.

Among the textual studies may be mentioned Staring B. Wells's note on *Love's Labour's Lost, IV. iii. 285–362* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) where some slight modification is suggested in Dover Wilson's theory regarding these lines. Referring to J. M. Robertson's speculations, Hereward T. Price shows that '*Like Himself*' (*R.E.S.*, April) in the prologue to *Henry V* is not a peculiar, but a common, Elizabethan phrase.

C. L. Stainer, writing on the Q2 and F. *Text of Hamlet* (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 6) believes that several speeches are ascribed to wrong actors and hence suggests that the play must have been for some time out of use when the copy was prepared. A defence of the F text is made by S. A. Tannenbaum in *Hamlet's 'Sect and Force'* (*S.A.B.*, April) and *Meddling with Shakspere's Text* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.); the first refers to *Hamlet*, I. iii. 24–7, the second to I. iii. 64–6. In *Hamlet Sr.—Merchant or Knight?* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.) the same writer prefers 'counant' (i.e. covenant) to 'comart' in the reference to the elder Hamlet's conflict with the elder Fortinbras. James Sledd's *Hause and Slaves in 'King Lear'* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.) comments on II. iv. 75–7 and IV. i. 68–70: 'hause' he derives from OE. halsian, 'to abjure' or 'to beseech', 'slaves' he takes as a verb, in the significance of 'tears', 'cleaves', 'rends'.

Fedele Bajocchi, in *Macbeth, I. ii.* (*T.L.S.*, March 23) discusses Macbeth's peculiar lack of knowledge regarding Cawdor's fate; he attempts to explain away the discrepancy and thus suggests that there is no basis here for assuming a corrupt text. This view is combated by G. N. Giordano-Orsini in the same journal (April 6). Legal terminology, according to Paul S. Clarkson and Clyde T. Warren, in *Copyhold Tenure and 'Macbeth', III. ii. 38* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.), explains a passage in *Macbeth*, III. ii. 38.

In *Theobald's Alleged Shakespeare Manuscript* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) John Cadwalader observes that the positive existence of an early text used as a basis for *Double Falsehood* is proved by a Theobald letter of December 10, 1727.

Shakespeare and Music (*S.A.B.*, July), by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, concerns the influence of the plays on various composers and suggests problems involved in the musical accompaniment to these dramas. In *James Fennimore Cooper and Shakspere* (*S.A.B.*, April) Edward P. Vandiver, Jr., notes that the novelist quoted no less than 1,100 lines from 36 plays, showing wide and

intimate knowledge of Shakespeare's work. E. A. Mooney, Jr., examines *Tennyson's Earliest Shakspere Parallels* (*S.A.B.*, April), while Max I. Baym devotes two interesting articles to the subject of *Baudelaire and Shakspere* (*S.A.B.*, July and Oct.).

Martin S. Shockley provides valuable statistics concerning the performance of *Shakspere's Plays in the Richmond Theatre, 1819–1838* (*S.A.B.*, April). This Richmond is, of course, Richmond, Virginia.

A troublesome John Shakespeare is identified by Robert Taylor in *John Shakespeare, Corviser, of Stratford-on-Avon, and the Balsall Shakespeares* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.). T. W. Baldwin, in '*Light on the Dark Lady*' (*P.M.L.A.*, June), argues that Pauline K. Angell has misinterpreted some evidence presented in *Willobie* and hence is sceptical concerning her theory regarding the relationship between the episodes told in that poem and some contemporary events.

The Spelling of Shakespeare is discussed by C. L'Estrange Ewen and William Jaggard in *N. and Q.* (May 18 and June 1). Referring to Katharine A. Esdaile's pamphlet on the Tong Church epitaph on the Stanley tomb,[10] E. B. Goodacre (*N. and Q.*, Feb. 10) attempts to minimize her arguments in favour of Shakespeare's authorship, while William Jaggard defends them (*N. and Q.*, March 9.)

Oscar J. Campbell, writing on *Shakespeare Himself* (*Harper's Magazine*, July) with specific reference to an article by C. W. Barrell in *The Scientific American*, sanely dismisses the evidence adduced to prove that the plays were written by some one other than William Shakespeare of Stratford. The follies of such theorists are also outlined in W. S. Knickerbocker's *Designs on Mr. Upton: A Rumination on Sciolism and its Engagements with William Shakespeare* (*Sewanee Review*, April–June, 1939). An (incomplete) *Bibliographic Account of the Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy* is contributed by Logan Clondening to *Colophon* (New Series, I. 3, 1939); the same periodical (I. 4, 1940) has an article by W. T. Hastings, '*Shakespeare*' *Ireland's First Folio*, on an early collection of forgeries and relevant papers now preserved in the Brown University Library.

[10] *Shakespeare's Verses in Tong Church*, by Katharine A. Esdaile. 1939. Shrewsbury: Brown & Brinnard. 6*d*.

VIII

ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

By Frederick S. Boas

This survey will, as usual, begin with works of a general character and deal afterwards with publications concerning individual dramatists or some specialized topics.

Though its range is considerably wider than the Elizabethan period, even in its most liberal interpretation, this seems to be the most fitting place to notice Alfred Harbage's *Annals of English Drama, 975–1700*.[1] As the sub-title indicates, it is an analytical record of all plays, extant or lost, chronologically arranged and indexed by authors, titles, dramatic companies, &c. The arrangement, beginning with Aethelwold's liturgical *Quem Quaeritis, c.* 975, is according to centuries till 1495. From that date it is by years till 1700, the year of Dryden's death.

For each play the following particulars are given: author, title, date, dramatic type, auspices, i.e. particulars of first production, date of first edition or reference to MS., date of latest modern edition. There is a supplementary list of plays that are lost or are of too uncertain date or type to be tabulated. The indexes include not only English but foreign plays translated or adapted. There are lists of companies and theatres, and an appendix of extant dramatic MSS. with their locations.

In this publication, which will be very helpful to students of the stage, Harbage has greatly extended and summed up the results of his researches into MS. and printed sources already noted in *Y.W.* (xvi. 203, xviii. 139, xix. 131).

Useful also, on its much more restricted scale, is H. W. Wells's *Chronological List of Extant Plays . . . 1581–1642* which he has prepared as a supplement to his *Elizabethan and Jacobean Playwrights* (see *Y.W.* xx. 88). Plays are arranged under their probable year of production, those with known authors being followed by anonymous pieces. School plays, masques, pageants, and translations are not included. The date of the earliest extant publication is added in each case.

[1] *Annals of English Drama, 975–1700*, by Alfred Harbage. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press and O.U.P. pp. 272. 14*s*.

In his *Elizabethan Plays and Players*[2] G. B. Harrison deals with the period from 1576 to the death of the Queen in 1603 on a more comprehensive scale than in *Shakespeare's Fellows*, now out of print, and in *Shakespeare at Work*, from both of which he incorporates certain portions. He also draws upon some of the fresh material which has come to his notice in the preparation of his three *Elizabethan Journals, 1591–1603*. The result is a picture, at once scholarly and lively, of the (in the strict sense) Elizabethan theatre—playhouses and acting companies, dramatists and plays, political and social background—in the quarter century of its mature growth.

It is inevitable in such a survey that a considerable amount of familiar ground must be covered. But Harrison gives freshness to his account by introducing illustrative details from his remarkable knowledge of the by-ways of the period and also by indicating, often in incisive phrase, his personal estimates and preferences. He has a high appreciation of Kyd's 'sense of drama', of the 'psychological interest' of Marlowe's great personalities, and of Greene's instinct that 'the chief business of a dramatist is to entertain'. Marston he vindicates from the strictures of Sir A. W. Ward, in whose class-list as 'a kind of Victorian Chief Examiner' he hardly gets a bare pass. On the other hand, it may be justifiably held that Ward's 'maudlin approval' of *A Woman Killed by Kindness* is preferable to Harrison's view of its 'bourgeois morality'. He is notably acid in some of his references to Jonson, though in his account of the stage-quarrel, with its helpful chronological table, he refuses with reason to accept some of the identifications that have been often accepted.

Whether Elizabeth's death marks so definitely, as Harrison holds, 'the end of an era' in dramatic history is open to doubt, but his volume is one that will be of value both to specialist students and to readers generally.

In *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy*[3] F. T. Bowers studies the development of this dramatic type during half a century. He begins by a detailed examination of 'the background of revenge',

[2] *Elizabethan Plays and Players*, by G. B. Harrison. Routledge. pp. viii + 306. 12*s*. 6*d*.

[3] *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy*, by Fredson Thayer Bowers. Princeton Univ. Press and C.U.P. pp. ix + 288. 14*s*.

showing how the claim of the state, fortified by divine sanction, to be the only executioner of justice upon the criminal had to struggle against the tenacious hold of the primitive tradition that vengeance was the duty of the wronged individual or, in cases of murder, of his nearest kin. Bowers brings some evidence that this tradition lingered longer in Scotland than in England and that this helped to account for the increase in duelling after the accession of James I. This compromise between an ethical and legal code and a primitive instinct was reflected, as Bowers has already set forth (see *Y.W.* xv. 185–6) in the attitude of the theatrical audience, which had been confirmed by travellers' tales and by translations of Italian and French novels in the belief that foreigners habitually took terrible revenge.

Bowers distinguishes the tragedy of revenge as a subdivision of the more generalized tragedy of blood. In its pure type, as first embodied in *The Spanish Tragedy*, the blood-revenge of the protagonist must be the cause of the catastrophe, and its start must not be delayed beyond the crisis. Bowers gives an interesting analysis of Kyd's play, though the present writer cannot endorse the view that from Act III Hieronimo is turned from a hero into an Italianate villain. Bowers finds the chief influence on *The Spanish Tragedy* in Belleforest's story of Hamleth, based on Saxo Grammaticus, and he presents arguments for dating Kyd's *Ur-Hamlet* before the other play. On the basis of the first quarto of *Hamlet* and *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* he reconstructs, in a highly speculative but suggestive fashion, the main lines of the lost piece. In any case, on his showing, Kydian revenge tragedy combines Senecan, Teutonic, and Italian elements.

Bowers proceeds to trace four later stages in the evolution of the type. The twenty years from 1587 were its 'golden era', from *Titus Andronicus* to *The Revenger's Tragedy*, with Shakespeare's *Hamlet* as its apex. In some of the plays of this 'school of Kyd' the avenger has increasingly criminal elements, and the next phase for about a dozen years after 1607, of which Webster is the chief representative, Bowers distinguishes as 'the reign of the villain'. There follows a third phase typified by *The Fair Quarrel* and *The Changeling* and several of Massinger's plays, in which private vengeance is condemned. Finally, in the period preceding the Civil War, Shirley, especially in *The Cardinal*, reverts in a measure to the Kydian type.

As in all similar studies where a special form is singled out from the dramatic complex for treatment there is necessarily excessive simplification and precision, but the volume is to be welcomed for its critical insight and lucid style.

The enigmatic title of Hardin Craig's paper in *P.Q.* (Jan.), *The Shackling of Accidents: A Study of Elizabethan Tragedy*, is explained by the quotation with which it ends, from *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. ii.:

> it is great
> To do that thing which ends all other deeds
> Which shackles accidents and bolts up chang

Craig's main contention is that the writers of Elizabethan tragedy had before them three different doctrines. The Greek conception was that calamity must be accepted as the will of the gods delivered through the agency of fate. With Seneca also calamity was irresistible, but man could meet it with a stoic mastery. The Christian view was that catastrophe is the result of guilt and is a function of character and conscience. Elizabethan dramatists did not make a deliberate choice between these doctrines, but, including Shakespeare, they were mainly influenced by the third which assumes that tragedy is only incidental in a world not naturally calamitous. From the Stoical point of view, however, calamity could not be avoided, but change and accident could be subordinated to fortitude and self-command, and could thus be 'shackled'. Of the type of tragic hero or heroine created in accordance with this ideal Craig finds examples in Hamlet, Brutus, and, in the light of her attitude to death, Cleopatra, from whose lips he borrows her significant phrase.

Howard Baker's *Induction to Tragedy*[4] carries on in a particular field the line of investigation opened by William Farnham in his volume emphasizing the 'medieval heritage' of Elizabethan tragedy (see *Y.W.* xvii. 146). Baker's leading idea is to minimize the influence of Seneca on Tudor tragedy from *Gorboduc* to *Titus Andronicus*, and to establish instead a connexion between the plays and 'tragedies' in the non-dramatic sense, going back through *The Mirror for Magistrates* to the falls of the mighty in Lydgate and Boccaccio. Baker's dissertation is an able piece of

[4] *Induction to Tragedy*, by Howard Baker. Louisiana State Univ. Press. pp. vii + 247. $3.00.

work, but it would find more acceptance if he were not so anxious to push what may be fairly called his anti-Senecan obsession to its extreme limit. Virtually the only play in which he recognizes the Roman dramatist's influence is *The Misfortunes of Arthur*.

Apart from his main contention Baker makes valuable points. He calls attention to Norton's use of blank verse in rendering two passages from Virgil quoted by Calvin in his *Institutes*, translated by Norton and published in May 1561. He thus had practised the metre before joining with Sackville in *Gorboduc* towards the close of the year, and Baker makes a good case for assigning to Calvin's disciple the Puritan and parliamentary parts of the play, and to the travelled young courtier those that are monarchical and Italianate.

In discussing 'the heroic medium', blank verse, Baker, in conformity with his general attitude, takes the view that it did not originate in an imitation of unrhymed classical metres but that it has its roots in medieval poetry. He claims that Surrey's blank verse is 'Gavin Douglas' version of the *Aeneid* transposed into unrhymed heroics', and that echoes of it can be found in *Gorboduc*; and that Grimald's blank-verse pieces in Tottel's *Miscellany* influenced Kyd in *The Spanish Tragedy* rather than Seneca or his French disciple Garnier. Similarly, the Ghost and the allegorical Revenge who form the chorus in Kyd's play are traced back not to Seneca, but to Sackville's *Induction* and *Buckingham*. Stress, too, is laid on Kyd's debt in other features to Virgil and on Shakespeare's in *Titus Andronicus* to Ovid. For the further developments of Baker's views students must be referred to his one-sided but well-written and suggestive book.

R. H. West's *The Invisible World*,[5] mentioned last year, has now been received. The keynote of the work is struck in the following statement about Englishmen in 1607, when *Macbeth* and *The Devil's Charter* could be seen on the stage.

> [They] were seriously aware in a way that we are not of an invisible world about them, and they spent an appreciable share of their time thinking and writing on spirits and on those affairs of men in which spirits were believed to join. . . . They knew rather more definitely than did editors two hundred years later what such things as

[5] *The Invisible World: A Study of Pneumatology in Elizabethan Drama*, by Robert Hunter West. 1939. Univ. of Georgia Press. pp. xv + 275. $3.00.

> *spirits*, *witches*, and *magicians* were conceived to be. These are terms that have nowadays only figurative or historical signification; but in 1607 . . . they or their equivalents were part of a universal faith that was, perhaps, as close to the people as technology is to us.

West proceeds in his text and in his illustrative notes to examine the leading specimens of the voluminous controversial literature of the period on daemons, magic, and ghosts in which Bodin, King James, and Le Loyer were prominent on the orthodox believing side, and Wier, Reginald Scot, and Lavater on the sceptical or negative.

West then analyses in detail the treatment in Elizabethan plays of these various aspects of what he terms pneumatology. He deals first with 'daemons', comprising all types of disembodied spirits, and concludes that such proper names as Lucifer or Mephistophilis do little to distinguish one from another, and that the only cleavage that certainly distinguishes one play daemon from another is that between the blessed and the damned. West then passes to ceremonial magic and such diverse practitioners of it as Faustus, Alexander in *The Devil's Charter*, Mother Sawyer in *The Witch of Edmonton*, and Friar Bacon. Closely allied with this is witchcraft, and here the homelier English variety in *The Witch of Edmonton* and *The Late Lancashire Witches* is distinguished from the darker continental type in other plays.

In his final chapter on ghosts West discusses in an illuminating way in relation to contemporary views the question of their 'objectivity' in the plays of Shakespeare and others. He gives reason for showing that this term would have little meaning for the Elizabethans, and that the distinction is whether or not the ghost-figures are to be conceived as substantial, that is, possessing being in themselves, or as mere 'accidents of the mind'. Often the answer has to be uncertain. It is usually to seek revenge that the Ghost appears, but the cruder Senecan conception gradually took on the form of a divine retribution.

G. F. Reynolds provides a specimen of specialized and minutely detailed investigation in his monograph on *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater*.[6] He re-examines the

[6] *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater, 1605–1625*, by George Fullmer Reynolds. New York: M.L.A.A. and O.U.P. pp. x+ 203. 9*s*.

problems concerning Elizabethan staging in the light of the evidence supplied by the plays produced at a single theatre during twenty years. The list includes three classes arranged as A (13), B (19), and C (14), according to their respective evidential value. Reynolds's attitude throughout is one of the utmost caution, of a determination not to draw general conclusions from what he considers insufficient data, even on points which are generally accepted by stage-historians. These data consist of contemporary pictures of theatrical interiors, contracts, and descriptions, and the evidence in the plays themselves especially the stage-directions or allusions in the dialogue, though Reynolds quotes various instances from Red Bull plays where these cannot be taken literally. On the other hand, in some features there was greater realism than we attempt to-day, and 'we are on the wrong track' when we look for consistency in Elizabethan staging.

It is from this sceptical standpoint that Reynolds discusses in turn, with an almost overwhelming profusion of illustration, questions relating to the properties and to the stage itself. So far as he reaches conclusions, they include the following. In the Red Bull plays there is no evidence of any raised playing place except the balcony. Doors played an important part in suggesting changes of location, through a convention by which an exit at one door and a re-entrance at another indicated a change of scene. Most revolutionary of his views is that 'instead of a permanently placed rear stage, a structural part of the theater' there may have been 'a curtained framework easily removable, and so not used in all plays, and, as it happened, not present on the Swan stage at the time of De Witt's visit'. Reynolds holds that the evidence is insufficient for a positive assertion, but he leans to a removable structure rather than a permanent stage. He also takes the view that the settings in the Red Bull were in principle simultaneous, and that in its case no distinction can be drawn between successive staging in public theatres and simultaneity in private playhouses. He has certainly provided a mine of information and suggestive clues for students of stage-history.

In *The Stage of the 'Englische Komödianten'* (*M.L.R.*, July) R. Pascal discusses three problems connected with the theatre of the English travelling companies in Germany in the seventeenth century. They are the entrances, the balcony, and the curtain.

He distinguishes between two periods: (1) from 1592 to 1648, when the *Englische Komödianten* provided the dominant form of theatrical entertainment in Germany; (2) from 1648 onwards, when the dominant forms were those of continental companies, Dutch, Italian, French, in particular of opera. During the earlier period the players had no regular theatres, but had to make shift with any available rooms, where a temporary stage could be built against one side, and did not stand detached.

In the earlier period there is no indication of more than two entrances and exits. But with the development of movable sets after 1648 these could be multiplied, though to the end of the century many plays give no sign of this. A balcony was used over the back of the stage, but it was employed sparingly and was not large or high.

With regard to the curtain, Pascal is mainly occupied with the question whether, as has been held by some theatrical historians, there was a middle curtain, dividing the stage into a large fore-stage and a small alcove-like rear-stage. He states that there is no evidence for this before 1648, and holds that the English players in Germany up to then (unless in an exceptional case like John Spencer's stage at Regensburg in 1612) performed on a plain platform. After 1648, under Italian influence, the middle curtain begins to be introduced, and this in time gave way to the arrangements of the opera theatre with front-curtains and scenery.

In an article on *Reed and Warton on 'The Old Wives Tale'* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) R. H. Wilson points out that the first identification in print of Peele's authorship was by Isaac Reed in his *Biographia Dramatica*, ii, appendix (1782), on information supplied by George Steevens. When Thomas Warton in his edition of Milton's minor poems (1785) gave a summary of the similarities between *The Old Wives Tale* and *Comus* he referred to Reed but, as Wilson shows, he did not indicate that his account was borrowed with a few verbal changes from Reed's appendix.

E. H. W. Meyerstein discusses (*T.L.S.*, June 29) *The Forged Letter from Peele to Marlowe*, which appeared in *The Annual Register* for 1770, and which Dyce in his edition of Peele (1838) showed to be spurious. Meyerstein, on account of certain parallels with passages in Chatterton's writings, suggests that the

letter, entitled 'Anecdote of Shakespeare', may have been contributed by the Bristol poet who had an 'Anecdote of Lord Chancellor Jeffreys' in the same volume.

R. Adger Law deals with the relation of '*A Looking Glasse*' *and the Scriptures* in *University of Texas Studies in English* (1939). He shows conclusively from a comparison of passages in the play with the text and marginal glosses of the Bishops' Bible that this version was the source of the Jonas scenes in the play. This is confirmed by the proper names which correspond closely. Law further proves that there is scarcely a verse in the four chapters of the Book of Jonas that has not been worked into the play, and that in other scenes there are Biblical echoes which help to explain points that have puzzled editors. As Lodge's prose pamphlets contain similar Biblical echoes Law would assign to him, in addition to the Usurer scenes, those that introduce Jonas and also the speeches of Oseas, allotting to Greene the general design and the humorous episodes of the smith and his apprentice.

Finally, Law discusses the relation between passages in *A Looking Glasse* and in *Doctor Faustus*, finding the source of both in the Book of Revelation. He prefers the traditional date of *Faustus*, 1588–9 to 1592, proposed by the present writer and others, and looks on Lodge not Marlowe as the borrower.

William Wells in a series of articles in *N. and Q.*, *Thomas Kyd and the Chronicle-History* (March 30, April 6) and *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany* (Sept. 28, Oct. 5), seeks to claim for Kyd a number of plays which on internal grounds have been attributed to one or other of his contemporaries or were published under their names. He bases his conclusions mainly on 'the application of a method of determining questions of authorship by a co-ordination of parallels', and the results are surprising. He transfers to Kyd from Marlowe *Edward II* and an unrevised *Massacre at Paris*, and from Shakespeare not only *The Contention* and *The True Tragedie* but also *Richard III* and *Julius Caesar*, in its original form. Such attributions cut away much of the basis for what would be more legitimate even if unconvincing assignments. Thus Wells is entitled to argue a case for Kyd as author of *The Troublesome Raigne of King John* against Sykes's verdict for Peele. So, too, with *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, Moseley's attribution of it to Chapman in the 1654 quarto carries so little

weight that Kyd's name may be put forward. But parallels taken from plays not recognized as Kyd's are a weak support for the case that Wells tries to establish.

Students of Marlowe are again indebted to F. S. Boas, who supplies a full account of the poet's life and work[7] at a specially opportune moment. The fresh material which has become available since Boas published *Marlowe and his Circle* in 1929 is considerable in both amount and importance, but some of it is rather baffling, in itself and in its bearing upon other data, and carries with it the danger of premature and misleading interpretation; and this, together with its scattered appearances in books and articles on both sides of the Atlantic, created the need for some expert re-statement and guidance. This service is here generously performed by one who has earned authority by forty years' attention to Marlowe's career and writings. The facts, assembled and so far as possible co-ordinated, are weighed and carefully distinguished from conjectures, and although there is no dryness or lack of speculative interest, inquiry and 'learned discretion' go hand in hand towards the goal of comprehensive understanding.

In the chapters of biography the reader will find all that can be safely affirmed or reasonably surmised about Marlowe himself and also about the relevant activities of his known associates, Robert Poley, Richard Baines, Thomas Kyd, and the rest; and although it is clear that his daring spirit led him into questionable company and hazardous courses we are encouraged to believe that his misfortunes are exaggerated if the phrase 'unhappy in his life' is taken at its face-value. That he was 'happy in his buskined Muse' is confirmed and developed in the chapters devoted to the description and appreciation of the plays and poems. Two things are emphasized here: Marlowe's general fidelity to his sources and his particular indebtedness to the classics. It is further suggested that the early texts of *Dr. Faustus* and of *The Massacre at Paris* give more of Marlowe's own work than has been supposed, and the case is also put for his authorship of *Arden of Feversham*. The evidence for and against

[7] *Christopher Marlowe: A Biographical and Critical Study*, by Frederick S. Boas. O.U.P. pp. x + 336. 15*s*. This notice has been contributed by L. C. Martin.

Marlowe's concern in *2* and *3 Henry VI* is very usefully scrutinized.

The concluding survey of 'Marlowe through the Centuries', ending with the author's own 'Attempt at a Summing-up', is not the least of the many benefits which this volume provides and which no brief account can adequately represent.

In the above-noticed work the present writer quoted as part of Greene's warning against Machiavellian policy the words, 'The brother of this Diabolical Atheisme is dead'. In a letter to *T.L.S.* (Aug. 3) on *Greene, Marlowe, and Machiavelli*, he pointed out from information supplied by Percy Simpson, that in the 1592 edition of *A Groatsworth of Wit* the reading is 'brocher', and that 'brother' is derived from the 1617 edition. Greene seems to be referring to Machiavelli himself, though he had died in 1527.

P. H. Kocher in *Marlowe's Atheist Lecture* (*J.E.S.P.*, Jan.) maintains that, if a few minor transpositions are made in the order of the statements attributed to Marlowe by Richard Baines, they 'strongly suggest that the course of a single discussion is being traced'. With slight rearrangement the accusations fall under four main heads, of which Kocher gives a detailed paraphrase, and which have a degree of continuity suggesting, as he thinks, that they are the report of Marlowe's utterances on a single occasion. If so, they are probably not a 'chance delivery' but the substance of 'the atheist lecture' that the dramatist read to Raleigh and others. This lecture may be identical with the 'booke against the Scripture', which according to Simon Aldrich Marlowe wrote but could not get printed. Beard, too, in 1598 recorded that Marlowe 'wrote bookes' containing blasphemous opinions which are closely akin to those charged against him by Baines. There is thus cumulative evidence as to the nature of the 'atheist lecture'. It was 'a work attacking Christian dogma on rationalistic and historical grounds. It was primarily concerned not to disprove the existence of God . . . but to discredit the authority of Scripture'.

In an article on *The English 'Faust Book' and the Date of Marlowe's 'Faustus'* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) Kocher draws attention to a passage in Henry Holland's dialogue *A Treatise against Witchcraft*, published at Cambridge in 1590. In a discussion about the power of witches to fly through the air, one of the speakers says

'that many fabulous pamphelets are published' which give little light on the point. The word 'pamphelets' is starred, and 'Faustus' and an enigmatic 'Drunken Dunstan' are added as a marginal gloss. Kocher holds that pamphlet could not apply to the *Ballad of Doctor Faustus*, but could describe the English *Faust Book*. In his view 'Faustus' would not have been used to refer to the German *Historia vom Fausten*, and Holland is unlikely to have known German. But the earliest extant edition of the English *Faust Book* is that printed by Orwin in 1592.

Kocher offers the following solution: the Stationers' Company on December 6, 1591, gave permission to the printers of the University of Cambridge to publish for one month after returning from the mart at Frankfort any foreign book coming from that mart. The German *Historia* had been published at Frankfort, and Kocher suggests that it was imported from there by a Cambridge publisher, entrusted to P. F. for translation, and printed at least as early as 1590 and probably a year or two before. In that case when Jeffes claimed a prior right to Orwin in May, 1592, he would be doing so as an assignee of the original Cambridge publisher, whose hypothetical edition would have provided Marlowe with a source for *Doctor Faustus* earlier than 1592. Kocher also tentatively suggests that P. F. may have been Peter Frenche, M.A. of Magdalene in 1585.

Kocher's speculations are ingenious and his discovery of Holland's 1590 allusion to Faustus is interesting, but an ordinance of the Stationers' Company at the end of 1591 would not account for the publication of an English *Faust Book* at Cambridge two or three years earlier, which would be necessary for the traditional dating of Marlowe's play.

Another article by Kocher relating to the same play is on *The Witchcraft Basis in Marlowe's 'Faustus'* (*Mod. Phil.*, Aug.). His aim is to show that the dramatist supplemented the material supplied by the *Faust Book* from his own wide familiarity with Renaissance, medieval, and classical ideas about witchcraft. Dealing first with 'the gifts of magic' Kocher suggests that the ambition of Faustus to control the forces of Nature is inspired by passages in Sencca, Ovid, and Lucan; and to have power over kings and enemies, and to exercise almost godlike functions is derived from medieval sources. Parallels for the form of the Incantation are quoted from Renaissance treatises, and the decla-

ration of Mephistophilis that he came of his own free will is shown to be well established in contemporary witchcraft theory. The promise of Faustus that he will offer to Beelzebub the blood of new-born babes is explained by the Renaissance superstition that witches were especially eager to kill unbaptized infants. Similarly in the last scene the inability of Faustus to weep, or to use his tongue or hands, is in accord with contemporary beliefs about witches and devils.

Kocher contends against the view set forth by Beatrice Dawe Brown (see *Y.W.* xx. 96–7) that Marlowe drew directly upon the Simon Magus story for part of his dialogue. This theory does not, however, necessarily conflict with Kocher's suggestions of wider influences. Though it is difficult to assess what may have been the range of Marlowe's reading in occult lore, the quotations collected by Kocher are very helpful in filling in the background into which *Doctor Faustus* has to be fitted.

An article of an unusual type on *Marlowe's 'Dr. Faustus'* was contributed by James Smith to *Scrutiny* (June, 1939). He sees in the play an allegory, but also something more, which he interprets thus:

> A large measure of the action takes place not so much between beings, as within a single one of them, Faustus himself; of whom the Good and Evil Angel, for example, are parts. And so . . . are the Old Man, Helen, Mephistophilis, even Lucifer. . . . Yet obviously the Good and Evil Angel, Helen and the rest are not merely parts of Faustus. . . . Marlowe chooses certain characters so as to be capable of at least a double function; they are significant as symbols, in virtue of what they symbolize; but significant also as themselves, in virtue of what they are. And they are not significant now as the one thing, now as the other, by a sort of alternation; but continuously and simultaneously as both.

This theme is developed in detail, but towards the close of the article the play is classed also as a morality, for the sin for which Faustus suffers in the final scene is pride, 'the form and fount of all other sin'. Smith's interpretation may seem to be oversubtle, but the essay will be of interest to students of the play.

In a note on *The Death of Edward II in Marlowe's Play* (*N. and Q.*, Sept. 26) H. W. Crundell suggests that as the dramatist used 'lake' for dungeon (V. v. 25) he may have had in mind Jeremiah xxxviii. 6, 'Thai putte down Jeremye in cordes and in to the

lake', and may have remembered how the Prophet sank in the mire of the disused cistern of Malchiah.

A translation of *Edward II* into Russian by Anna Rodlova is noted in *T.L.S.* (Sept. 7). Her verse is said to preserve the beauty of the original.

In her doctoral thesis on *Marlowe's Imagery*[8] Marion B. Smith has followed in the wake of Caroline Spurgeon's fruitful investigations into the imagery of Shakespeare. But while Miss Spurgeon has made use of the dramatist's imagery chiefly as an indication of his personality and tastes, Miss Smith has sought in it also a means of determining the canon of his writings. According to her estimate there is in Marlowe's work as a whole one image to every twelve lines, and he is most interested when he writes most imaginatively. 'It is when the chief figure speaks, in moments of tense emotion, if not in the climax of dramatic action, that Marlowe draws upon imagery for heightened effect.'

Miss Smith classifies his images under the following heads: learning, the arts, the body, daily life, domestic life, nature, animals. Learning, especially classical literature and tradition, supplies more than a fifth of Marlowe's images, far the largest group. The arts on the other hand, including music and painting as the chief, form the smallest. In the body group those connected with eating and drinking are the most frequent and 'reveal a man who enjoyed good health and possessed a keen appreciation of the pleasures of the table'. Among domestic images those relating to fire and to personal adornment are predominant. Those relating to daily life are drawn chiefly from things of the town, trades and occupations, though there is none from the paternal shoemaking. The nature images suggest that Marlowe was not always star-gazing, but was interested in things at his feet, especially trees, plants, and flowers. In the animal world he was attracted most by birds in flight, and he had no use for euphuistic pseudo-natural history.

After a speculative reconstruction of a Marlowe portrait from these materials, Miss Smith applies the results of her investigations to the problems of authorship. As to plays within the recognized canon the virtual absence of imagery in the 1604

[8] *Marlowe's Imagery and the Marlowe Canon*, by Marion Bodwell Smith. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press and O.U.P. pp. vii + 213.

and 1616 comic scenes of *Faustus* is in favour of another hand there. In *The Jew of Malta* the sharp falling off of imagery in Acts III–V and the change in its character, support the view that Heywood or some one else touched up the whole and thoroughly revised the last half of the play. Of a dozen plays outside the canon which Miss Smith examines, the imagery test points to his having a greater or less share in *Arden of Feversham*, *A Larum for London*, *Henry VI*, Part I, *The True Tragedy* and *Henry VI*, Part III. It is evident that Miss Smith's application of the test has very disputable results, but her painstaking methods and her lucid scheme of classification make her book a real contribution to Marlovian scholarship.

A note on *Marlowe: Stage History* by William Jaggard (*N. and Q.*, March 30), in answer to a query, gives the more familiar facts, but includes, against the now generally accepted view, *Lust's Dominion* in the Marlowe canon.

Mary G. M. Adkins in *Univ. of Texas Studies in English* (1939) discusses *Puritanism in the Plays and Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker*. She stretches the term somewhat widely when she classes as Puritans Ampedo in *Old Fortunatus* and Margery Eyre. Dekker's incidental references to Puritanism are found to be in its social and personal rather than its religious aspects. His chief attack is against the hypocrisy which is a cloak for immorality and other evil practices. But there are inconsistencies in his attitude, which in other respects is tolerant. This is due, in Miss Adkins's view, to his middle-class sympathies, his genuine religious nature, and his incapacity for satire.

Percy Simpson in *Ben Jonson and the Devil Tavern* (*M.L.R.*, July 1939) drew attention to the first appearance in print of the *Leges Convivales* which Jonson drew up for the lyric feasts over which he presided in the 'Apollo' room of the Devil and St. Dunstan Tavern, and which were engraved in gold letters on a tablet over the mantelpiece. In the Cambridge University library there is a copy of an *Oratio Panegyrica* by Daniel Tossanus on the death of John James Frey in August, 1636. Frey was dean designate of Armagh and the *Oratio* is dedicated to Wentworth, the Lord Deputy. To provide 'aliquid joci' as a relief from his gloomy theme Tossanus incongruously set down the text of the

Leges Convivales. They were not printed again till 1661, with an English translation, in Brome's *Songs and other Poems.*

Simpson quotes a reference to the *Leges* by Chamberlain in a letter to Carleton, 19 June 1624, in which he speaks of them as 'for a faire roome or chamber lately built' from which it may be inferred that they were composed first in that year. As the origin of the name Apollo applied to a room is from Plutarch's *Life* of Lucullus, it was Jonson, not the innkeeper, who bestowed it. Simpson traces later literary associations of the Apollo to the middle of the eighteenth century.

In *'Volpone' and the Reputation of Venetian Justice* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) R. H. Perkinson argues that Jonson chose Venice as the scene of the play because 'the locale specifically had to provide the dramatist with a legal code disinterested enough to make the punishment of the patrician Volpone plausible, and rigorous enough to be identifiable with Jonson's own stern moral sense'. He probably got his knowledge largely from Contarini's *De Magistratibus et Republica Venetorum*, which is mentioned in the play, and was translated by Lewis Lewkenor (1599). But for dramatic effect he varied in an important respect from Contarini's account, where the Avocatori act as examiners or prosecutors, but report to a judicial body which, according to the gravity of the case, was the College of Forty, the Senate, or the Council. In the play they assume the function of a court and pronounce sentence on Volpone and the humbler criminals. The more constitutional procedure would have delayed 'the rapidly increasing momentum' of the action at the crucial point.

In *J.-B. Rousseau as an Imitator of Ben Jonson* (*M.L.N.*, March) H. A. Grubbs directs attention to *L'Hypocondre ou la femme qui ne parle point*, an adaptation of *The Silent Woman.* It was written by Jean-Baptiste Rousseau about 1733 but was never acted, and was not published until 1751, in the *Portefeuille* of J.-B. Rousseau. It is notable as the first French adaptation of a play by Jonson, and one of the earliest of any Elizabethan dramatist.

An English admirer of the play translated it into French and asked Rousseau to turn his prose into verse. Grubbs gives a detailed comparison of *L'Hypocondre* with the original. His summing up is that 'the plot of the French play is simpler than the source, Rousseau obviously having decided to eliminate every-

thing that seemed to him to violate the Unities'. The character of the central figure Morose is carefully reproduced, but he is given greater dignity. So little, however, did the adaptation appeal to contemporary French taste that Voltaire declared it had been published by an enemy of Rousseau who wished to discredit his memory.

In '*Clizia*' *and* '*Epicoene*' (*P.Q.*, Jan.) D. C. Boughner deals with a number of parallels between Jonson's play and Machiavelli's *Clizia*, and suggests that there is a closer relationship between them than between *Epicoene* and Aretino's *Il Marescaleo.*

Clifford Leech's collection of *Caroline Echoes of* '*The Alchemist*' (*R.E.S.*, Oct.) is not completely convincing. The references in Brome's *The City Wit* and *The Sparagus Garden* to Subtle and his confederates are unmistakable. But the parallels between passages in *The Alchemist* and in Caroline plays, of which half are by Massinger, are with some exceptions not demonstrably echoes of Jonson's play. Leech also finds imitations of scenes in *The Alchemist* without verbal reminiscences in Glapthorne's *The Hollander*, Randolph's *Amyntas*, and Shirley's *Young Admiral.*

J. M. Nosworthy contributes *Notes on Henry Porter* to *M.L.R.* (Oct.). He shows from a reference first noticed by H. C. Hart that *The Two Angry Women of Abington* must be dated before 1589. But the two 1599 quartos speak of it as lately played by the Admiral's men. Nosworthy thinks that the entry in Henslowe's *Diary*, 31 January, 1598/9, concerning 'the ij angrey women of abengton' refers to one of these performances, for the three entries on 22 December, 1598, and 12 February, 1598/9, refer specifically to 'the 2 pte' of the play, which has not survived. He is inclined, for reasons too detailed for summary here, to identify this '2 pte' with the 'ij merry women', in earnest of which Henslowe paid 40 shillings on 28 February, 1598/9. Nosworthy further suggests a possible debt of Shakespeare to Porter, especially in *The Merry Wives of Windsor.*

Another 1598 entry in Henslowe's *Diary*, 22 May, of a payment of six pounds to Wilson, Drayton, Dekker, and Chettle for a joint play is discussed in Katherine Tillotson's note on *William Sampson's* '*Vow-Breaker*' (*1636*) *and the lost Henslowe Play,* '*Black Batman of the North*' (*M.L.R.*, July). Mrs. Tillotson gives

reasons in support of the conjecture that Sampson may have made use of *Black Batman* in dramatizing this traditional story which he claims to be true and to date back ninety years.

The title of Arthur Mizener's article, *The High Design of 'A King and no King'* (*Mod. Phil.*, Nov.), is taken from Herrick's lines prefixed to the first folio of Beaumont and Fletcher. 'The primary concern of their kind of play', says Mizener, 'is to order its material, not in terms of narrative form, but in terms of what might be called emotional or psychological form. Beaumont and Fletcher's aim was to generate in the audience a patterned sequence of responses, a complex series of feelings and attitudes so stimulated and related as to give to each its maximum effectiveness and yet to keep all in harmonious balance.' Mizener illustrates the view by a detailed examination of the chief situations in *A King and no King*. His treatment is heavy-handed but his argument is worth attention.

In *Studies in Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger* Baldwin Maxwell[9] reprints with revision nine essays already published and adds eight that are new. They range over a wide number of topics, including sources, chronology, collaboration, and dramatic technique. Among the questions discussed is the value for problems of dating or revision of the lists of dramatis personae in the Beaumont and Fletcher second folio. Maxwell's view is that the lists reprinted from the first folio prove that performances took place within the period when the actors mentioned were members of the company, but that those which appear for the first time show no evidence of theatrical derivation but were merely prepared by the publisher.

Several of the essays deal with topical allusions to events or persons as a basis for dating plays. Prominent among these is the question of the contemporary attitude to the duel. Maxwell thinks that Fletcher was influenced by a growing opposition in the highest circles to this way of avenging honour from about 1616, and that this helps to date *The Elder Brother*, *Wit without Money*, and *Nice Valour*. A different problem is the identity of the actor who took the part of the 'hungry knave' in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays. Maxwell votes for John Shanke.

[9] *Studies in Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger*, by Baldwin Maxwell (1939). Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. Carolina Press and O.U.P. pp. vii + 238. 14*s*.

He minimizes the relationship of *The Woman's Prize* to *The Taming of the Shrew*, and he argues against the collaboration of either Fletcher or Massinger in *Henry VIII*. It is evident that this scholarly volume raises a number of controversial issues.

A tercentenary article in *T.L.S.* (March 16) on *Philip Massinger, 1583–1640*, gives special attention to *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, *The Roman Actor*, and *The Maid of Honour*. Stress is laid on his powers as a working playwright, on his mastery of plot, and his success in providing entertainment on the stage without subtlety of characterization or high poetic flights. The writer suggests that a film producer would find in his plays first-class material for scenarios.

This suggestion produced a protest from Clifford Leech (*ibid.*, March 23), who also criticized other points in the article, and maintained that Massinger alone in the Caroline age was the inheritor of Jonson's and Chapman's masculine outlook.

A. C. Edwards draws attention in *T.L.S.* (June 8) to *Fulke Greville on Tragedy*, where, in words that have special significance to-day, he states that it is his aim 'to trace out the high waies of ambitious Governors and to shew in practice that the more audacity, advantage, and good success such soveraignties have, the more they hasten to their own desolation and ruin'.

James Smith's article on *The Tragedy of Blood* (*Scrutiny*, Dec. 1939) is virtually restricted to an analysis of Webster's *The White Devil*. He defends, from a novel angle, Webster against the charge of lacking in constructive power. He seeks to show the connexion between sentences, speeches, scenes, and acts. 'They are to be thought of, not so much as following one another, but as existing side by side. . . . The acts as a whole do not show the development of different stages of the same story, perhaps their main purpose is not even to show the different stages. Rather I think they show different aspects of the same theme—the workings of evil which, though among the same people, must vary indefinitely.'

Clifford Leech has two articles in *D.U.J.* (March, 1939 and March, 1940) on *Pacificism in Caroline Drama* and *Love and Escape in Caroline Plays*. In the former he takes the view that from 1625 onwards the dramatists were increasingly without faith

and he illustrates 'the breakdown of belief and the consequent disorderings of thought and emotion' from pacifist utterances in the plays. But it may be questioned whether his quotations are convincing. From what we know of Jonson and Davenant a few passages from *The Magnetick Lady*, *Love and Honour*, and *The Witts* are not sufficient to persuade us that they looked upon honour won in war as contemptible. More effective is the citation of Heywood's comment in *Londini Status Pacatus*, his 1639 City pageant, on the symbolical representation of war and peace; 'much safer and better is certaine peace, than hoped for victory; the first is our Will, the latter the Will of the Gods'.

In his second article Leech begins by stressing the close links between Caroline and Restoration drama, and in particular aims at showing that they resemble each other in their ways of escape from sex-obsession. There are three of these ways: (1) attacks on marriage, (2) praise of Platonic love, (3) representation of a conflict between idealized love and idealized honour. Each of these is fully and aptly illustrated, and it is further shown how each also brings with it its own reaction.

R. H. Bowers contributes to *M.L.N.* (Feb.) some emendations of *The Text* of *Grobiana's Nuptialls*, as printed from the Bodley MS. 30 by Ernest Ruhl in *Grobianus in England* (1904).

P. L. Ralph in *References to the Drama in the Mildmay Diary* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.) does not mention or make any material addition to G. E. Bentley's article *The Diary of a Caroline Theatregoer* in *Mod. Phil.* (Aug. 1937) (see *Y.W.* xviii. 140). He notes that the *Diary* helps to fix the dates of the performances of the masque *The Triumph of Peace* by Shirley and Inigo Jones as Feb. 3, and 13, 1633/4.

IX

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE

(1) THE LATER TUDOR PERIOD

By Arnold Davenport

1939

The notices in this section are arranged roughly in chronological order of subject, but there has been no hesitation in departing from this order when it seemed convenient to do so.

Among the studies which are of more general interest, priority must be given to two important books, on the confines of history and literature.

A long, thorough, and well-documented study of Tudor Puritanism[1] falls partly into an earlier section of *Y.W.*, but some chapters of Book I and the whole of Book II are specially relevant to students of later Tudor literature, and Knappen's work must be noticed here. The first part of the volume is a vivid and conscientious account of the rise and fortunes of Puritanism between 1524 and the Puritan failure to gain the support of James I. The account is fuller for the earlier than for the later part of the period. The writer's sympathies are, on the whole, with the reformers, as he frankly warns us in his preface. How far the work is impaired by this is for historians to judge, but the present writer found it at once enlightening and judicious. From his survey Knappen concludes that the chief differences between Elizabethan and seventeenth-century Puritanism are that in the earlier century it was international and clerical in character, and took towards authority an attitude of passive resistance. Another point made is the similarity between the asceticism and social outlook of Puritanism and the doctrines of Catholic asceticism in the Middle Ages.

In his Book II the author, while realizing the difficulty of generalizing on 'Puritanism' since 'there were many Puritan spirits but there was no Puritan spirit', attempts to analyse the

[1] *Tudor Puritanism*, by M. M. Knappen, Univ. of Chicago Press and C.U.P. pp. xii + 555. 20*s*.

typical Puritan view of such topics as the source of religious authority, the ethics by which a man should guide his personal, family, social, economic, and educational life. And there are discussions of the questions of Puritan asceticism, piety, sabbatarianism, and so forth. This section of the book is particularly valuable to students of the literature of the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign, for Knappen makes clearer the background of the literary references to Puritanism. His tolerance and charity towards Puritan vagaries and inconsistencies, and his sympathy with the aspiring idealism which he regards as the fundamental quality of Puritanism make these chapters illuminating and salutary. The incidental sketches of eminent Puritan divines of the end of the century, while offering nothing new in biography, gain greatly from this sympathetic context.

Providing an account of different aspects of social history, the letters of John Chamberlain[2] (1554–1628) have been long known and used by historians, but they have not hitherto all been printed, and this collection of nearly five hundred letters written between 1597 and 1626 is to be heartily welcomed, not only by students of Elizabethan and Jacobean history, or by readers who wish to improve their sense of the daily atmosphere in which great literature was being written, but, not least, by connoisseurs of the art of letter writing; for though Chamberlain is not one of the great letter writers, he has command of a clear, unpretentious, and sometimes vivid style, and can at times express in a neat phrase a pleasantly malicious quiet wit. Moreover, he had material to write about in these journal letters which is scarcely less interesting than Pepys's. We hear, amid a cloud of flying rumours and tales hatched in Paul's Walk, of Essex in Ireland, of his demeanour at his trial, of the Queen's death, and indeed we listen to an account of the things most talked of in London during thirty years. It is *An Elizabethan Journal* by a contemporary.

These volumes will be a rich mine for editors in search of explanatory notes for topical allusions in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature of the town. One's only complaint is that, although Chamberlain seems to have read many of the new

[2] *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. by Norman Egbert McClure. Memoirs XII, Parts i and ii. The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. 2 vols. pp. xvii + 627, xiii + 694. $7.50.

books, and sends parcels of them to Carleton, he does not often say or indicate what they are. One would like to know, for instance, which of the several volumes of satires published in 1598 contained things he thought were 'passable', or what he thought of the 'pasquills' he sent to his friend on the 31st of January 1599. Still, there are criticisms of new books by Donne; a mention of 'young Davison' who 'meanes to take another course and turne Poet' with his *Poetical Rhapsodie*; a sniff at Campion's Masque for the marriage of the Earl of Somerset; a bit of gossip about Bacon's *Essays*; and numerous references to Ben Jonson, and to plays and the playhouses.

The editor's introduction corrects the tendency to regard Chamberlain with depreciation as a mere news-monger, and, fully appreciating his excellent qualities, vindicates the genuineness of the friendship between Carleton and Chamberlain. The notes are chiefly concerned to identify the persons mentioned in the letters. It may prove Chamberlain's fate to be quoted in annotations rather than to be annotated himself, but he has the tardy satisfaction that his six inches of shelf-room are secure in any Elizabethan or Stuart library.

An admirable portfolio of photographs illustrating Elizabethan England[3] is an excellent companion to Chamberlain's letters, but the greatest value of both the pictures and the accompanying pamphlet will be their usefulness to those who teach beginners in either the history or the literature of the later Tudor period. But even those who are no longer beginners will probably find much in it to instruct them, and some of the plates are of considerable beauty.

The central figure of the whole age was, of course, Elizabeth herself, and Elkin C. Wilson's study of the idealization of *England's Eliza*[4] in the poetry of her age comes in aptly here. He closely studies the image of Elizabeth as it is found in popular broadsheets, formal orations and entertainments, drama and literary verse, and even in dedications and passing allusions. The dominant forms in which she appears imply, he concludes,

[3] *Elizabethan England*, by Franklin B. Williams. Boston: Museum Extension Publ. pp. 32+41 plates. $5.00.

[4] *England's Eliza*, by Elkin Calhoun Wilson (Harvard Studies in English, XX). Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xii+479. $5.00.

a real reverence for the queen, who was felt to be not only the embodiment of an England become keenly aware of itself but also 'God's chosen queen miraculously shielded from treacherous papists'. Even the most hyperbolical courtly praise was rooted in a genuine popular veneration. But she was not only a queen, she was a virgin Lady, beautiful, affable, learned, and dignified; and upon her were focused the surviving chivalric idealism of the Middle Ages, the new Renaissance feeling for the aesthetic and the intellectual, and the growing Puritan sense of discipline and service. Wilson's main contention is that there was very little cynical lip-service in the eulogies showered upon her: what she stood for was what her eulogists ardently admired. He believes that the idealism was not a mere fantasy built up for political reasons about an unworthy woman who was only a figurehead. However remote the woman Elizabeth was from the ideal Cynthias, Elizas, Dianas, and Belphoebes, nevertheless it remains true that 'in her garden, and not without her gardening, the English Renaissance matured'.

Wilson has sought out and considered an enormous number of texts, and his work must be pretty well exhaustive. It might also have been exhausting, but the glamour of Elizabeth persists, and in Wilson's work one catches echoes of an almost Elizabethan fervour.

A technical study of *William Harvey, Physician and Biologist: His Precursors, Opponents and Successors*, by H. P. Bayon, of which the last two parts appear in *Annals of Science* (Jan. and Oct.), may be mentioned, although it is only vaguely connected with literature. More to our purpose is another study of Elizabethan ideas of physiology by C. Carrol Camden who has ransacked medical, educational, philosophical, and psychological writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and gathered together a large number of references to define Elizabethan notions of *Memory, the Warder of the Brain* (*P.Q.*, Jan.). The card index has not been altogether concealed, and the documentation is rather elaborate, but the article is a useful collection of material. The first part deals with the anatomical and physiological views about the seat and functioning of the memory. The second part is the more valuable. Here Camden deals with the various systems which were devised to strengthen

and assist the natural memory. This is not only interesting in itself, but throws light on the references to 'arts of memory' in Elizabethan literature.

The desire for short-cuts to social success, which the 'arts of memory' aimed at satisfying, influenced even the collections of Elizabethan jokes, as F. P. Wilson points out. His lecture may be described in a turn of phrase familiar on the title pages of *The English Jestbooks of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries* (*H.L.Q.*, Jan.) as not less delectable to read than worthy to be noted. Filling his academic dish with penetrating comments on the peculiarities of Elizabethan humour, spicing with choice specimen jests, and garnishing the whole with fresh sprigs of his own wit, Wilson has produced an interesting piece of work. The biographical notes subjoined contain a supplementary list of Jestbooks, and the entries are annotated with a good deal of new and useful information.

Herschel C. Baker, discussing the use made of *Classical Material in Broadside Ballads* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) of the Elizabethan age, concludes, as one might expect, that the writers knew a few classical names, usually employed them ineptly, and show no signs of possessing any first-hand or solid knowledge of classical myth.

Earl R. Wasserman shows that in their efforts to present *Elizabethan Poetry 'Improved'* (*M.P.*, May) the Augustan editors were guided by the new neo-classical standards of taste and 'correctness' when they made their editorial amendments of the text of Drayton, Drummond, Fairfax, and the Fletchers.

Certain Religious Elements in the English Doctrine of the Inspired Poet during the Renaissance (*E.L.H.*, Dec.) by Courtland D. Baker has a general connexion with this section and draws some of its quotations from the writers of our period. An essay by Samuel C. Chew on *Time and Fortune* (*E.L.H.*, June) as they were represented in symbolic pictures, and as the poets, influenced by these pictures, described them in their poetry, is noticed here because, although Chew draws most of his illustrations from the dramatists, his work is applicable also to non-dramatic Elizabethan work.

Several interesting articles on Sidney have appeared. Kenneth Rowe Thorpe, reviewing the problem of *The Countess of Pem-*

broke's Editorship of the 'Arcadia' (*P.M.L.A.*, March), urges that the preface to the Folio of 1593 has been misinterpreted, and should be understood to mean that the Countess of Pembroke was correcting the Fulke Greville edition of 1590 and adding the last three Books; and that she was guided in her alterations, not by puritanical views, but by notes or verbal information of Sidney's own intentions. The same writer continues his discussion of *Elizabethan Morality and the Folio Revisions of Sidney's 'Arcadia'* (*M.P.*, Nov.) and re-emphasizes his view that Lady Mary was not influenced by prudery in her editorship, and that the revisions are probably of Sidney's inspiration.

An Oxford Epigram-Book of 1589 is discussed by Hoyt H. Hudson (*H.L.Q.*, Jan.). The book in question is *De Caede et Interitv Gallorvm Regis, Henrici Tertii . . . Epigrammata*, printed by Joseph Barnes and written by three unidentified Oxonians. The main interest appears to be that the dedication to Fulke Greville provides direct evidence that he was at this time engaged in seeing Sidney's *Arcadia* through the press.

J. H. Walter suggests (*R.E.S.*, July) that *'Astrophel and Stella'* and *'The Romaunt of the Rose'* are connected in that the *Romaunt* was the model Sidney had in mind. The case rests on parallels in the general outlines of the two stories and on some incidents which are similar in both. That the poems are akin is clear, but it is not made absolutely certain that the similarities cannot be accounted for by supposing that both Sidney and Guillaume de Lorris were drawing on a common stock of medieval conventions of love poetry.

Continuing his studies of Sidney's matrimonial affairs, Denver E. Baughan discusses *The Question of Sidney's Love for his Wife* (*N. and Q.*, 25 Nov.), and thinks that Sidney had not at any rate a deep affection for her. No definite evidence is adduced, but Baughan makes a good point when he remarks that Sidney's restlessness and burning ambition to make a name for himself were not qualities likely to make him an ideal husband.

Spenserian literature has been enriched with some valuable notes. Sarah Michie in *'The Faerie Queene' and 'Arthur of Little Britain'* (*S. in Ph.*, April) argues that the Berners translation of the French romance supplied Spenser with suggestions for *The Faerie Queene*, and her comparison of analogous episodes in the

two narratives goes far towards justifying her claim that it is highly probable that *Arthur of Little Britain* should be ranked among Spenser's major sources. She is, however, wise to insist that Spenser manipulated, reworked, and embroidered his material, 'converting a simple tale into poetry of infinite richness and variety'.

Another source is suggested in *Spenser's and Drant's Poetic Names for Elizabeth: Tanaquil, Gloria, and Una* (*H.L.Q.*, April), by C. Bowie Millican, who thinks that the names may have been brought to Spenser's notice by their occurrence in a Latin poem to Elizabeth by Drant. Millican adds a discussion of the exact significance of the names, and his most important point is that 'Una' has nothing to do with Gaelic, is Latin, and signifies the oneness of truth as personified in Elizabeth, the head of the church, the union of Lancaster and York, and the only heir of Henry VIII. The same scholar reproduces with explanations *The Supplicats for Spenser's Degrees* (*H.L.Q.*, July). The two documents do not appear to add anything new to Spenserian biography.

Charles E. Mounts notes that *Spenser's Seven Bead-men and the Corporal Works of Mercy* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) are not completely in harmony if St. Thomas Aquinas's list of the Works of Mercy be taken as the standard. Spenser, like Lactantius, and unlike Aquinas, includes in his list the care of widows and orphans; and it is possible that Spenser knew of Lactantius's teaching through the English translation of the sermons of Heinrich Bullinger. The further suggestion that Spenser preferred Lactantius to Aquinas for some reason connected with Rosalind and her widowed mother is a very long shot, and there is nothing to support it.

Reviewing the campaigns in the Netherlands from the probable point of view of a contemporary Protestant supporter of Leicester, and adducing favourable contemporary accounts, Viola B. Hulbert defends Spenser's history in *The Belge Episode in the 'Faerie Queene'* (*S. in Ph.*, April), and maintains that though his account may, from the point of view of the modern historian, be a wild distortion of the truth, it was reasonable enough for Spenser, as it was for Stowe. Some apparently unhistoric events

in the episode are, it is suggested, capable of interpretations which, unlike the accepted ones, bring them into accord with historical fact: so, Leicester did not capture Antwerp, but he did take Zutphen, and Spenser may be referring to this when he writes of the 'Castle huge'.

A careful study by Rudolf B. Gottfried of *Irish Geography in Spenseres 'View'* (*E.L.H.*, June) will be useful to those who wish to follow on the map Spenser's descriptions and proposals. Biographers of Spenser will be interested in Gottfried's conclusions about the extent of Spenser's personal knowledge of Ireland.

C. Bowie Millican suggests that *The Northern Dialect of 'The Shepheardes Calendar'* (*E.L.H.*, Oct.) may owe something to the fact that the ushers at the Merchant Taylors' School in Spenser's time were nearly all men from the north, who, according to the report of a visitation of the school by Grindal and other 'lerned men' in 1562, erred as pedagogues only in infecting their pupils with their own northern pronunciation. *Notes on Mulcaster and Spenser* by Millican (*ibid.*) point out that Spenser's son, Sylvanus, was given the same name as a son of Mulcaster, Spenser's old schoolmaster. They also suggest that the *Dying Pelican*, one of the lost works of Spenser, may have been inspired by the symbol of Corpus Christi College, which was the figure of a pelican tearing its breast. This college was the original patron of St. Lawrence Pountney, the parish church of the Merchant Taylors' School; and, according to tradition, there was a gilded representation of the pelican in the church before the Great Fire.

Burton Milligan has a note on *The Counterfeit Soldier in 'Mother Hubberd's Tale'* (*N. and Q.*, 17 June) in which he explains that Spenser probably had in mind the type of rogue described under the name of a 'Curtesy man' by Audeley in *The Fraternitie of Vacabondes.*

Daniel C. Boughner's *Notes on Hooker's Prose* (*R.E.S.*, April) seek to show that Hooker's style is not one of unadorned gravity, and that, on the contrary, he makes great use of elaborate rhythm, subtle variations of the rhetorical figures, and skilful patterning of sentence-structure, with the result that his prose is full of 'luxuries of the ear'.

The Source of Lodge's 'Reply to Gosson' is shown by William Ringler (*R.E.S.*, April) to have been *Familiaria in Terentium Praenotamenta* (1502) by Jodocus Badius Ascensius, the French printer and scholar. Ringler proves that Lodge's erudition is really Badius's, and that the arguments, and much of the actual language in which they are expressed, are drawn from the *Praenotamenta*. The revelation of plagiarisms is a favourite subject this year. Don Cameron Allen has also been detecting thefts, the felon and the victim in this case being *Melbancke and Gosson* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.). The parallel passages he prints from Melbancke's *Philotimus* (1583) and Gosson's *The Ephemerides of Phialo* (1579) suggest that Melbancke took up Gosson's book on two distinct occasions during the writing of *Philotimus*, and—rather carelessly—appropriated scraps of erudite-looking classical lore.

A summary of the scattered information about *The Literary Origins of Robert Greene* is provided by Thomas H. McNeal (*S.A.B.*, July) who gives references to the discussion of Greene's borrowings and imitations. This is the dominant theme in studies of Greene this year. John L. Lievsay in *Robert Greene, Master of Arts, and 'Mayster Steeven Guazzo'* (*S. in Ph.*, Dec.) argues that Greene's fiction is deeply indebted for ideas and suggestions to Pettie's translation of *The Civile Conversation of M. Steeven Guazzo*. As is common in such work, the passages put in evidence sufficiently show that Greene was familiar with Guazzo, but many of the particular parallels brought forward are not quite convincing and may well have resulted from both writers' drawing on a common stock of anecdotes and apophthegms.

C. J. Vincent remarks that Lyly and Greene is not the only line by which Euphuism entered into the latter's romances, and that *Pettie and Greene* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) must be considered. Decorative allusions to 'natural history' in the romances are shown in numerous cases to have been filched from *A Petite Pallace*. Some of the parallels, again, are commonplace proverbs, but Vincent displays enough stolen passages to make out a case. The same writer notes *Further Repetitions in the Works of Robert Greene* (*P.Q.*, Jan.). Some of them are the repetitions which must naturally occur in the work of any voluminous and miscellaneous writer, and that Greene should use particular illustra-

tions from natural history several times is nothing extraordinary. Vincent shows, however, that besides those self-borrowings already known Greene has taken some thirty-six pages, scattered over his novels, from his own work. An amusing footnote reveals a popular modern novelist indulging in a precisely similar borrowing.

F. Y. St. Clair studies *Drayton's First Revision of his Sonnets* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.) and takes the view that this revision of 1599 is the most radical of the various revisions of *Idea*. *Ideas Mirrour* (1594) was under the dominant influence of Petrarch; the *Idea* of 1599, besides extensive alterations in content and arrangement, and revisions towards a greater coherence and compactness of style, shows a new non-Petrarchan mood which is comparable to Donne's reaction against Petrarch. The change of tone and mood was, it is suggested, at least in part the result of the influence of the new literary modes, and particularly of the new satires and of Donne's love poetry.

Under the title of *Drayton and Richard II: 1597–1600* (*R.E.S.*, April) Kathleen Tillotson too discusses Drayton's revisions, this time in his Epistles of Queen Isabel and Richard II in *Englands Heroicall Epistles*, and urges that they were prompted by fear of getting implicated in such trouble as befell Sir John Hayward, since the subject of Richard II and his deposition was, as Shakespeare's company found, a risky one in the period of the Essex rebellion. The same scholar writes on *Drayton as a 'Historian' in the 'Legend of Cromwell'* (*M.L.R.*, April) and discusses his sources and his manipulation of and departures from them. She remarks that he was painstaking in research, and conscientious in his efforts to ascertain the truth, and her conclusion is that his motives for departing from the interpretations he found in his sources were his dislike of tyranny or intolerance, 'his antiquarian's respect for the past and regret for its vanished monuments' and 'his fondness . . . for shaking up the mosaic of other people's opinions so as to produce a new picture'.

Jonson's Sanguine Rival who is referred to in Epistle xii of *The Forest* is, according to R. W. Short (*R.E.S.*, July), not Daniel, whom editors have hitherto named, but Drayton. The case is supported by some interesting arguments which do not, however, produce complete conviction, as Percy Simpson points out in his reply (*R.E.S.*, Oct.).

In *'The Passions of the Spirit' (1599) and Nicholas Breton* (*H.L.Q.*, Oct.) Jean Robertson provides what is in effect an editorial introduction to the book, giving bibliographical details of its history and discussing its relationship with the two manuscript versions of the poem. She also reprints from the unique Huntington copy two prayers in verse which are not available elsewhere.

A valuable article by Donald Smalley on *The Ethical Bias of Chapman's 'Homer'* (*S. in Ph.*, April) shows that, in his belief that he was specially gifted to penetrate to the real meaning of Homer, Chapman infused into his translation his own faith in the supreme value of 'learning', by which he understood that self-control and that insight which can 'turn blood to soul, and make both one calm man'. This faith leads him to make Athene a more mystical and elevated figure than she is in Homer. Achilles is similarly made more philosophical, and there is a constant tendency to substitute phrases such as 'strength of mind' or 'knowing mind' for the simple Greek 'courage' or 'eyes'. In the *Odyssey* the hero is regarded as a man in whom events and divinely infused virtuous knowledge perfect the power to bear with equal mind whatever is his destiny, and Chapman enforces this conception by expansions and interpolations in his translation.

Allan H. Gilbert has a note (*M.L.N.*, March) on *Chapman's 'Fortune with Winged Hands': Supplementary* to a previous note in *M.L.N.*, 1937, March.

An early seventeenth-century Calendar of Records[5] indexes documents mostly of the reign of Henry VIII, and though it has little literary bearing it may possibly be of use to historians and those concerned with Elizabethan biography.

Douglas Bush in *William Painter and Thomas Heywood* (*M.L.N.*, April) laments that an incorrect list of Painter's sources for his *Pallace of Pleasure*, and a highly dubious ascription to Heywood of *The Life and Death of Hector* (1614), are still current mistakes.

A slight appreciative essay by Honor McCusker on *England's Helicon* appears in *More Books* (Nov.).

[5] *An Early Seventeenth Century Calendar of Records Preserved in Westminster Palace Treasury*, ed. by F. Taylor. Manchester Univ. Press. pp. 116. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The following reprints have not been sent for notice: Van der Noot's *Theatre for Worldlings* and John Grange's *Golden Aphroditis* (both Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints), *Delights for Ladies*, 1609 (Facsimile reprint, Trovillion Private Press, Herrin, Illinois).

1940

THIS section begins with work of a general character, proceeds to studies of particular authors, and ends with brief notices of short or not easily classifiable articles.

It is a little surprising at first sight to see Thomas Lodge, Gervase Markham, Barnabe Barnes, and other Elizabethans of similar calibre figuring largely in the list of contents of a book on Christian mysticism. But one of the valuable things about J. B. Collins's book[6] is that he is pioneering in a somewhat neglected field. The first part of the book is introductory, and deals with the establishment, during the development of mysticism from Plato onwards, of the discipline of the three Ways, of Purgation, Illumination, and Perfection. As far as a layman in these matters can judge, this does not contribute anything new to the study of mysticism, but it is an admirably clear exposition of its subject. The second part is a sketch of the literary channels by which these mystical traditions became available to Elizabethans; and one is left with the impression that a profitable field of study is here opened up. The third part analyses works by various Elizabethan writers in which can be discerned typically mystical language, or notions of the three-fold mystical way to perfection. By defining 'mysticism' for his purpose as 'the varied and progressive steps which lead to the "vision splendid"' Collins avoids vagueness and, limiting his study to objective and demonstrable characteristics, is able to bring out elements in Elizabethan religious poetry that most of us have probably not noticed. One feels, however, that the author might well have emphasized more strongly than he does that much of the verse he deals with has little literary value. As mysticism, the element in Elizabethan poetry which Collins studies may be characterized in the words

[6] *Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age with its Background in Mystical Methodology*, by Joseph B. Collins. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. pp. xiv + 251. $3.25.

of a confession by Davies of Hereford: 'here shall you see what hath been said of old in new Attire'. Quoting this, Collins properly remarks that 'the same may be said for most of the mystical works of the Elizabethan period'.

The book is one that all students of English religious poetry will have to read, and it is valuable in a more general way for its analysis of the mystical thought in the Elizabethan background. Illuminating literary appreciation is practically excluded by the definition of mysticism adopted, but there are incidental points of interest, such as the defence of Nicholas Breton's spiritual depth and honesty. The forty pages on Spenser's 'House of Holiness' in the *Faerie Queene* and on the *Foure Hymnes* constitute a study important enough to be mentioned separately.

On a more mundane level in all respects is a study of the Elizabethan Sermon by Alan F. Herr.[7] After a general survey of Elizabethan preaching Herr devotes paragraphs, rather loosely grouped into chapters, to the discussion of miscellaneous topics such as the mode of delivery, the typical subjects, the origin of the copies, the printing and sale of sermons. No important new facts or general ideas emerge, and most scholars will be at any rate acquainted with the points made. But this does not detract from the usefulness of these readable essays which leave the reader with a sound knowledge of the Elizabethan sermon as a social phenomenon. The tone of the writer is perhaps a little flippant at times, but it is not offensively so. And there is never any lack of dull lucubrations in English studies. The bibliography should prove useful to future students of the subject.

Louis B. Wright should welcome any such students, for he complains that *The Significance of Religious Writings in the English Renaissance* (*Journal of the History of Ideas*, Jan.) is not fully appreciated by students of the period, who have neglected this body of writings which forms one-third of the books listed in *The Short Title Catalogue*. He also studies, as a particular example, *William Perkins: Elizabethan Apostle of 'Practical Divinity'* (*H.L.Q.*, Jan.). Perkins was an offshoot of the Cambridge group of moderate Puritans which included Laurence Chaderton and Richard Greenham. He was widely read in his own day and for

[7] *The Elizabethan Sermon: a Survey and a Bibliography*, by Alan Fager Herr. Philadelphia. pp. 169.

a hundred years after his death, even in America; and he had his influence on the minds and behaviour of many sixteenth-century Englishmen. But lacking, as most of his kind do, any notable literary quality, he owes his slender grasp on immortality, as far as most of us are concerned, to Fuller's remark that 'he would pronounce the word *Damne* with such an emphasis as left a dolefull Echo in his auditours ears a good while after'.

Commercial ethics were among the frequently discussed problems of practical morality, and Burton Milligan's sketch of *16th and 17th Century Satire against Grain Engrossers* (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.) may be mentioned most conveniently at this point. The article contains nothing that is not well known to readers of Elizabethan moral or satirical writings, but it displays and illustrates the charges which the moralists commonly made. A similar sketch by the same writer of *The Roaring Boy in Tudor and Stuart Literature* (*S.A.B.*, July) seeks to define the type and to show that it existed in literature from the early sixteenth to the late seventeenth century, and included 'boisterous young gentlemen' as well as blustering petty swindlers.

The anthology collected by A. F. Clements of passages from translations into English by a variety of writers from Berners to Urquhart is not designed for the student, and the collector aims at providing *hors d'œuvres* to stimulate the appetite of the general reader for a more solid meal of Tudor translations.[8] The passages selected contain striking anecdotes, short narratives, and 'quaintnesses' well calculated to serve this purpose; and the more scholarly reader will be glad to dip into the book and be reminded of the richness and vigour of the prose that most of these translators had command of. The brief introduction confines itself almost entirely to the biographies of the translators.

The linguistic problems raised by the practice of translation provoked critical discussion, and though Elizabeth J. Sweeting's studies of Early Tudor criticism fall to be noticed earlier in *Y. W.*[9] they must be mentioned in this section, since one aim of the work is to show that Elizabethan criticism derived not only doctrines, but, more important, a habit of critical debate and an interest

[8] *Tudor Translations: an Anthology*, chosen by Judge Clements. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. xv + 215. 12*s.* 6*d.*

[9] See above, pp. 86–7.

in the problems of language from the earlier period, which permeated and supplemented the newer Italian and 'neo-classical' elements in Elizabethan criticism.

Elizabethan pseudo-natural history interests Madeleine Doran, who broaches the topic of the difference between modern and Elizabethan standards of reasonable judgement in matters of scientific fact. She draws the illustrations of her essay *On Elizabethan 'Credulity'* (*Journal of the History of Ideas*, April) from the natural history then currently accepted, and shows how our different standard of credibility must impair the emotional effect on us of many passages in Elizabethan literature. Although it may be difficult for us to be sure in some cases that we understand precisely what emotional or imaginative overtones were evoked in Elizabethan readers by passages alluding to such exotic phenomena, in other cases we are not so hesitant. Thus it is not surprising that Celestine T. Wright, having considered her large collection of references to *The Amazons in Elizabethan Literature* (*S. in Ph.*, July), should reach the conclusion that the Elizabethans did not like the monstrous regiment of women, although, naturally, they treat Elizabeth as an exception, and may sometimes be found expressing approval of the stature and the courage of the Amazons.

One of the main sources of the marvels on which the Elizabethan imagination fed was the sea, and here R. R. Cawley takes up the tale. His *Unpathed Waters*,[10] continuing his study of the influence of the voyages on Elizabethan literature (see *Y.W.* xix. 132), is a collection of essays on various aspects of the subject. He discusses the medieval traditions of mythical or imaginary islands and related geographical or zoological wonders, and there is an interesting account of the maps with their legacy of monsters—anthropophagi and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders. A valuable study of the motives and interests which prompted the voyages stresses the imaginative and the restlessly patriotic element rather than the visions of fabulous wealth and the possibility of new dominions. The fourth study collects a varied mass of material on the more physical side of seafaring, and there are useful pages on the social and personal

[10] *Unpathed Waters*, by Robert Ralston Cawley. Princeton Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. x + 285, $3.75 and 22*s.* 6*d.*

conditions of the seaman. The volume ends with shorter essays on the characteristic uses of the voyages in such writers as Greene, Dekker, Shakespeare, Heywood, and Bacon. The work is really a miscellany on the sea as it affected the mind and the life of the Elizabethans, and should not be expected to drive clearly to any one goal. But it is written with understanding and enthusiasm and is correspondingly interesting. There are quotations from many writers which illuminate each other; and each point made is admirably defined and checked by close reference to contemporary literary texts.

No better companion and complement to Cawley's essays could well be imagined than the collection of documents relative to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's undertakings which falls, fortunately, to be noticed this year. Whereas Cawley is interested chiefly in the imaginative atmosphere of Elizabethan seafaring, the two volumes edited for the Hakluyt Society by D. B. Quinn[11] exemplify the strict practicalness of the exploits, although phrase after phrase in the documents reprinted rings with poetic overtones.

The documents assembled deal with the project of 1565–7, the Irish schemes of 1567–72, the ill-successful expedition of 1577–9, and the final expedition of 1580–4. We obtain a vivid impression of the doubts, the sanguine hopes, the intrigues, the quarrels, the finesses, and the moves of international policy which surrounded these adventures, but we also become aware of the romance and the strangeness that breathed from those vast distances, those uncertain shores, and those dimly glimpsed peoples.

Quinn's hundred-page introduction is a valuable account of Gilbert's life and includes some new material. It also supplies the necessary guide through the ambages and sudden turns with which the sequence of documents confronts us. As usual, the volumes are handsome pieces of book-making.

Sylvester Jourdan's *A Discovery of the Barmudas* (Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, Third Series) has not arrived for further notice.

Although Timothy Bright's *Treatise of Melancholie* has no longer any scientific value, it is of importance to all those who

[11] *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, ed. by David Beers Quinn. The Hakluyt Society. 2 vols. pp. xxx + 1–238, xiv + 239–534. £2. 14*s*.

seek to understand the Elizabethan mind. Besides the possibility that Shakespeare had read Bright there is the certainty that Bright discusses ideas which were commonly accepted and which enter into the literature. The facsimile of Bright's treatise edited by Hardin Craig[12] is therefore to be welcomed. The most important point in Craig's introduction is that for Bright 'melancholy was not a mood; it was a disease'. But he rejects the completely materialistic explanation when he affirms (ch. xxxiii) that symptoms of melancholy can arise from contrition and the stings of conscience as well as from bodily causes.

The discovery in the Huntington Library of a hitherto unstudied manuscript biography is an important contribution to the study of Sidney, and Virgil B. Heltzel and Hoyt H. Hudson have made good use of the discovery.[13] The panegyric and the mourning poem, written by Thomas Moffet and presented by him to William Herbert in January 1593/4, add some new facts to our knowledge of Sidney. These are for the most part minor details, or provide confirmatory evidence for what was already known. But the work is valuable from another point of view. Moffet knew Sidney, and through the eloquence of his panegyric come at times fresh and vivifying touches which put us into momentary personal contact with Sir Philip. The narrative is also interesting as an expression of Elizabethan ideals, and it helps us to realize how it was that the Elizabethan mind found in Sidney's character, crowned as it was by his heroic death, a satisfying object of contemplation.

The editors' translation of Moffet's Latin is tactful and readable; their introduction and notes are excellent; and the volume is an admirable piece of scholarship and production.

As a tract for the times there is something to be said for E. W. and M. M. Robson's little book,[14] and for students of literature their comparison of the development of Elizabethan drama and

[12] *A Treatise of Melancholie, By Timothy Bright*, ed. by Hardin Craig, for the Facsimile Text Society. Columbia Univ. Press. pp. xxii + 284. $2.60.

[13] *Nobilis: A View of the Life and Death of a Sidney, and Lessus Lugubris*, by Thomas Moffet, ed. by Virgil B. Heltzel and Hoyt H. Hudson. The Huntington Library. San Marino. pp. xiv + 146. $3.75.

[14] *'In Defense of Moovie' by Sir Philip Sidney (1581–1941)*, transcribed from 'In Defense of Poesie' by E. W. and M. M. Robson. Edinburgh: Pillans & Wilson. pp. 85. 1*s*.

the development of the modern cinema film is suggestive. But the 'bringing up to date' of Sidney ought to have been accompanied by an 'Apologie' to Sidney. Still, somewhat awkward and distasteful as the irreverence is, it does emphasize, for those who need to be told, how much of Sidney's *Defense* is of permanent validity. The introduction contains some highly doubtful assertions.

In *The Influence of Plato on Sir Philip Sidney's 'Defense of Poesy'* (*M.L.Q.*, Sept.) Irene Samuel claims that Sidney took his inspiration from Plato as well as from Aristotle. In answering 'the most important imputations' against the poetic art, his purpose is 'to reconcile Platonism, the accuser, with the function and form of poetry, the accused'.

Margaret Beese records (*T.L.S.*, May 4) two unnoticed *Manuscripts of Sidney's 'Arcadia'*, one in the British Museum (MS. Add. 41,498) and one in the Bodleian (MS. Jesus C.L.). Neither shows important textual variations.

Spenser has provoked some important work, but the greater part of this year's Spenser studies consists of annotations of particular passages. Because we all have a general notion of the character of that perfect man whom Spenser hoped to set forth in *The Faerie Queene, A Study of Spenser's 'Gentleman'* by J. L. Shanley[15] is particularly useful. By a careful analysis of the concept, supported by constant references to the text and sharpened by comparisons with contemporary ideas of the perfect man, Shanley brings one's general notion to a clear focus of details, and it is regrettable that there is no space here to summarize his valuable dissection of the characteristics, the training, and the function of the perfect Gentleman.

The tasks of preserving himself in virtue and of being socially useful, which it is the Gentleman's function to perform, are onerous and beset with dangers. He requires innate and acquired characteristics of a high order; but Spenser insists that to perform these tasks there is also need of exterior help, which comes from the love of beauty—of which woman is a potent and the nearest form—and from the grace of faith in truth and goodness, fortified by experience and self-control. The spiritual and moral

[15] *A Study of Spenser's Gentleman*, by James Lyndon Shanley. Evanston. pp. 55.

motive force which Shanley analyses as 'faith, self-control and love' is analysed further by Collins, whose discussion[16] of the mysticism in Spenser should be read in connexion with the present study.

H. D. Rix as a rhetorician takes great pains to exemplify and name the tools that Spenser uses,[17] but it is difficult to see what useful purpose is served by the long section of the dissertation in which the 'figures' are defined from Susenbrotus and Peacham and illustrated from Spenser. This seems to be an unfortunate expense of true scholarly spirit in a waste of time. The chapter which discusses Spenser's habits in the patterning of thoughts and words, though short, is more profitable; and the appendixes have useful notes on *The Doleful Lay of Clorinda*, the February Eclogue, and the Speech of Mutability.

Rosemond Tuve shows a possible connexion between the poetry of *Spenser and Some Pictorial Conventions* (*S. in Ph.*, April) in medieval manuscripts. It is evident from surviving manuscripts which belonged to Spenser's circle of acquaintance that he had opportunities of reading illuminated manuscripts, and it is suggested that the pictorial richness of his verse is in part the result of his elaborating details, not from verbal sources alone, but also from visual images which his imagination had assimilated from such manuscript pictures. His visualization of, for instance, Belphoebe or Radegund is shown to be influenced by conventional details in the pictures of Amazons in medieval manuscripts.

On the grounds that 'Grey took no part in the wars in France', Josephine W. Bennett rejects (*S. in Ph.*, April) the interpretation of *The Allegory of Sir Artegall in 'F.Q.' V. xi–xii* which makes Lord Grey of Wilton the prototype of Artegall. She brings forward Sir John Norris as a suitable candidate for Artegall in at least the Burbon episode of the allegory, and explains the Irena episode by supposing that it was 'originally written with Lord Grey in mind' and was reworked in the summer of 1595 to fit Sir John Norris. The last part of the allegory, in which Artegall is attacked by Envy and Detraction, is made to fit by supposing that this passage was added to the poem late in 1595; and the

[16] See above, pp. 144–5.

[17] *Rhetoric in Spenser's Poetry*, by Herbert David Rix. Pennsylvania State College Studies, No. 7. pp. 88.

writer cites the discrepancy between the heading and the contents of canto xii as evidence of the last-minute insertion of the passage. It is perhaps relevant to this last point that the increasing looseness of the narrative structure of the later books is shown by Waldo F. McNeir to be accompanied by an increasing relaxation of *Canto Unity in the 'Faerie Queene'* (*P.Q.*, Jan.).

Vincent F. Hopper, continuing to work on number-symbolism in literature, ingeniously elucidates (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) *Spenser's 'House of Temperance'* as described in *F.Q.* II. ix. 22, and determines that Spenser must have had in mind 'a combined human, geometrical, and arithmetical image of the mean proportion'.

Burton Milligan in *Spenser's Malengin and the Rogue-book Hooker* (*P.Q.*, April) notes that the description of Malengin in *F.Q.* v. ix. 11 is a reference to the Elizabethan thieves who used a long pole to hook clothes through open windows.

Sidney Rosenzweig, writing on *Ascham's 'Scholemaster' and Spenser's February Eclogue* (*S.A.B.*, April) argues that a passage in Ascham is the source of Spenser's fable of the Oak and the Briar. It may be, but the verbal parallels, on which the case chiefly rests, are not altogether convincing.

In *M.L.Q.* (June) Dorothy F. Atkinson, discussing *Busirane's Castle and Artidon's Cave* finds a debt by Spenser to *The Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood*, a translation of the Spanish romance, *Espeio de Caballerias*. She traces parallels between the adventures of Britomart and Scudamour in Busirane's Castle (*F.Q.* III. xi–xii) and those of Rosicleer, the Knight of Cupid, in Artidon's Cave, in *The Mirrour*, parts I and II, translated 1578 and 1585. In the same number Bain T. Stewart discussing *The Psychology of Spenser's Anamnestes* claims that the poet was 'following a definite psychological theory of memory, which had received exact expression in the works of Plato, Aristotle, and Thomas Aquinas'.

In *Amidas v. Bracidas* (*M.L.Q.*, Sept.) Herbert B. Nelson deals with the quarrel of the two brothers in *F.Q.* v. iv over the ownership of a treasure chest cast up by the sea in relation to maritime law. He holds that Artegall in awarding the chest to Bracidas secured justice by ignoring the law and applying the principles of equity.

A footnote to Spenserian biography is provided by W. H. Welply's work (*N. and Q.*, Aug. 3, 10, 17) on the history of the

Travers family to which belonged *Edmund Spenser's Brother-in-law, John Travers.*

Calling attention to a passage on the art of painting in the epistle to Harvey prefixed to the *Shepheardes Calender*, Frederick Hard discusses *E. K.'s Reference to Painting: some Seventeenth Century Adaptations* (*E.L.H.*, June) and regards E. K. as a pioneer in the recognition of the aesthetic value of 'naturall rudeness' in landscape. It is shown that the passage was borrowed and adapted by Franciscus Junius in *The Painting of the Ancients* (1638), by Sir William Sanderson in his *Graphice* (1658), and by William Salmon in his *Polygraphice* (1672).

Writers on art have had a bad year at the hands of Hard whose account (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) of *Richard Haydocke and Alexander Browne: two half-forgotten writers on the art of painting* records the discovery that Browne's *Ars Pictoria* (1669) is borrowed wholesale from Haydocke's translation (1598) of Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte della Pittura*; and introduces us, not unwilling, to Haydocke himself, who is a welcome addition to our gallery of odd worthies, since he 'would take a Text in his sleep, and deliver a good Sermon upon it, and though his Auditory were willing to silence him . . . would pertinaciously persist to the end, and sleep still'. This imposture was exposed by King James in person, who, one is glad to know, dealt leniently with the quaint publicity-seeker.

Nearly as grotesque was the image of Gabriel Harvey which was almost imposed on the imagination of the world by Nashe; but in recent years Harvey seems to be recovering some part of the respect with which his soberer contemporaries regarded him. His phrase *Hobgoblin runne away with the Garland from Apollo* (*M.L.N.*, June) was not, in the opinion of Sidney Thomas, 'the utterance of a man without poetic feeling, but an acute and discerning criticism of *The Faerie Queene* from the standpoint of a classicist'. Thomas argues that Harvey, like his brother John, whose *Discoursive Probleme* (1588) is aptly referred to, distrusted both as a scholar and a rationalist the medievalism and vulgar superstition which he saw associated with the Arthurian legend. There is room for more work on this interesting subject, and it is satisfactory to note that Thomas hopes to pursue it in a further paper. Harvey's emphasis on study and discipline as an essential

preparation for creative writing was carried into his linguistic studies too, as is shown by his annotations in eight volumes, now in the Huntington Library, which are discussed by Caroline B. Bourland in *Gabriel Harvey and the Modern Languages* (*H.L.Q.*, Oct.).

Closely connected with these last-mentioned articles is a pleasant discussion of Abraham Fraunce's work by Kathrine Koller which appears (*E.L.H.*, June) under the title *Abraham Fraunce and Edmund Spenser*. From it we receive further evidence of the great esteem in which Spenser was held on the strength of the *Shepheardes Calender*—a fact here confirmed by the way Fraunce takes Spenser's supremacy for granted in *The Lawiers Logicke* (1588) and *The Arcadian Rhetoricke* (1588). Besides pointing out that Fraunce's work illuminatingly exemplifies the ideas and theories of his circle, Kathrine Koller persuades us to agree with her that Fraunce has had less than justice done him by those of us who have too easily accepted Ben Jonson's brutal monosyllable: 'Abram Francis, in his English hexameters, was a Fool'.

There is in most of our minds a picture of Richard Hooker: a small man perfecting sonorous periods, constructing long-breathed arguments, and patiently enduring the interruptions of a scolding wife and squalling children. Such impressions are the creation, directly or indirectly, of the *Life* by Izaac Walton, whose veracity has not hitherto been seriously questioned, since his sources of information appeared to be unimpeachable. But C. J. Sisson's book[18] compels us to modify that picture very extensively; and henceforward we shall have to regard Walton's *Life* rather more as a biographical novel than as a biography, for it appears that he has been led to give false colouring to the emotional relationships of his characters, and even to get some of his facts wrong.

Sisson has discovered some documents of the Court of Chancery which, supplemented by extracts from the records of the Court of Assistants of the Merchant Taylors' Company and from some Star Chamber documents, throw new light on Hooker's life, and in particular put a very different complexion on his marriage to Joan Churchman. The skilfully conducted

[18] *The Judicious Marriage of Mr. Hooker and the Birth of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, by C. J. Sisson. pp. xvi + 203. C.U.P., 10*s.* 6*d.*

argument extends from the conclusive through the persuasive to the possible, and it cannot be followed in detail here. But the upshot of it is that, far from being trapped into an unworthy marriage, Hooker allied himself to a family of excellent standing, unusual probity, and of ardent churchmen in fact as well as in name. John Churchman, when he married his daughter to Hooker, was still advancing to high rank in the Merchant Taylors' Company, and it was not until after Hooker's death that he suffered undeserved financial misfortune. The documents exonerate the Churchmans from all the failings implied by the Walton tradition and give no hint of support for the picture of Mrs. Hooker as a virago who had no sympathy for her husband.

In his third chapter Sisson discusses Walton's story that the finished manuscript of the last three books of *The Laws* was destroyed with the connivance of Mrs. Hooker soon after Hooker's death. He concludes that Hooker died before he reached the fair-copy stage for the whole of these books; that Mrs. Hooker was blameless; that the long delay in printing Hooker's drafts was the result of disagreement between Sandys and Lancelot Andrewes, two of the editorial committee, about some of the doctrines in these books; and that, if there was any attempt at suppression, Sandys was responsible. It is further suggested that Hooker's tolerant, central position, which was too near Rome for Sandys's liking, did not content the 'Tory Church' of 1660 either, and that when the last three books were at length printed together in 1661, Walton's *Life* was commissioned and the rumour of maltreated manuscripts revived in order to prepare the reader's mind 'for resistance to doctrines and positions which were suspect and which might represent, not the thought of the great apologist for the Church, but the corruptions and substitutions of her enemies' (p. 108).

These details, depending as they largely do on interpretation of somewhat vague evidence, are not, perhaps, as conclusive as Sisson's work on the Churchman family, which, together with the account in the second chapter of the arrangements made for the printing of the first five books of *The Laws*, will be indispensable to any future study of Hooker.

The last third of the volume is devoted to transcriptions of the new documents which are themselves almost as interesting as Sisson's elucidations.

Townsend Rich's study of Sir John Harington's translation of the *Orlando Furioso*[19] began as a dissertation and bears the familiar marks of such a genesis. The desire to squeeze his subject dry has ensured thoroughness but has occasionally produced some mechanical chapter-making. The book is, as a consequence, rather uneven in quality. The title is slightly misleading. There is not much on the general subject of Elizabethan verse translation, and Rich has used the *Orlando* as a starting-point from which to discuss Harington at large. Much of the material is very interesting and, since Harington is a comparatively neglected Elizabethan, valuable. The most useful contribution made by the book is probably the picture of Harington which emerges from the study of his life, his temperament, his prejudices, and his literary theories. The least satisfactory sections are those dealing with his poetical style. These are somewhat heavy-handed, and one may be excused a little hesitation when one finds the line 'Now the jealous judge at home is not' treated as an example of 'bewilderingly complex' poetic ornament. The investigation of the relationship between Harington's book and the Italian editions he used results in some new and interesting facts. The alterations Harington makes are successfully related to his temperament and to the predilections of his audience.

Drayton continues to attract attention. In *Ben Jonson in Drayton's Poems* (*R.E.S.*, April) R. W. Short argues that the hostile reference to 'Cerberon' in the eighth *Eglog* of *Poemes Lyrick and pastorall* (1606) should be taken as an attack on Ben Jonson and proposes that the attack should be explained by reference to Drayton's quarrel with Lady Bedford, who had, Short suggests, transferred her friendly patronage from Drayton to Jonson.

Replying to Short and quoting his title, Percy Simpson dismisses (*R.E.S.*, July) this interpretation, arguing that it involves a serious misconception of the character of Jonson, who was not the man to accept an insult and be tamely silent. In the second part of the same article Kathleen Tillotson corrects some misstatements by Short about Drayton and points out, as does Simpson, that there is nothing in Drayton's lines to suggest that

[19] *Harington & Ariosto: A Study in Elizabethan Verse Translation*, by Townsend Rich. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. viii+231. $2.00.

'Cerberon' was a poet at all, and that he is more likely to have been an enemy of poetry.

Mrs. Tillotson, working on another of C. J. Sisson's discoveries, analyses (*M.L.R.*, July) the relation of *Drayton and the Gooderes* in the light of a deposition of Drayton in a Chancery suit (Record Office, C. 24/261/28) and proves by means of this new evidence that Drayton 'in the winter of 1584–5, and probably for some time before ... was acting as servant to Sir Henry Goodere's brother, Thomas Goodere of South Collingham, Notts.'. The new evidence proves the soundness of the impression that Drayton was drawing on first-hand knowledge of Nottinghamshire in some of his poems; and phrases in the deposition, which is printed as an appendix to the article, seem to show that his relations with Sir Henry Goodere were rather those of a friendly confidant than of a servant.

Mrs. Tillotson also tracks down (*N. and Q.*, April 27) the source of *An Untraced Drayton Quotation in 'England's Parnassus'*. Remarking that Drayton's *Polyolbion* was not a great contemporary success, and that it is therefore interesting to note appreciative comment, Geoffrey Tillotson prints (*R.E.S.*, April) *Contemporary Praise of Polyolbion* in the form of a poem by John Bladen inscribed in a copy of *Polyolbion* (1622) in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Alexander M. Buchan in *Ralegh's 'Cynthia'—Fact or Legend* (*M.L.Q.*, Dec.) argues that the existing Hatfield fragment of Ralegh's poem is to be assigned to 1589 rather than 1592, which is now the generally accepted date. He disbelieves in the existence of a lost poem in many books addressed to Elizabeth with the same title, and holds that when Ralegh called the Hatfield fragment the 11th Book, he was thrusting into the midst of his subject, after the fashion of 'a poet historical', and that the supposed previous ten books belong not to fact but to legend.

Turning to Ralegh's *History of the World* for light on the question of the attitude of Ralegh's 'school' towards magic, astrology, and natural science, E. A. Strathmann in *Sir Walter Ralegh on Natural Philosophy* (*M.L.Q.*, March) declares that 'Ralegh makes clear answers. Natural magic is a lawful, beneficial study, not to be confused with conjuring by the aid of the devil.' Considering astrology, Ralegh thinks that the stars may influence the

corporal parts of man, but denies that they have any irresistible influence over the will. Moreover, God's will, being supreme, can intervene and override the starry influences.

In *The 'History of the World' and Ralegh's Skepticism* (*H.L.Q.*, April) Strathmann expands his topic into a wider consideration of the truth or falsity of the charge of 'atheism' made against Ralegh and his circle, and finds that the *History* supports the contention that Ralegh's belief in an omnipotent and active God and in the immortality of the human soul is the foundation of his moral judgements; that his 'scepticism' should be defined as 'a questioning attitude towards authority and accepted beliefs' rather than as possessing any 'strict philosophical or religious meaning', and is directed against philosophers and theologians, not against the Scriptures; and that the *History* does not support the specific irreligious opinions which his contemporaries charged Ralegh with holding.

Edward B. Goodacre suggests (*T.L.S.*, March 9) that light on the biography of Robert Chester, the author of *Love's Martyr* (1601), may be found in two Star Chamber documents to which he gives references.

William Ringler collects some biographical facts about *Gerard Gossen: A Forgotten Elizabethan Physician and Pamphleteer* (*N. and Q.*, Sept. 21) who quarrelled with John Engelram, practised in Canterbury from about 1575, in London from about 1583, and died in 1603.

Anthony Nixon: Jacobean Plagiarist and Hack is shown by Lambert Ennis (*H.L.Q.*, July) to have been a bad lot, who began his literary career in 1602 with a bare-faced plagiarism from Barnabe Googe, continued with journalism and hackwork of various sorts, stealing other people's work as he went, until his last book, *The Scourge of Corruption*, appeared in 1615 with plagiarisms from Lodge and Dekker. Ennis adds to the list of his plagiarisms, which has been growing longer ever since Malone started it.

Edward M. Hinton prints, apparently for the first time, *Rych's 'Anothomy of Ireland', with an account of the Author* (*P.M.L.A.*, March). The account of Rych's career is a useful collection of the facts, and the *Anothomy* is, 'quite apart from its value as source material, . . . a document of human interest illustrative of the Tudor informer at work, and contains much interesting matter relative to Elizabethan Ireland'.

A Second Version of John Day's 'Peregrinatio Scholastica' contained in a manuscript now in the Huntington Library appears to be mainly interesting for its biographical bearing. E. M. Borish decides (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) that this version is earlier than that contained in Sloane MS. 3150, and that Day's expressions in his dedication to William Austin of the MS. *Parlement of Bees* are at least misleading, since the Huntington manuscript is dedicated to a Thomas Dowton (or Downton) and the dedication of the Sloane second version to William Austin was therefore not 'the first bothome' that Day launched 'vpon the strange . . . *Mare Dedicatorium*'.

Of interest to literary historians is *Churchyard's Description of the Queen's Entertainment at Woodstock in 1592* (*M.L.N.*, May) from which Josephine W. Bennett brings additional evidence to support Sir E. K. Chambers in his ascription of the text of this entertainment to Richard Edes of Christ Church, Oxford.

Francis Beaumont's 'Grammar Lecture' (*R.E.S.*, Oct.) must be noticed here because, although it is interesting to students of the dramatist, its main value is as a social document. Mark Eccles, who now prints the lecture for the first time in full, decides that the manuscript (Sloane 1709) is in the hand of a copyist rather than of the author, and that the lecture may have been delivered at any of the Christmas festivities of the Inner Temple between 1601 and 1605. For the most part the 'lecturer' plays, in the manner of any witty undergraduate, with the permanent jests of collegiate life, but contrives, as Eccles points out, to sketch 'lifelike portraits of the three commonest types among the "clamorous fry of Innes of Court"', and already shows 'a keen eye for the delicious absurdities of human nature'.

Bacon has not inspired much work. Discussing *The Literary Background of Francis Bacon's Essay 'Of Death'* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) Marjorie Walters, while making no new point about Bacon, succeeds in stating clearly the difference between Bacon's attitude to death—his scientific curiosity, his rejection of religious terror, and his insistence rather on a full and good life of which death is only the natural end—and, on the one hand, the fortitude of the Stoic attitude, which is grounded in a contempt for life, and, on the other hand, the piety of the Reformation Christian, which is grounded in a sense of preparation for a more important afterlife.

In an article on *Francis Bacon's Good Sense* (*The National Review*, March) Orlo Williams justifies the title by quoting and commenting on pregnant passages from the *Essays*, with some illustrative citations from Leopardi and Samuel Butler's 'Notebooks'.

This survey may conclude with a few annotations. *A New Song by Robert Jones* in the hand of Jones himself is reproduced in facsimile by J. Quincy Adams (*M.L.Q.*, March) from a two-leaf manuscript in the Folger Shakespeare Library. The words are not new: Jones took them from Davison's *Poetical Rhapsodie* (1602). *Un Sonnet de William Drummond et son point de départ dans 'La Semaine' de Du Bartas* by Fernand Baldensperger appears in *M.L.N.* (Nov.). M. H. Dodds collects a few echoes of *The Book of Proverbs in Literature* (*N. and Q.*, July 13). John J. Elson notes some *Items of Elizabethan Usage* (*ibid.*, Nov. 2). B. Colgrave and C. E. Wright print (*Durham Univ. Journal*, June) *An Elizabethan Poem about Durham*, and Madeleine H. Dodds adds *Some Notes on 'An Elizabethan Poem about Durham'* (*ibid.*, Dec.).

X

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE

(2) THE EARLIER STUART AGE AND THE COMMONWEALTH

By L. C. Martin

In this section the amount of substantial and important material to be noticed is larger than usual, partly because some books belonging to 1939 are included. As in previous volumes the notices of work on Milton follow those of work on the poetry and prose of other writers.

Students of classical influences in seventeenth-century poetry will be grateful to Kathryn A. McEuen for her rich collection of examples drawn from poets who with more or less justice may be counted among the 'sons of Ben'.[1] It is difficult to enliven a long tale of correspondences, but Mrs. McEuen has done what she can to give both thread and variety to her demonstration by arranging her parallels under a series of headings which are coherent enough and which represent the classical poets or collections most favoured by Jonson and his followers: Martial's epigrams, satire, Horace, Pindar, elegies, pastorals, and the Greek Anthology. A large tract of ground in classical poetry is thus covered and intimate acquaintance is shown also with the English poets concerned, some of whom appear of course in several chapters. Much of the material seems not to have been published before. An index is provided so that any one poet's indebtedness to the classics, so far as it is here revealed, can conveniently be assessed.

The same field is entered by G. G. Loane, who writes on *Herrick's Sources* in *N. and Q.* (March 30) and points out some parallels, where Herrick is sometimes translating, from Homer, Horace, Seneca, and others.

In his edition of Donne in the O.E.T. series Sir Herbert Grierson establishes and greatly relies upon the authority of the

[1] *Classical Influence upon the Tribe of Ben*, by Kathryn Anderson McEuen. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press (1939). pp. xix + 316. $3.00.

original printed texts, but he occasionally departs from their readings in favour of a MS. variant or an emendation of his own. George Williamson in a long article entitled *Textual Difficulties in the Interpretation of Donne's Poetry* (*Mod. Phil.*, Aug.) examines a number of these departures which, in his opinion, need not have been made, since the readings in the texts of 1633 or 1635 can be satisfactorily explained as they stand.

By a close argument, which cannot be detailed here, R. E. Bennett seeks in *P.Q.* (Jan.) to establish the chronology of *Donne's Letters from the Continent in 1611–12*, adding some reflections on the conflict between the conclusions he reaches and the account of Donne's travels with Drury given by Izaak Walton.

Thomas Pestell (1585–1667), who left most of his poems unpublished, would probably have been surprised if he could have learnt that three hundred years later four sources of subsidy would be successfully drawn upon in order that his poetry as a whole might be given to the world. Any satisfaction he may now feel is no doubt tempered by a realization that his verses will be read more for their historical interest than for the intrinsic worth which some of them have, and that much of the merit of the volume[2] lies in its learned and skilful editing by Hannah Buchan. The manuscript and other sources are handled with great respect and fidelity; there is an informative introduction, chiefly biographical, and a commentary; there is even an Appendix A of 'poems addressed to Pestell' and an Appendix B of records concerning cases brought against him, the second of these being his trial on twelve counts as an unsatisfactory Minister of Religion before the Parliamentary Commission for Leicestershire in 1646. The poems themselves represent the average level and the common flavour of occasional and lyrical verse as written in the earlier part of the century by men of talent rather than of genius.

Fresh evidence is provided in *M.L.N.* (Jan.) that the poets of this time were later considered good at least to steal from. Harold Reese points out that someone had been *A Borrower from Quarles and Herbert* in 1669, when a volume entitled *Miscellanea* was very largely appropriated from Quarles's *Enchiridion* and

[2] *The Poems of Thomas Pestell*, ed. by Hannah Buchan. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. lvi + 146. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Herbert's 'Providence'; and G. R. Potter shows the indebtedness of John Dunton's *Athenian Sport* (1707) to Donne's *Paradoxes*.

A brief but fresh and stimulating account of Andrew Marvell, his life and character, his poetry and prose, is provided by M. C. Bradbrook and M. G. Lloyd Thomas.[3] The authors recognize the combination of subtlety and straightforwardness which was a large part of Marvell's strength as a writer and in their comments on the poetry pay much attention to the subtlety; they even find in some passages what may seem to be questionable involutions of meaning. There need be no doubt, however, that their interpretations as a whole are the outcome of a genuine effort to understand the processes of the poet's mind, and they deserve careful scrutiny. For a discussion of his prose fifty-four pages are not many, especially as 'larger questions of the social and cultural habits of the time' are brought into the picture. But here again there is lively initial guidance for students entering territory which is not very frequently explored.

The factors in seventeenth-century taste and thought which made for the passing of metaphysical poetry are freshly described by R. L. Sharp,[4] who also computes the gains and losses entailed in the supersession of this poetry by the less ambitious but more equable performances of the Augustans. The general trend of the development has been appreciated before, but 'this transitional period has been insufficiently explained', and there was certainly room for a special study so learned and thorough as this, and above all so strongly marked by critical awareness and insight. These qualities enable the author to add something of importance, both in outline and in more detailed delineations, to earlier accounts of the nature and value of the poetry written by Donne and by others who worked the metaphysical vein. Sharp has no doubts about Donne's poetic stature or about the sublimities to which metaphysical poetry could rise. He points out, however, that it lacked any authoritative theoretical backing and shows how from the first there was distinct opposition to its real or alleged extravagance, obscurity, and harshness. The strengthen-

[3] *Andrew Marvell*, by M. C. Bradbrook and M. G. Lloyd Thomas. C.U.P. pp. xiii + 161. 7*s*. 6*d*.

[4] *From Donne to Dryden. The Revolt against Metaphysical Poetry*, by Robert Lathrop Sharp. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press and O.U.P. pp. xii + 221. $3.00. 18*s*. 6*d*.

ing of the opponent forces in the mid-century and the growing desire for a 'return to nature', both in thinking and in expression, are adequately expounded and in a final chapter on Dryden there is again much evidence of the author's discrimination and balance, although in his summing-up he does not conceal his opinion that the advantages of Augustanism were dearly bought. In the new world of enlightenment 'man was confident and self-assured; he saw clearly what he had trained himself to see, and he was blissfully unaware of the human depths and metaphysical distances on which he had turned his back'.

Surveying *Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Satire against Grain Engrossers* in *S. in Ph.* (Oct.) Burton Milligan concludes that the satire was based on real abuses which the satirists did not much exaggerate; that satirical conventions appropriated to this and other forms of speculation were well established; and that, especially in broadside ballads, beliefs about the supernatural punishment of profiteers were frequently exploited.

In *E.L.H.* (June) Marjorie Nicolson presents an account of *Cosmic Voyages* from Cicero, Plutarch, and Lucian to Godwin and Wilkins, pointing out the importance of such imaginings in the history of philosophy and of science, and their effect in popularizing abstract ideas of space, making 'even simple minds grapple with the theological problems of "other worlds", and other men and women in those worlds'.

Reference should also now be made to an article by the same writer in *Annals of Science* (Jan., 1939) on *English Almanacs and the 'New Astronomy'*. Here it is shown that the early almanacs of the seventeenth century (before about 1640) are but little influenced by the Copernican theory, which affects them much more after that date and notably after 1660; and that by the same evidence the gathering prestige of that theory owed much to the demonstrations of Galileo especially as popularized by Wilkins in his publications of 1639 and 1640.

Again in *Annals of Science* (April, 1939), Grant McColley points out and illustrates *The Debt of Bishop John Wilkins to the 'Apologia pro Galileo' of Tommaso Campanella.*

Writing on *Sir Thomas Browne and the Quincunx* (*S. in Ph.*, April) Jeremiah S. Finch describes Browne's indebtedness in *The Garden of Cyrus* to two agricultural treatises of the sixteenth

century, the *Hortorum Libri Triginta* of Curtius and *Villae Io. Baptistae Portae Libri XII*. It would appear that these volumes, to which Browne himself briefly refers and which are included in the Catalogue of his library, not only gave him his theme but supplied most of the substance of his first chapter. After that, however, the dependency seems to have been thrown off.

The same writer comments in *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.) on *Early Drafts of 'The Garden of Cyrus'*, quoting from Browne's note-books and papers, now in the British Museum, passages which find fuller, more orderly, and more artistic expression in the printed volume, and thus illustrating some of Browne's habits in composition.

In *N. and Q.* (April 20) A. M. Coon attempts to identify *Izaak Walton's 'Honest Nat. and R. Roe'*.

W. K. Jordan examines *Sectarian Thought and Its Relation to the Development of Religious Toleration, 1640-1660*, in three numbers of *H.L.Q.* (Jan., April, and July) under the three headings, (1) The Mystics and Enthusiasts, (2) The Individualists, and (3) The Socinians. The articles will be helpful to students of literature, although they belong less to the history of literature itself than to that of opinion and of religious controversy.

It seems desirable to welcome now the two volumes of Oliver Cromwell's written and spoken words which have come to hand, without waiting for the two other volumes designed to complete a work of much importance, not to historians alone.[5] Wilbur C. Abbott, assisted by Catherine D. Crane, has assembled a large store of documents, including 700 items not to be found in the collections of Carlyle and of Mrs. Lomas, with a good proportion of items hitherto unpublished, so that an opportunity is afforded for a more detailed estimate of Cromwell's character, policy, and abilities than has before been possible. The documents are presented chronologically in a framework of careful but lively statement. Some of the more valuable new material, drawn from foreign archives and from the Protectorate period, is yet to come, for the first two volumes go no farther than the time of the

[5] *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ed. by Wilbur Cortez Abbott with the assistance of Catherine D. Crane. Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. Vol. i (1937), 1599–1649, pp. xx + 759. Vol. ii (1939), 1649–1653, pp. xvi + 806. 21*s*. each.

Commonwealth; but the work has already an assured place among the more impressive results of modern research.

That the significance of Hobbes in the development of English critical theory has been underestimated is persuasively argued in a volume by C. De Witt Thorpe.[6] It is a commonplace that much was done in the eighteenth century to replace the application of traditional standards or formulae in the judgement of literature by inquiries into the mental processes involved in its making and in its power to delight and to stir the reader. It is also well recognized that the ground was prepared for this kind of exploration in the latter part of the preceding century; but it has less often been observed that on a right estimate of Hobbes's aesthetic theory he was one of the most competent and influential of the pioneers. In putting forward this view Thorpe emphasizes such considerations as Hobbes's regard for experience or empiricism as a basis for sound ratiocination, his Epicurean approval of the emotions and of their exercise in the enjoyment of works of art, and, above all, his honouring of the fancy, or imagination, in its creative aspects and its ability, in co-operation with the judgement, not only to serve the cause of truth but to produce novel, pleasurable, and 'very marvellous effects to the benefit of mankind'. It is not claimed that Hobbes was without precursors in the 'psychological approach' which he thus made to the problems of imaginative activity; on the contrary a chapter is devoted to an account of earlier writers, from Plato to Bacon, in whose works that approach is represented. It is also admitted that there is some inconsistency in Hobbes's statements and use of terms, and that his psychology, judged by later performances, is less than adequate to deal with some of the phenomena he tries to explain. Yet 'he was immensely productive of thought, and set in motion streams of ideas which, having passed through the middle stages in Dryden, Dennis, Shaftesbury, Addison, Burke, Blair, and others, were to eventuate in the profound formulations of Kant and Coleridge, were indeed to continue their influences, among better critics, to our own day'. Thorpe's description of Hobbes's achievement in its bearing upon the work of other theorists is based upon a very thorough examination of all the

[6] *The Aesthetic Theory of Thomas Hobbes*, by Clarence De Witt Thorpe. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press. pp. ix + 339. $4.00.

relevant documents and seems to avoid undue reliance upon isolated pronouncements. His argument must certainly be reckoned with in future endeavours to show the form and pressure of aesthetic theory in the seventeenth century and after.

As noted briefly above (p. 153), F. Hard points out that the passage in E. K.'s epistle prefixed to *The Shepheardes Calender* concerning pictures in which 'they use to blaze and portraict not only the daintie lineaments of beautye, but also rounde about it to shadow the rude thickets and craggy clifts, that by the basenesse of such parts, more excellency may accrew to the principale' was taken up, and even quoted with no little fidelity, by later writers on the picturesque, notably by Franciscus Junius in *De Pictura Veterum* (1637). This notion about the useful function of a 'natural rudenesse', for which no exact classical parallel is believed to exist, but which is foreshadowed in certain Renaissance texts, thus found its way through the agency of E.K. 'into the stream of early criticism of painting in England'.

The publishers of a volume of essays by R. Balfour Daniels[7] tell us that he 'strolls through the rich fields of seventeenth-century literature with no other motive than a contemplative enjoyment of whatever strikes his fancy'; and in a manner appropriate to a stroll he contrives in 148 pages to introduce and comment upon no fewer than twenty-two subjects, from 'Some Remarks on Richard Crashaw' to a 'Footnote on Biographies', and from 'The Wisdom of Sir Thomas Browne' to 'Advice from a Trimmer'. The effect is inevitably rather sketchy, but the author appears to aim less at the enlightenment of scholars than at the entertainment of a wider public; and it may well be that some of his readers will learn from him to realize the variety and human interest of this literature and to desire its better acquaintance.

The writings of Milton are still the subject of multifarious discussion, not least in regard to their affinities in previous or contemporary literature and to all the floating material which Milton's imagination 'dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to

[7] *Some Seventeenth-Century Worthies in a Twentieth-Century Mirror*, by R. Balfour Daniels. Univ. of North Carolina Press and O.U.P. pp. 156. $2.00 and 12*s*.

recreate'. The findings appear to suggest that he was often less indebted to specific precedents than to traditions of thought or belief still current in his lifetime and broadly described by scholars as his 'background' or 'milieu'; and the term 'source' thus becomes rightly suspect. It may still be appropriate when a certain degree of correspondency has been reached, but there will also be many occasions when it will be hard to distinguish between a source and a salient feature of the background.

The difficulties are bravely and discreetly dealt with in a work by G. W. Whiting[8] mainly designed to illustrate the extent of the property common to Milton and to many other writers before and during his day. Here, we are told, 'on the whole, relationship, not indebtedness, is the theme' and it is illustrated, for instance, by parallels to Milton's account of the creation drawn from the works of Danaeus, Du Bartas, Ralegh, Purchas, and Henry More. By the same token the historical writings of Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, and Ralegh, the assemblages of geographical names by the map-makers, and various authorities on the pagan deities are all shown to deserve places more or less conspicuous in the Miltonic background; and works by Milton's contemporaries are cited to prove that his symbolical treatment of Belial and Satan was not peculiar to him. In chapters on *Comus* and on *Samson Agonistes* figures in the background begin to look more like neglected sources, for here it is claimed that the influences of *Encomium Moriae* and of Quarles's *Historie of Samson* have possibly been underestimated; and in yet another chapter the 'relationship' is pathological as well as literary, Milton, it is claimed, having himself fallen a victim to the prevalent disease of melancholy, besides being a careful observer of its phenomena as described by Robert Burton.

Part II of this work, devoted to Milton's prose and embodying material some of which at least has been published before, is concerned less with his general dependence upon traditional notions than with the tracing of certain particular relationships, as where the reply to *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* and Lord Brooke's 'probable borrowing' from this pamphlet are considered.

In another volume the results of many years' study of *Paradise*

[8] *Milton's Literary Milieu*, by George Wesley Whiting. Univ. of North Carolina Press and O.U.P. pp. xiv + 401. $3.50.

Lost and of comparable literature are presented by Grant McColley[9]; and here emphasis is placed upon the so-called 'hexameral' genre, consisting of poems or commentaries or other works on the six days of creation and on scriptural passages regarded as cognate. The hexameral tradition itself, with its distant first-century origin, is briefly surveyed and then the poem is examined in its main doctrinal aspects in chapters on the battle in Heaven, the creation, the dialogues between Raphael and Adam, the council in Hell, the Garden in Eden, the temptation, and the justification of God's ways to man; and in all these connexions, while not neglecting instances of verbal correspondence, the author seeks primarily to show both Milton and all the other writers of whom he treats as the trustees of a common inheritance. Many of the analogies are provided by medieval authorities but others are later, for the invention of printing had given a fresh vitality to the tradition in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. It thus appears that many things which have been regarded as peculiarities in the thoughts and actions and speeches imputed by Milton to his characters were based upon widely accepted interpretations of Scripture; but it is impossible here to do more than hint at the width of learning and the wealth of apposite reference displayed in these pages as also in the discussions contained in Part II of the volume, concerning the dialogue on astronomy, certain 'minor structural patterns', the affinities of the projected drama of 'Adam Unparadised' with the epic, and the possible dates at which different portions of *Paradise Lost* were written.

In a final chapter the author examines the bearing of his work upon the appreciation of Milton's poem. To charges that in *Paradise Lost* ideas and words are insufficiently integrated and to zealous protestations of Milton's originality it is replied that he was too much tied by the traditions to be capable of subduing them at every point to his poetic intention and that indeed he was not and did not try to be original in every sense of the term. 'In *Paradise Lost* the originality which Milton both desired and achieved was in part that of doing better the conventional and accepted thing.' But even when it is added that originality may

[9] *'Paradise Lost': An Account of its Growth and Major Origins, with a Discussion of Milton's Use of Sources and Literary Patterns*, by Grant McColley. Chicago: Packard. pp. xi + 362. $2.50.

also be seen in the selection and ordering of his material, 'doing better the accepted thing' will probably be thought a rather inadequate formula for the alchemy of Milton's imagination or for the complexities of the finished poem, which so well survives efforts to distinguish its 'substance' from its 'form'; and to speak of 'the tradition which gave heart and blood to Milton's epic' may easily provoke the rejoinder that that is precisely what Milton's genius did to the tradition, for all its currency in his time.

McColley is perhaps on firmer ground where he considers some recent attributions to Milton of pessimism, supposed to have been caused partly by the failure of the Commonwealth and to be especially noticeable in the later books of *Paradise Lost*. Certainly it is fair to take into account the traditional nature of certain lines cited in support of this view, and in so far as the undertones of such passages can be thought to carry a note of personal dejection it may be a good thing to be reminded again that the twentieth century is possibly over-ready to hear its own voice in utterances which used, no doubt with some exaggeration, to be regarded as belonging to an essentially 'joyous' Renaissance.

Mention may now be made of certain articles which represent interests and intentions similar to those of Whiting and McColley.

Arnold Williams in *M.P.* (Feb.) examines the relations between *Milton and the Renaissance Commentaries on Genesis* and answers questions regarding Milton's attitude to the use of commentaries in the interpretation of Scripture, his acquaintance with some specific commentaries, and the kind of material which he drew from them.

The nature of *The Angels in 'Paradise Lost'* is considered in *R.E.S.* (Oct.) by P. L. Carver. Certain passages in the poem, it is suggested, are consistent with the orthodox view that angels are creatures of pure intellect and without corporeal substance, although they can assume 'what shape they choose'; other passages, however, seem nearer to the opinion of Tertullian that they normally have a bodily existence of their own kind and take on a true human solidity in their converse with men, as where Milton insists on Raphael's actual consumption of tangible food. Thus Milton is orthodox enough in his earlier representation of Satan as 'Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall', for in

this notion Milton is in close agreement with Thomas Aquinas, according to whom angels, in virtue of their purely intellectual being, must have real liberty of choice; but the degraded Satan, who, as Milton asserts, verily takes on the body of a serpent, 'is Satan as the school of Tertullian might have imagined him'.

In *S. in Ph.* (April) Lawrence Babb writes on *The Background of 'Il Penseroso'*, distinguishing two main conceptions of melancholy favoured in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the one taking its authority from the Galenic tradition and stressing the misery and lack of control characterizing the melancholy state, and the other, with its ultimate source in Aristotle's *Problemata*, xxx. i, associating melancholy with eminence in philosophy, politics, poetry, and the other arts. Milton banishes the Galenic kind in the opening lines of *L'Allegro*; in *Il Penseroso* he welcomes the more attractive kind and expounds its virtues.

Finally, T. S. K. Scott-Craig enlarges in *M.L.N.* (June) upon certain differences between his own views concerning *Milton's Use of Wolleb and Ames* and those set forth by A. Sewell in *A Study of Milton's Christian Doctrine* (*see Y.W.* xx. 115–16).

Thus in various connexions evidence accumulates to show that Milton was of an age, dependent in no small degree upon its modes of thought. That as a poet, at least, he is nevertheless for all time is a belief which appears still to command general assent, in spite of some questioning modern voices. In his work on *Paradise Lost* noticed above, McColley answers recent detractions of Milton in his own way, paying only incidental tribute to the 'limited sense' in which the poet can be said to have 'transformed all material' used by him. But for a more wholehearted appreciation of Milton's poetry as such we may turn to a slender volume by L. Pearsall Smith.[10] Here that author's wit and critical talents are effectively trained upon twentieth-century derangers of Milton's epitaph, although he perhaps treats them both more and less seriously than they deserve; for in so far as they ask of Milton what he never attempted his actual performance can be allowed to look after itself; yet they may be welcomed if they can discourage blind idolatry and stimulate Milton's admirers to consider more precisely why

[10] *Milton and his Modern Critics*, by Logan Pearsall Smith. O.U.P. pp. 73. 3*s.* 6*d.*

his poetry has endured. To this question Pearsall Smith sketches as wise and sufficient an answer as a few pages will allow, dwelling upon Milton's acute sense of poetic word-values, his humanity, the largeness of his mind, and the potency and scope of his imagination. Others have performed this service before and at greater length, but it is well that it should be performed again now for the benefit not only of those who find Milton 'unsatisfactory' but of those who, like Pearsall Smith, 'prefer not to live in a world of falling statues beneath a sky of falling stars'.

Efforts to describe the 'climate of opinion' affecting Milton's thought and work or to account for his subsequent fame are usefully supplemented by a volume concerning the response which was in fact made to his writings by contemporary minds.[11] It would seem that for all the light which the Miltonic star may have borrowed from other luminaries and for all the self-sufficient intensity with which it has since been found to shine, it can still be said to have dwelt apart, and thus at first it attracted less notice than might have been expected. Yet it is not easy to estimate the degree and the kind of repute which Milton earned in his own day. What some people wrote about him is not necessarily a good clue to what many people thought, and even complete absence of printed allusion over a period is no proof of total disregard. There is, for instance, reason to think that *Areopagitica*, which had no immediate practical effect and is not apparently mentioned for six years after its appearance, did not pass so little heeded as these circumstances might suggest. W. R. Parker, who well appreciates the difficulties of his inquiry, surveys the different periods of Milton's life under suitable headings from the passage on fame in *Lycidas*, and shows that although Milton had reason to be disappointed over the reception and influence of his pre-Restoration works he gained some real prestige as a poet after that. Even then it has to be remembered that if the first edition of *Paradise Lost* was exhausted in about two years 'there is also the fact that no second edition was called for until five additional years had passed'; but the publication by 1674 of various other works is further evidence that Milton's writings were acquiring some commercial value. Parker's

[11] *Milton's Contemporary Reputation*, by William Riley Parker. Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press. pp. ix + 299. $1.75.

discerning introductory essay is followed by 'a tentative list' of printed allusions from 1641 to 1674 and by facsimile reproductions, with notes, of five not very easily accessible pamphlets written in answer to Milton, including *The Censure of the Rota* with its interesting reflections on his style.

At what date Milton began to interpret heretically the doctrine of Christian liberty has hitherto appeared to admit of a wide solution, but Arthur Barker believes that the full development can be perceived much earlier than the period after 1659, when Milton was revising the Picard MS. of *De Doctrina*. The sense of Barker's finding is indicated by the heading of his article in *M.L.R.* (April): *Christian Liberty in Milton's Divorce Pamphlets*, Milton having come by that time to the view that Christian liberty 'not only covers indifferent things but frees the individual Christian from the compulsion of *all* external precepts'. The conclusion therefore is that Milton's radical interpretation was reached between 1643 and 1645.

Z. S. Fink discusses in *M.L.N.* (June) *The Date of Milton's Proposalls for a Firme Government*, a tract printed, perhaps for the first time, in the Columbia *Milton*, vol. xviii, and gives reasons for his belief that it was written between October 20 and December 26, 1659.

Milton's rhetorical habits as they are illustrated in 'six representative pamphlets' (beginning with *Areopagitica* and ending with *The Readie and Easie Way*) are examined by W. E. Gilman,[12] who considers each document under the headings of Background, Ideas and Structure, Logical Proof, Pathetic Proof, Ethical Proof, Non-artistic Proof, and Conclusion. It is not of course to be expected that these divisions will always seem to be mutually exclusive but it is of use, so far as it is possible, thus to isolate and weigh the various forms of persuasion which Milton employs. From the preface it appears that the volume represents a condensation and revision of a doctoral thesis and it may be that in the fuller work some more complete statement was made of the classical principles which Milton can be thought to have observed, and attention given to such important matters as incidental imagery, rhetorical figures, and the rhythms of Milton's sentences.

[12] *Milton's Rhetoric: Studies in his Defense of Liberty*, by Wilbur Elwyn Gilman. Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Studies (1939). pp. 193. $1.25.

Opposing some estimates of the proportion in which words of Latin origin occur in *Milton's English* G. C. Taylor in *N. and Q.* (Jan. 27) examines the vocabulary of *Lycidas* in this connexion and finds that less than 20 per cent. of its words can be so described. Writing on *Milton's English Again* in *M.L.N.* (Dec.) R. M. Lumiansky reaches a similar conclusion respecting *L'Allegro.*

F. R. B. Godolphin contributes to *Mod. Phil.* (May) *Notes on the Technique of Milton's Latin Elegies,* comparing his habits in respect of such points as the use of rhyme and the echoing phrase with those of the Roman elegists, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid.

W. A. Oldfather observes in *P.Q.* (Jan.) that two lines in *Pro Ioanne Miltono Poeta Populum Anglicanum Iterum Defendente* do not scan and offers emendations which he thinks plausible because the alleged mistakes could easily have been made in the press.

G. B. A. Fletcher, with a view to a more precise appreciation of *Milton's Latin Poems* based on knowledge of what is original and what derivative in their phraseology, gives in *Mod. Phil.* (May) a large number of parallels, hitherto apparently unnoted, between Milton and classical Latin poets.

Under heading *Critical Activity of the Poetic Mind; John Milton* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) John S. Diekhoff scrutinizes many of Milton's revisions in the Trinity College MS. and elsewhere, seeking to explain the artistic motives dictating them.

With reference to a suggestion by E. M. W. Tillyard that Milton may have modelled the plot of *Paradise Lost* upon the *Odyssey,* D. S. Robertson notices in *T.L.S.* (May 4) some correspondences of structure between *'The Odyssey' and 'Paradise Lost'.*

The Banquet Scene in Paradise Regained is interpreted in *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.) by Theodore H. Banks neither as an inartistic redundancy after the first temptation nor as the first step in the second but rather as an introduction thereto, 'or, perhaps better, as a link between the first temptation and the second'.

The World's Classics volume of Milton's English poems has been re-issued[13] with the addition of a Reader's Guide by Walter Skeat (see *Y.W.* xx. 175) and an Introduction by Charles Williams.

[13] *The English Poems of John Milton.* O.U.P. pp. xxii + 545. 3*s.*

In *M.L.Q.* (Sept.) J. Milton French shows that there were many *Mute Inglorious John Miltons* contemporary with the poet, and points the moral for unwary investigators.

The Columbia *Milton*, completed in 1938, is now crowned by the issue of its Index,[14] compiled by Frank L. Patterson with the assistance of F. R. Fogle. This comprehensive work has been planned and executed with great consideration for the needs of Milton scholars, who will often find it indispensable. It is in two volumes containing 2,141 pages of double columned entries more than 170,000 in number; and one learns without surprise that eight years have gone to its making. It is both less and more than a concordance: less because not all Milton's words are listed, and more because it includes not only words but ideas; not only all proper names used by Milton but those which were in his mind on any occasion but were not mentioned; not only works which he openly or implicitly cites but works or passages by which he may be supposed to have been influenced. The benefits of this great enterprise are not confined to possessors of the edition, as the entries give convenient references to Milton's separate works as well as to the relevant pages of the Columbia volumes.

[14] *An Index to the Columbia Edition of the Works of John Milton*, by Frank L. Patterson assisted by French Rowe Fogle. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. Vol. i, A–K, pp. xvi + 1–1073. Vol. ii, L–Z, pp. x + 1074–2141. $12.50. 63*s*.

XI

THE RESTORATION

By Beatrice White

In the field of Restoration drama the most important study of the year is Autrey N. Wiley's *Rare Prologues and Epilogues, 1642–1700*.[1] Miss Wiley examined over 1,600 plays as well as miscellanies, newspapers, manuscripts, and other sources. In a field so vast she attempts to limit her horizons by confining her investigations to rare material between the years 1642–1700, a chronological arrangement which leaves room for considerable further investigation. She reprints here, with full critical apparatus, 42 prologues and epilogues which have survived in separate publication, generally folio half-sheets.

The student of theatrical history will find this well-documented book indispensable, though he, and not the general reader, may consider some of the more familiar biographical matter with which it is laden superfluous. In her concise and clear Introduction the author gives an historical sketch of her subject, considers the motley crew of prologue writers, Dryden voluminous and supreme among them, together with the speakers of these pieces, nearly always players, jealous of their prerogative, very often actresses. The author notices certain recurring patterns, and attempts a classification into types which might have been followed perhaps more obviously in her text; relates these products of the theatre to the general interest in 'wit' and rhetoric, and estimates their significance in the tradition of the stage as a link in intimacy between actor and audience in changing theatrical conditions.

The majority of the prologues and epilogues with their diversity of topics and width of range, real 'intelligencers of the theatre', were written to launch new plays, but occasionally to introduce a revival. Miss Wiley here reprints one of special interest with a pretty tribute to Jonson—an anonymous prologue to *The Alchemist* from a unique copy at Worcester College, Oxford. Of no less interest is her reprint of the unique copy at Christ Church of Dryden's Epilogue to Saunders's *Tamerlane*, spoken before

[1] *Rare Prologues and Epilogues, 1642–1700*, ed. by Autrey Nell Wiley. Allen & Unwin. pp. xlv + 358. 15*s*.

Charles II at Oxford at the opening of the Play-house there, March 19, 1680/1:

> Thus crowded Oxford represents Mankind,
> And in these Walls Great Britain seems confin'd.

The value of this book lies not only in the breadth but in the generous minutiae of its scholarship, in its suggestions and adumbrations. Each of the pieces here reprinted is provided with a separate introduction, and in these prolegomena is a wealth of useful material on theatrical history, and on seventeenth-century taste with its strange divagations from the sharp spice of satire to the splendour of song and dance and spectacle, with the novelties of merry Jo Haynes and his donkey, and the infant lispings of 'Mrs. Coysh's girl'. The volume is interspersed with pregnant hints on the evolution and interplay of literary forms. Of especial interest in this connexion are Miss Wiley's remarks on the 'type-portraiture', in the prologues and epilogues, of the 'character' familiar in the work of the seventeenth-century pamphleteers and satirists.

Though dealt with further under bibliography, *English Song-Books, 1651–1702*, by C. L. Day and Eleanore B. Murrie,[2] may be here briefly noticed. It includes not only song-books proper, but other miscellaneous works, including some plays, pageants, and operas, which contain the words and music of two or more secular songs. With its forty-two illustrations it is a highly attractive volume, and will be indispensable to all students of music of the Restoration period, and also helpful for a fuller realization of its social and literary background.

In his doctoral dissertation on *Robert Gould*[3] E. H. Sloane devotes a chapter to the satirist's two tragedies, *The Rival Sisters* and *Innocence Distress'd*, and considers them in relation to Orange drama.

R. R. Cawley in his *Unpathed Waters* (see above, pp. 147–8) has an interesting chapter on Davenant's use of geographical

[2] *English Song-Books, 1651–1702*, by Cyrus Lawrence Day and Eleanore Boswell Murrie. See below, p. 251.

[3] *Robert Gould, Seventeenth-Century Satirist*, by Eugene Hulse Sloane. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press and O.U.P. pp. 126.

literature in his two plays *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* and *Sir Francis Drake.*

The periodicals have produced a sturdy crop of articles. In *Rochester, Dryden, and the Duchess of Portsmouth* (*R.E.S.*, April) V. de Sola Pinto suggests the Duchess of Portsmouth as the instigator of the Rose Street assault on Dryden. G. Blakemore Evans suggests Sir Solemn Trifle in Davenant's *News from Plymouth* as the source of Shadwell's character of Sir Formal Trifle in *The Virtuoso* (*M.L.R.*, April).

In an important article entitled *Elizabethan-Restoration Palimpsest* (*M.L.R.*, July) Alfred Harbage argues that 'certain playwrights after 1660 secured, in manuscript, unprinted plays written before 1642, modernized them, and had them produced and published as their own'. Among those convicted are Dryden, whose *Wild Gallant* and *Mistaken Husband* are based on MSS. by Brome, and Sir Robert Howard, whose *The Great Favourite* is based upon *The Spanish Duke of Lerma*, which Harbage ascribes to Ford instead of Henry Shirley.

In *A Key to Rowe's 'Tamerlane'* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.) Willard Thorp identifies Axalla with Hans Bentinck, first Earl of Portland, and Omar with Godolphin, the incidents of whose career form a plausible parallel, and who was the Tory lord most hated in the year of the play by the Whigs and therefore by Rowe.

D. W. Jefferson, writing on *The Significance of Dryden's Heroic Plays* (*Proceedings of the Leeds Phil. and Lit. Soc.*, Feb.), works out his thesis that Dryden deliberately used heroic melodrama as a playground for his powers of wit and rhetoric, thus developing the grandiose and comic aspects of his theme at the same time. Kenneth Muir, in the same periodical, discusses *The Imagery of 'All for Love'.*

J. R. Baird in a note on *Milton and Edward Ecclestone's 'Noah's Flood'* (*M.L.N.*, March) points out that Ecclestone's debt is rather to *Paradise Lost* than to Dryden's operatic version of it, *The State of Innocence.* Fred S. Tupper in a note on *Colley and Caius Cibber* (*M.L.N.*, May) discloses some new facts about the Cibbers from Chancery documents in the P.R.O. M. Maurice Shudofsky in *The Gentleman Cully* (*M.L.N.*, May) draws attention to this anonymous play with its implied reaction against the hero-rake of Restoration comedy. Florence R. Scott in a note

on *The Marriages of Sir Robert Howard* (*M.L.N.*, June) clears up ambiguities and misstatements with regard to the dramatist's four marriages. Jeremiah S. Finch in a note on *Sir Thomas Browne and the Strolling Players in Norwich* (*R.E.S.*, Oct. 1939) gives two allusions to players in Norwich, 1679 and 1680, from Browne's correspondence with his son, Edward.

James M. Osborn's *John Dryden: some biographical facts and problems*[4] stands at the head of Dryden studies for the year. This admirable book does useful pioneer work in bringing together a valuable collection of material which will form the basis eventually of a new biography of the poet. The book is impressive in its range and industry and in its painstaking and accurate assembling and sorting of facts which have been relentlessly pursued and mustered. It might well have been called 'a study in the development of the art of biography', an aspect of the work which will appeal to the general reader. By reason of its declared nature as spadework the book tends to be unwieldy through lack of shape. The first part is devoted to a comparative study of Dryden biographies from Birch to Leslie Stephen in which the merits of each are judiciously weighed and tested. Thomas Birch, who 'gathered but did not sift', was followed by Broughton and by Derrick, who made a genuine effort to collect documents and family traditions. Johnson, deriving from Birch and Derrick, added some new facts and documents and attempted to describe Dryden's mental qualities. To Edmond Malone, the first great biographer of Dryden, Osborn does full justice, and not the least valuable part of his book is his essay on Malone's work and methods together with an appendix reprinting the corrections and additions made by Malone to his *Life of Dryden* (Bodl. Malone E 61–3). Particularly interesting are the studies of Scott's and, later, of Saintsbury's work on Dryden. Students will profit by the sound estimates of Mitford's and Christie's editions.

The second part of the book consists of what the author calls 'collateral investigations'—unrelated and independent studies, seventeen in all, including 'the presentation of new documents, the re-examination of old ones, a synthesis of scattered evidence

[4] *John Dryden: some biographical facts and problems*, by James M. Osborn. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xiv + 295. 23*s.* 6*d.*

and an analysis of special problems'. Some of the subjects discussed here which are still open to investigation are: *The Medal of John Bayes*, which Osborn is inclined to accept as Shadwell's, the King's Playhouse in 1678, Dryden's relations with Herringman, his London residences and his absences from the capital, his relations with Walsh and Langbaine, and the fate of the books from his library. There are eight shorter studies on such topics as the Dryden letters at Knole, the poet's baptism, and a letter written in June 1664 to his 'cosen', Richard Salwey. No student of Dryden can afford to ignore a book at once so fundamentally useful and so stimulating.

Articles on Dryden are neither numerous nor lengthy. Esmond de Beer, writing on *Dryden's Anticlericalism* (*N. and Q.*, Oct. 12), points out that this attitude was rare in the earlier plays, becoming apparent and persistent from 1677 onwards, and suggests that Dryden suffered a disappointment through the instrumentality of the Anglican clergy shortly before that time which precipitated a more violent prejudice. In *Dryden: The Kind Keeper* (*N. and Q.*, Aug. 24) de Beer would identify the 'poet of scandalous memory' referred to by Dryden in his dedication with Marvell, one of the principal opposition writers, rather than with Flecknoe. In a note on *The Date of a Prologue: 'Gallants a Bashful Poet'* (*N. and Q.*, Dec. 21) the same writer dates this piece by its allusion to the 'new Deserters Bill', first passed in 1689.

Reuben A. Brower in an article on *Dryden's Epic Manner and Virgil* (*P.L.M.A.*, March) shows by a careful study of Dryden's plays and verse that the poet almost invariably turned to Virgil 'for help in expression where his subject was obviously suitable for epic narrative', finding 'in the use of Virgilian allusions the surest means of giving to his verse "the majestic turn of heroic poetry"'.

Connected with Dryden by name and so perhaps relevant here is R. C. Boys's *Some Problems of Dryden's Miscellany* (*E.L.H.*, June) which discusses the question of the popularity of poems added to the 1716 edition of one of the most successful of early collections.

Apart from Dryden, Restoration poets receive somewhat perfunctory attention. Eugene H. Sloane in his dissertation on

Robert Gould (see above, p. 177) gives a full account, well documented, of this admittedly second-rate, neglected disciple of Oldham, and attributes his obscurity to his venomous attacks on the nobility and the stage. *The Laureat: Jack Squab's History* (1687), an attack on Dryden, is here assigned to Gould. Donald Dale has written two brief notices of Oldham, *The Life of John Oldham* (*N. and Q.*, June 29) and *John Oldham as satirist* (*N. and Q.*, July 20), which are indebted to the excellent bibliography of Oldham noticed in *Y.W.* xvii. 286–7. In his interesting pioneer work *Musae Anglicanae*[5] Leicester Bradner considers Cowley in a discussion of the English irregular ode. *Cowley and the Pindaric* forms a chapter in G. N. Shuster's stimulating but uneven *The English Ode from Milton to Keats.* Cowley's work is also given a chapter in Leah Jonas's book *The Divine Science.*[6] P. K. Das in a note on *Cowley and Wordsworth's 'Skylark'* (*M.L.R.*, April) suggests that the source of Wordsworth's famous image 'Type of the wise who soar' is to be found in a poem of Cowley's on 'The Shortness of Life and the uncertainty of Riches'.

James G. MacManaway in *The "Lost" Canto of 'Gondibert'* (*M.L.Q.*, March) reprints 'The Seventh and Last Canto of the Third Book of *Gondibert*' from the Folger Shakespeare Library copy which appears to be identical with the only other existing copy at Wellesley College, and attempts to establish the work as genuine. Alice E. Jones in *A Note on Charles Hopkins (c. 1671–1700)* (*M.L.N.*, March) adds to the scanty biographical details of this poetaster friend of Dryden and Congreve. Hugh MacDonald in *Some Poetical Miscellanies, 1672–1716* (*Essays and Studies*, xxvi.) traces the history of Hobart Kemp's 'Collection of Poems written upon several occasions by Several Persons'. This formed the basis of a number of anthologies which were re-modelled and kept up to date till 1716 and, from 1693 on, intended to compete with Tonson's 'Miscellanies'. The 1701 edition included *The Splendid Shilling.*

Harold F. Brooks in *T.L.S.* (July 6), writing of a *Gift to Samuel Butler*, records the payment of £20 from secret service funds on May 10, 1680. The Matchless Orinda appears in a note by

[5] *Musae Anglicanae: A history of Anglo-Latin poetry, 1500–1925.* New York: M.L.A.A. pp. xii + 383.

[6] *The Divine Science: The Aesthetic of some representative Seventeenth-century English Poets.* See above, pp. 8–9.

W. G. Hiscock on *Friendship: Francis Finch's Discourse* (*R.E.S.*, Oct. 1939). Hiscock considers that a copy in Christ Church Library of a pamphlet on friendship by Francis Finch is the origin of the two poems addressed to Finch by Katherine Philips.

Among the prose writers of the period Sir William Temple appears in a full-dress biography by Homer E. Woodbridge.[7] Woodbridge attempts successfully to clear his hero finally from the stain of Macaulay's perverse estimate, a pious work in which he has to some extent been anticipated by F. J. Fielden in the brief Introduction to his *Three Essays of Temple* (1939). Approaching his subject from the personal and literary sides, Woodbridge seeks to draw 'a truthful portrait and make a careful and thorough study of Temple's writings with reference not only to their reflection of his personality, but to form and style, and their content of knowledge and ideas'. Pursuing his course along these lines he is able to set Swift's relations with Temple in their right perspective, and by recourse to MS. political papers in the British Museum to set the seal of approval on Temple's part in the Nimeguen Treaty. By a judicious use of historical background he is able to emphasize those amiable qualities which won Temple his Dorothy, and to illustrate from his writings his 'adventurous and pioneering temper, and his prescient sense of the problems, methods and tastes of the future'. Particularly useful is the careful enumeration of the sources of Temple's material for his essays with its revelation of the remarkable extent and direction of his reading. The book suffers a little from its exuberance and the whole-heartedness and *naïveté* of its enthusiasm which occasionally overlaps into irrelevant footnotes, such as that on *Lorna Doone*. It is, however, an invigorating and comprehensive volume which performs in a fair measure what it sets out to do and it should receive the attention of all students of Temple.

Hobbes was the subject of the Annual Master-Mind Lecture of the British Academy. G. P. Gooch,[8] relentlessly exposing fallacies, gives a penetrating review of the theories of this most original of our thinkers, in whom he sees (though this is disputable) the father of modern totalitarianism.

[7] *Sir William Temple: the man and his work*, by Homer E. Woodbridge. New York: M.L.A.A. and O.U.P. pp. xii + 361. 25*s*.

[8] *Hobbes*, by G. P. Gooch. O.U.P. for the British Academy. 2*s*. 6*d*.

C. De W. Thorpe's *The Aesthetic Theory of Thomas Hobbes*[9] has been noticed above, but some points may be added. To quote the author's words: 'Hobbes is worthy of more attention. To understand his ideas and to perceive the nature and force and extent of their influence on succeeding literary theory is... to hold one of the most valuable clues to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century criticism.' Beginning with a discussion of Hobbes as a 'literary man, empiricist and psychological aesthetician' (horrible phrase!) the author points out Hobbes's service to thought in showing how the understanding may work in harmony with the emotions and the imagination. In a consideration of some of Hobbes's predecessors in psychological approach he emphasizes the weighty influence of Quintilian and the importance of Aquinas with his inquiries into the psychological problems relative to aesthetics, regarding the medieval theologian as a link between Aristotle and the English philosopher who explored the processes which Bacon, with his lofty conception of the imagination, had left unexplained. Hobbes, the convinced materialist, the master of fine phrases, developing by careful analysis and logical deduction a consistent theory of imaginative creation, has an important place in the history of aesthetics. His dicta on fancy and judgement reverberate impressively through the eighteenth century and wake insistent echoes in the nineteenth. Thorpe has excellent chapters on Hobbes's theory of the imagination and his doctrine of effects and follows them up with an examination of his critical essays, tracing in detail his influence on his contemporaries, Davenant, Charlton, Dryden, Cowley, and lesser lights like Flecknoe, Shadwell, Sprat, and Tate who absorbed his ideas.

Hugh MacDonald in a short article in *T.L.S.* (April 13) writes on *An Early Pamphlet by Halifax*. He has now published an edition of this anonymous pamphlet[10] which he ascribes on grounds of similarity of style, thought, and presentation of arguments to Halifax. It is a welcome and pleasant reprint fully equipped with Introduction and a valuable bibliography.

In an article on *The early programme of the Royal Society and*

[9] *The Aesthetic Theory of Thomas Hobbes, with special references to the psychological approach in English literary criticism.* See above, pp. 166–7.

[10] *Observations upon a late Libel, called 'A Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend, concerning the King's Declaration', &c.*, by Hugh Macdonald. C.U.P. pp. 51. 3*s.* 6*d.*

John Evelyn (*M.L.Q.*, Dec.) Margaret Denny traces in detail Evelyn's relations with the Royal Society, his membership of the mechanical, georgical, and trade committees, and considers the effect of his association with the Society on his literary output.

Sina Spiker's *Figures of Speech in the Sermons of Robert South* (*R.E.S.*, Oct.) provides a useful and well-illustrated analysis of certain features of South's style, especially of his 'variety and abundance of telling comparisons'.

A hitherto unpublished letter of Baxter's appears in the *John Rylands Library Bulletin* (April). It is dated May 2, 1676, and was addressed to the Chief Justice Sir Matthew Hale on the publication of the latter's *Contemplations, Moral and Divine* (1676).

Arthur M. Coon has written on Walton in *N. and Q.* He records a loan of £50 from Walton to Edmund Carew of the Inner Temple, July 12, 1646 (*N. and Q.*, April 27), attempts to solve the identity of Walton's 'Honest Nat. and R. Roe' (April 20, Sept. 28), and considers Walton's authorship of prefatory verses to N. Stringer's *Rich Redivivus* (Sept. 28).

Foremost among Pepys studies for the year is W. J. Carlton's *Bibliotheca Pepysiana Part IV. Shorthand Books*,[11] a scholarly book making a noteworthy contribution towards a reliable and comprehensive bibliography of English shorthand, the value of which is greatly enhanced by the fullness of the biographical notes with which each of the listed items is furnished. In the author's words: 'Despite attention drawn to it at different times, Pepys's small but important collection of stenographia, which includes some of the rarest books on the subject, had escaped the notice of shorthand bibliographers until recent years. The present volume represents an attempt to fill a gap in the catalogues of the special collections in which the Pepysian Library is so rich.' The aim so modestly stated is achieved with admirable efficiency and the hard path of the bibliographer lies through pleasant country. Here, then, is richness, not only for the specialist who cannot fail to be impressed by the accurate precision of workmanship in collation and identification, which, with the wealth of exact bibliographical detail makes this book an example of careful and painstaking research; but for the discerning student of literature

[11] *Bibliotheca Pepysiana. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys. Part IV. Shorthand Books, with Biographical and Bibliographical Notes*, by William J. Carlton. Sidgwick & Jackson. pp. xvii + 124. 18*s*.

who will find these learned pages enlivened by the Autolycan quality of Carlton's scholarship.

The exhaustive thoroughness of his methods is evident in his disentanglement of bibliographical intricacies in his check-list of the editions of Shelton's *Tachygraphy*, a work which Pepys studied. With the possible exception of Elisha Coles, author himself of a shorthand manual, Pepys, who made diligent inquiry for stenographia, was the first general collector of shorthand books of whom we have any record and his collection of these works ranges from Bright's *Characterie* (1588) to Abraham Nicholas's *Thoographia* (1692). As Carlton explores this wide field we are given bright glimpses of the world beyond. Thomas Bright, whose *Treatise of Melancholy* was acknowledged by Burton and possibly used by Shakespeare for *Hamlet*, whose shorthand may have been instrumental in producing the 'bad' quartos, has a special bond with the Restoration as the great-grandparent of Congreve. Peter Bales (*The Arte of Brachygraphie*) excelled in microscopic writing and in 1575 presented Elizabeth with a gold and crystal ring containing within a circle the size of a penny the Lord's prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, two Latin prayers, and other matter. Jeremiah Rich (*Semography*), man of action, writer, and poet, also produced a Lilliputian treasure. He wrote a sermon in a little book of six leaves of fine paper and had it bound in crimson sarcenet, with silver clasps and corners upon the cover 'all which book and cover was less than the nail of his little finger, which book he afterwards presented to the King'. One of the most curious of these generous details concerns Ridpath's 'polygraphy', a sort of duplicating machine which 'being moved by the foot while the hand guides the pens, it keeps the whole body in warmth and exercise which prevents many of the usual inconveniences of a sedentary life'. It is by such a vivid accumulation of human detail that the dry bones of scholarship are covered and galvanized to life, making it possible to consider the book not only as an outstanding contribution to an exact science, but as a work of much wider appeal.

Continuing his work on Pepys Donald Dale has contributed several short articles to *N. and Q.* including *Pepys & 'Will's'* (April 13) (from the papers of the late Edward Chappell), *Pepys's connexion with Islington and Somerset* (June 22), *The Savill Portrait*

(Sept. 7), '*Little Plates*' (Oct. 19), *The Tangier Papers* (Dec. 28), and *The Value of Money in Pepys's Time* (Mar. 30). The same writer has an article in the October *Quarterly Review* on *The Greatness of Samuel Pepys*, and a note in the *Mariner's Mirror* (Jan.) on *Pepys's House at Deptford*. A. L. Humphreys has an article relevant here, *Pepys and the Great North Road* (*N. and Q.*, Nov. 30 and Dec. 7). Pepys's relations with the Controller of the Navy receive attention in an article on *Sir John Mennes* by Sir G. Callender (*M.M.*, July), and R. C. Anderson attempts to explain in an article on *The Three John Hubbards* certain confusing entries in Pepys's List of Commission Officers 1660–88 (*M.M.*, Oct.). Hazelton Spencer in *Mr. Pepys is not amused* (*E.L.H.*, Sept.) reconsiders Pepys's aesthetic judgements and, crediting him with superior taste, finally sees him as 'a much better Shakespearean than he has been painted'.

Among the miscellaneous books which call for mention here are *The Russells in Bloomsbury, 1669–1771*[12] in which Gladys Scott Thomson makes a study of the life, mainly domestic, of three generations of the Russell family; and *Social Ideas of Religious Leaders, 1660–88*[13] in which R. B. Schlatter seeks to show how the social ideas of divines were integrally connected with social facts. Miscellaneous articles relevant to this period include Frederick Hard's *R. Haydocke and Alex. Browne: Two half-forgotten painters* (see above, p. 153); a note by K. A. Esdaile (*Burlington Mag.*, July) on *The Works of Mrs. Elizabeth Creed of Tichmarsh*, a dilettante cousin both of Pepys and of Dryden; and a short article (see p. 164) on *Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Satire against Grain Engrossers* (*P.M.L.A.*, Oct.) by Burton Milligan.

The present writer has not received in time to notice here Brice Harris's book on *Charles Sackville: Sixth Earl of Dorset*.[14]

[12] *The Russells in Bloomsbury, 1669–1771*. Cape. pp. 374. 15*s*.

[13] *Social ideas of religious leaders, 1660–88*. O.U.P. pp. vii + 248. 10*s*.

[14] *Charles Sackville: Sixth Earl of Dorset, patron and poet of the Restoration*. Univ. of Illinois Press. pp. 269.

XII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By Edith J. Morley

It is pleasant to have tangible proof that British culture is not being crushed by war conditions but that the publishing firms are able to continue their great enterprises 'according to plan' even in these difficult days. Thus a special welcome is due to the fresh instalments of the new editions of Swift and Pope (cf. *Y.W.* xx. 128–30).

The second and third volumes of *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*[1] edited by Herbert Davis comprise respectively the *Bickerstaff Papers and Pamphlets on the Church* and *The Examiner and other Pieces Written in 1710–11*, thus following the chronological sequence in which the works were written and avoiding the awkward divisions of earlier editions. Volume ii derives mainly from the period of Swift's visit to England from November 1707 to June 1709, the time when he was friendly with Addison and Steele. His return to Ireland marked the end of his hopes for help for the Irish Church and for his own advancement from the Whigs. Volume iii contains his writings on behalf of the new Tory ministry which came into power in August 1710. They were the first-fruits of his intimacy with Harley and St. John, and contained *inter alia* his own explanation of his attitude towards party politics. Davis emphasizes the fact that Swift genuinely despised political labels and that after the Revolution of 1688 party government was an innovation which had still to prove its expediency. 'Swift, like Harley, refused to believe that it was inevitable that the Government should be either Whig or Tory': they were still convinced of the possibility of useful co-operation between moderate men of different opinions provided they could rely 'on the favour of the Queen and the support of the nation'. These it was Swift's business to secure if he could by his writings, and it was to that purpose that he first devoted himself in the year in question. But his justification

[1] *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. by Herbert Davis. Vol. ii, pp. xl + 300. Vol. iii, pp. xxxvi + 292. Blackwell. 12*s*. a volume. £8. 8*s*. set of 14 volumes.

of the new ministry soon led to the exposure of corruptions in their predecessors, in the Army, and in the Church, and the *Examiner* speedily developed into a powerful means of attack and—in the case of Lord Wharton—of invective. Naturally enough the exposure of adversaries was balanced by the eulogy of friends, and especially of Harley, so that, in spite of its original character, the paper inevitably became as partisan as could be desired by the most confirmed of party politicians. The change is foreshadowed in the present volume which nevertheless justifies Swift's assumption of the role of *examiner*, i.e. judicial investigator and critic, not mere party hack. As late as June 1711, he was insisting that party divisions were meaningless, that the last ministry was changed not because it was Whig but because it was corrupt. It seems clear that he enjoyed the power he exercised by these political papers: certainly they show him at his zenith as a servant of the public in the most successful period of his life, 'as well received and known at Court, as perhaps any man ever was of my level', but independent, the tool neither of a party nor an individual, and seeking for himself neither reward nor preferment.

Davis is at pains to determine Swift's authorship of various papers in the *Tatler* and ends by excluding several which have hitherto been ascribed to him and printing others, for which the evidence of authorship is inconclusive, in his appendices. He discusses his reasons for his decisions in his Introduction to Volume ii which is of outstanding importance and interest from this point of view.

The *Bickerstaff Papers* are among the liveliest of Swift's writings: the *Examiner* shows him at his best as a political propagandist. The two volumes together are representative of Swift's highest achievement. They also give full scope to his editor's scholarly judgement and skill in the solution of the problems which arise in the fulfilment of his difficult task.

The appearance of another volume of *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*[2] has been delayed by the Fire of London, but there is nothing else to indicate that it has been a

[2] *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, in six volumes. General Editor, John Butt. Vol. ii, *The Rape of the Lock and Other Poems*, ed. by Geoffrey Tillotson. Methuen. pp. xx + 410. 16*s*. a volume.

victim of the war. Geoffrey Tillotson is responsible for this, the second volume of the set. It includes, besides *The Rape of the Lock*, the 'translations' from Chaucer, *The Temple of Fame*, *Eloisa to Abelard*, and the *Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady*, all of which are printed from the texts of the first editions, with such corrections as were later made by Pope himself. The critical apparatus includes all variants which are of interest. Instead of a general introduction, Tillotson provides separate introductions to each poem and in these he not only illustrates how 'Pope . . . deliberately set out to excel in each of the forms of poetry most esteemed in his day', but manages also to give the reader a clear conception of what was understood at that period by such critical terms as translation, imitation, mock-heroic, and the like, and what was their genesis and literary history. Thus he contributes not merely to the understanding of Pope's poetry but also to a fuller realization of those literary ideals of which it was the outcome. Tillotson emphasizes the necessity for historical knowledge if Pope is to be appreciated at his true worth. By his example and practice he shows what such study implies. It is not sufficient, though it is essential, to reconstruct the social and political background of the age: it is also necessary to understand Pope's allusions, to know to which of his predecessors he refers or what particular line or passage is paraphrased or echoed in his 'imitation'.

The student of this volume comes to realize in detail what Pope implied by 'What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd', and this at the same time that his attention is directed to the poet's creative power and originality. For example, Tillotson writes: 'Pope had been given his theme, complete with its setting. . . . It was not a difficult task to intensify the mock-heroic references in number, for the simple reason that Pope followed rather than led. . . . But the intensifying of the mock-heroic references in sharpness is the most brilliant and original thing about *The Rape of the Lock*.' Or there is his account of the conclusion of *The Temple of Fame* where 'Pope keeps his most resonant string for the end'. Or of *Eloisa to Abelard*: 'The originality which he does care for is that which recreates older things, raising to a new power the elements which had come to be associated with the kind of poem he is writing. He was original because he crowded into his poem the best of everything that had been already achieved and heightened it to a new best.'

In that last quotation Tillotson justifies, if justification be required, his own tireless search for what 'had been already achieved'. It is the answer to any critics who may question the need for such ruthless pursuit of parallels in earlier writings to the lines of Pope.

Nora Ratclif has compiled an abridged edition of Wesley's *Journal*[3] which ought to secure for it a much extended public. For, very sensibly, she makes her appeal to the general reader and approaches her task 'from the angle of the historian rather than from that of the theological partisan'. Consequently the passages selected deal mainly with the material conditions and social background of Wesley's day. She has attained her object and compressed the voluminous *Journal* into 'the compass of a few hours' easy reading': the result of her labours is, except for the absence of an index, entirely commendable and useful.

It is said to have been Admiral Boscawen who first dubbed the assemblies of Mrs. Montagu 'Blue-Stockings'. If so, it was assuredly with no hint of disparagement, for the relations between him and his wife, one of the original members of the circle, as revealed in her letters, appear to have been as nearly perfect as his long absences on active service permitted. Fanny was an adored and adoring wife and mother whose intelligence was devoted always to the welfare of the family which estimated it at its true value. C. Aspinall-Oglander deals only with her girlhood and the brief years as *Admiral's Wife*[4] in his *Life and Letters from 1717–1761*, but the volume contains ample evidence of the happy partnership between two kindred spirits. At the same time it casts most interesting sidelights on naval exploits during the Seven Years War as revealed by those in close touch with them. Admiral Boscawen was a hero in the eyes of the nation as well as in his wife's more biased view, and the modern reader is indebted to the editor for his successful attempt to resuscitate a past age and a delightful circle. Fanny Boscawen has waited long for an editor. Her letters place her along with Mrs. Delany as a mistress of the art of living.

[3] *The Journal of John Wesley*, abridged and ed. by Nora Ratclif. Nelson. pp. 464. 6*s*.

[4] *Admiral's Wife: being the Life and Letters of the Hon. Mrs. Edward Boscawen from 1719 to 1761*, ed. by Cecil Aspinall-Oglander. Longmans. pp. xviii + 298. 12*s*. 6*d*.

The third volume of *The Wynne Diaries*[5] (see *Y.W.* xvi. 291–2 and xviii. 212–13) covers the Napoleonic wars and the victories of Nelson in which Betsey's husband, Admiral Fremantle, played so distinguished a part. Consequently its interest is outstanding from the historical point of view. At the same time we are given the entrée into social life at home as well in naval circles as among the landed gentry and aristocracy in town and country. The volume ends with Fremantle's death at the end of 1819 and is the last of *The Wynne Diaries* according to the editor's present plans. Perhaps she labours, as must all her readers, under the sense of deprivation now that there will be no more letters or diaries of Fremantle upon which to draw. For his is the most attractive personality to whom we are introduced, and it is difficult to be reconciled to his loss. If there should be a subsequent instalment its worth would be enhanced by notes which explained all difficult allusions: in the present volume the annotations and the index are inadequate.

Mégroz's *Real Robinson Crusoe*[6] is a detailed account of the life and adventures of Alexander Selkirk, which are shown to have been far more various and surprising than those of Defoe's hero. Mégroz has for the first time fully examined Selkirk's whole history, and he is able to prove that the marooning on an island in the Pacific from 1704 to 1709 was only one among many exciting episodes in the life of the Scottish buccaneer who ultimately joined the Navy and went pirate-hunting. Moreover, his adventures on land were almost as manifold as his experiences at sea. Mégroz decides pretty convincingly that Defoe and Selkirk did not meet either at Bristol or elsewhere, while at the same time he shows that the tradition that *Robinson Crusoe* was founded on Selkirk's adventure is based upon fact.

The volume suffers from the want of an index and contains no reference anywhere to the date of its publication. It provides in all other respects most satisfactory reading.

In *John Gay's London* (*Y.W.* x. 314) W. H. Irving showed his

[5] *The Wynne Diaries*, ed. by Anne Fremantle. Vol. iii, 1798–1820. O.U.P. pp. xxviii + 428. 21*s*.

[6] *The Real Robinson Crusoe: being the life and strange surprising adventures of Alexander Selkirk of Largo, Fife, Mariner*, by R. L. Mégroz. Cresset Press. pp. 244. 12*s*. 6*d*.

interest in the background of Gay's life and his knowledge of the minor contemporary satirists who portrayed it. Now, twelve years later, in *John Gay: Favorite of the Wits*,[7] he gives us a full-dress biography of the poet as the outcome of his long and intimate study of his surroundings, life, and works. If he does not entirely convince us that Gay merits quite so much devotion or quite so lengthy a biography, that is not to deny that Irving has produced a readable, useful, and, in the main, a judicious and reliable book. No one is likely to quarrel with the final summing up in which he claims that Gay 'was a serious artist, though not a great one', that he was not ambitious, and that he was willing to accept life as he found it.

Apart from his admittedly minor contributions to literature, Gay's interest for the modern reader lies in his friendship with Swift and Pope, chief of the 'Wits' with whom he found favour. As secretary of the Scriblerus Club, Gay was necessarily intimate with the whole circle and took his share in the attacks on pretension and pedantry, his main contribution being the farce entitled *Three Hours after Marriage*. Irving's account of their intercourse is full and adequate, but he does not add much to what was already known about their collaboration in various publications. He does however succeed in establishing that Gay was more independent in his choice of subject for his original writings than has hitherto been allowed. (See, e.g., Irving's account of *The Shepherd's Week* and of the genesis of *The Beggar's Opera*.) Probably Gay stated the simple truth in his letter to Swift (July 18, 1731), when he wrote: 'I love to have my own scheme, and to treat it my own way.... I may make a bad choice; but I can always enter into a scheme of my own with more ease and pleasure, than into that of other bodies.' At any rate Irving's evidence goes a long way towards substantiating the claim.

We note that Irving includes *The Toilette* among Gay's poems without reference to Ault's discussion of the authorship in his *Prose Works of Alexander Pope*, Volume 1 (*Y.W.* xvii. 210ff.), which certainly should not be ignored. He also writes of Pope's *Epistle* to Martha Blount when the name of her sister Teresa should be substituted. But these are small errors in a volume which is distinguished by its accuracy and fullness of detail.

[7] *John Gay: Favorite of the Wits*, by William Henry Irving. Duke Univ. Press. pp. xii + 334. $3.50.

The Perilous Balance[8] which W. B. C. Watkins analyses in the tragic genius of Swift, Johnson, and Sterne, is the balance between reason and the melancholy engendered in each of them by disease. Johnson, like Swift, trembled always before the threat of dying at the top; Sterne 'was all his life a sick man': all three struggled to maintain a precarious balance in the face of ever-present disaster. It is in this attitude of self-defence that Watkins finds the key by which he endeavours to unlock the secrets of their personality and of their genius. At times his analogies are somewhat far-fetched, or at any rate make that impression on the present writer. For example, Sterne's 'superb mastery of the comedy of low life' as shown in Trim's 'extempore sermon on the death of Tristram's brother' gains nothing by the assertion that it is 'comparable to the great comedy of Falstaff, Mistress Quickly, and Doll Tearsheet when Falstaff is going to the wars', and similarly throughout the book, which, apart from this irritating trick, is distinguished by good sense and critical competence.

In *Johnson Without Boswell*[9] Hugh Kingsmill collects a number of excerpts from such contemporary writers as Hawkins, Mrs. Thrale, Anna Seward, Fanny Burney, Arthur Murphy, and Johnson himself. These are so arranged as to cover the life of the doctor, and they form a very readable biography. If there is very little that is unfamiliar to the student, there is nevertheless much that he will re-read with pleasure, and the compilation of the volume was worth while even if the editor has not achieved anything new or original in the task which he set himself.

The modest sub-title to *The Library of Edward Gibbon: A Catalogue of his Books*[10] must not mislead the unwary reader as to the importance of the volume edited by Geoffrey Keynes, which is a masterly piece of work, prefaced by a scholarly and delightful Introduction. The volume also contains eleven full-

[8] *Perilous Balance: The Tragic Genius of Swift, Johnson, and Sterne*, by W. B. C. Watkins. Princeton Univ. Press and O.U.P. 1939. pp. x + 172. 12*s*.

[9] *Johnson Without Boswell: A Contemporary Portrait of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Hugh Kingsmill. Methuen. pp. x + 294. 8*s*. 6*d*.

[10] *The Library of Edward Gibbon: A Catalogue of his Books*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes. Cape. pp. 288. 15*s*.

page illustrations and three reproductions of title-pages, all of which illuminate and add to the interest of the subject-matter. As the editor claims, the library collected by a man and his attitude towards his books reflect his mind and interests.

Thus, apart from the books required for research in connexion with his *magnum opus*, it is of real significance to discover Gibbon's literary tastes, and that he possessed, for example, editions of all the English poets from Chaucer (Urry's edition and also Tyrwhitt's) to Gray and Johnson, Ossian, and Percy's *Reliques*; that he read the English dramatists, great and small, and all the novelists of his own time, though *Pamela* does not appear among the works of Richardson. Gibbon's extensive library of pure literature represents only one of his manifold interests: science, agriculture, criticism, travels, architecture, philosophy, to name only some of these at random, are among the others which he is shown to have pursued, since 'every volume before it was deposited on the shelf, was either read or sufficiently examined'. It is clear that the catalogue of Gibbon's library reflects a mind 'of very unusual distinction', and that the editor's labour of compilation was very much worth while.

By the good luck which sometimes rewards industry and scholarship, Keynes has been able to compile a list of what he estimates as 'quite five-sixths' of the books in Gibbon's library, partly from the historian's card-catalogue (on the backs of playing-cards) of his Lausanne library, now in the British Museum, partly by the discovery of 'the owner of the catalogue of the books . . . at his London residence in Bentinck St.', all trace of which had been lost for over a century. Mr. Clements, the possessor, co-operated in every possible way with the plans of Keynes who pays tribute to his generous loan of the catalogue. Other sources of information were found in various sales catalogues and in Gibbon's autobiography and letters. Professional assistance was also forthcoming from Mr. R. A. Skelton of the British Museum. Nevertheless the main credit for the volume is due to the compiler, whose description of the history and growth of the library 'traced as far as possible in Gibbon's own words' shows clearly that it was 'the centre of his life'. Keynes also outlines the 'posthumous history of the library as far as it is known'. In the catalogue itself 'the state and provenance' of every volume are recorded, as far as these could be ascertained.

'By a curious irony of fate, it has happened more than once in the course of human history that men whose ideas and work were really based upon the same fundamental principles have regarded each other as bitter opponents.' In *Rousseau and Burke*,[11] Annie M. Osborn shows in detail that this was the case in regard to her two protagonists, who differed in their methods of presenting their ideas and in their mode of approach but were alike in their championship of a 'better society in which men would be free' and responsible citizens 'in a state dedicated to liberty'.

Notwithstanding this fundamental likeness, Miss Osborn shows the equally fundamental antithesis between the two men. Rousseau, beginning *de novo*, built up an imaginary constitution upon a theoretical and logical basis: Burke, starting from the existing British constitution, a natural growth, not the outcome of mere speculation but of slowly acquired experience of fact, opposed all violent change and yet sought always the welfare of the governed and the gradual strengthening and extension of liberty. The old constitution had to be adjusted to new conditions and to be left adaptable to further changes in the future. Burke fulminated against the notion of an ideal society and a *Contrat Social*: he was a man of affairs whereas Rousseau was a *philosophe*; a patient observer of fact whereas Rousseau was an 'intuitive thinker'.

Yet both men agreed in their main thesis that the State is created for the people, not the people for the State, and that there is no such thing as a State which is a mystical entity, an organism greater than the individuals who compose it and whom it exists to serve. It is here that Miss Osborn's book links up with present-day questions for, as she claims in her preface, 'the principles that Rousseau and Burke expounded are now of particular significance owing to the fact that they are the principles which are basic in the political structure of the great democracies of the world today and are being challenged by the totalitarian States.' The author has made out her case in her thought-provoking and interesting volume.

[11] *Rousseau and Burke: A Study of the Idea of Liberty in Eighteenth Century Political Thought*, by Annie Marion Osborn. O.U.P. pp. xii + 272. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Jonas Hanway[12] by John Hutchins is not, as the title might suggest, a biography of the man but an account of his philanthropic activities. There is, it is true, a sketch of his life in the first chapter, but this does not in fact do as much to re-create his unusual personality as the essay by Austin Dobson entitled *Hanway's Travels*. But a book must be judged by its achievement of the author's aims, and by this criterion *Jonas Hanway* is reasonably successful. We are given a full description of Hanway's work as a social reformer, together with an account of his voluminous writings on the subjects which interested him and inspired his activities. The social background is further illustrated by reproductions of some of Hogarth's pictures. There are a full bibliography of Hanway's publications and an Index of persons. Hutchins has substantiated his opinion that Hanway 'had done as much as anyone to arouse public interest in social welfare and to form the principles by which charity would be administered' in the years to come.

In *The Russells in Bloomsbury*,[13] briefly noticed above, p. 186, Gladys Scott Thomson continues the task she set herself in *Life in a Noble Household*, that of delineating, from her examination of the expenditure and business records of the Bedford family, a detailed and intimate picture of a whole period. Interwoven with the family history, itself a fascinating story, is the history of the growth of Bloomsbury and its development from open fields and orchards into an important residential and business quarter. The lives, characters, loves, and politics of generations of the Russells are unfolded to view and bound up with these are the figures of countless dependants, the work they did or left undone, the manner of men and women they were, and the society in which they played their part. Miss Thomson's book is a contribution of high importance and interest to social history, illuminating by countless side-lights the literature of the period with which it deals.

John Hampden's *Eighteenth Century Journal*[14] is fairly described

[12] *Jonas Hanway. 1712–1786*, by John H. Hutchins. S.P.C.K. pp. xxii + 198. 8*s*. 6*d*.

[13] *The Russells in Bloomsbury 1669–1771*, by Gladys Scott Thomson. Cape. pp. 384. 15*s*.

[14] *An Eighteenth Century Journal: being a Record of the Years 1774–1776*, by John Hampden. Macmillan. pp. xiv + 406. 16*s*.

on the blurb as 'one of the most entertaining diaries that have *never* been kept'. It consists of a day-by-day record of the years 1774–6 compiled from material drawn entirely from contemporary sources, letters, newspapers, journals, books, and anecdotes, many of them not easily accessible or little known. These are presented in diary form by a writer imagined to be 'a man of means, of good standing and wide sympathies', interested in politics, literature, and the arts, a lover of London and every phase of its life and social conditions. 'His record gives us a fresh glimpse of history which for us is made but for him was in the making.' In it we may read with absorbing interest of the American conflict which was to result in the United States, or of the Court at St. James's for Her Majesty's birthday, or of Sir Joshua Reynolds's re-election as president of the Royal Academy, or of Dr. Hunter's lectures on the Principles and Practice of Surgery, or of the votaries of Venus in Covent Garden, or of executions at Tyburn, or of the hundred and one events, trivial and important, which made up the life of the town. The impression produced is that of a lively spectator who writes down what he has seen or heard with the gusto of an eyewitness. Hampden carries out an unusual scheme successfully.

In *The Eighteenth Century Background* [15] Basil Willey continues the task he set himself in its predecessor, *The Seventeenth Century Background* (*Y.W.* xv. 247–8), but 'whereas for the seventeenth century "Truth" seemed to be the keyword, this time it is "Nature"'. Accordingly, using the same method as in the earlier volume, he illustrates the importance during his period 'of the idea of "Nature" in religion, ethics, philosophy and politics', indicating in particular 'some stages in that divinization of "Nature" which culminates in Wordsworth'. In the first chapter, reprinted from *Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson* (*Y.W.* xix. 189) Willey examines in detail some of the meanings of the term 'Nature' as used at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, considering his subject under the three sub-headings of 'Natural Science and Natural Religion', 'Natural Law', and 'Nature in Literary Theory'. He then proceeds to show how, at the beginning of the

[15] *The Eighteenth Century Background: Studies on the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period*, by Basil Willey. Chatto & Windus. pp. viii + 302. 15*s*.

century Locke's statement that 'the works of Nature everywhere sufficiently evidence a Deity' gradually came to find almost universal acceptance. This belief resulted in the corollary that 'the mighty maze of things cannot lack a plan—indeed, it must have the best of all possible plans', and so we arrive at the position that, in spite of the existence of apparent evils, 'whatever is, is right'.

From this it is not a far cry to Shaftesbury's thesis that there exists in man the impulse to reproduce 'within the individual microcosm ... the harmony and proportion so manifest in the greater world'; this it is 'to follow Nature' and herein consists human virtue. Since too there is 'a "natural" identity of interest between the individual and society (self-love and social are the same)' the impulse to benevolence is but another manifestation of universal law.

Willey shows how in this country philosophy for the most part looked from Nature up to Nature's God, even Hume, the outstanding sceptic of the age, longing for a new and credible revelation which would justify the philosophic theism which 'has no sure foundation in reason'.

In David Hartley, on the other hand, 'the holy alliance between science and religion, persisted. . . . Hartley was both necessitarian and Christian, materialist and religious, . . . he showed how Nature builds up for us "the being that we are" from sensation, through imagination to reflexion and . . . is therefore a spiritual forerunner of Wordsworth'.

Joseph Priestley, the follower of Hartley, was, according to Willey, 'typically English' in similarly uniting the scientific with the religious outlook, in contradistinction to the sceptical attitude of Hume and the frankly anti-Christian position of continental exponents of the enlightenment. Priestley, while he opposed the falsehood of 'what has so long passed for Christianity', i.e. the so-called 'corruptions', which are by many considered its fundamental doctrines, yet upheld the 'genuine' Christianity which is 'original' and 'is less to be considered as a system of opinions, than a rule of life'.

Next, in an illuminating chapter Willey deals with 'some of the manifestations of the Idea of Nature in the complicated period of Revolution and Reaction' showing how 'in the most general terms' the history of the idea of 'Nature' may be de-

scribed 'as its development from a rational into an emotional principle. Nature and Reason are normally associated in the earlier part of the century, Nature and Feeling in the later.'

The final chapter of the book deals with 'Nature' in Wordsworth which is considered in its relation to the background previously described and also to the political thought of the age. Willey protests that he can have little to add to what previous critics have written on the subject, but in fact his answer to his own inquiry, why the divinization of Nature should have culminated in Wordsworth's passion for 'mute, insensate things' does much more than 'round off' the author's study. It is a real contribution to the understanding of the change in the poet's scale of values which led, in Willey's concluding words, to 'a steady retreat towards the religious sources of his mysticism [as] grace supplants the visionary gleam'. In this process the *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality* marks a crucial stage, giving as it does 'final and definitive expression to the most poignant experience of his poetic life. He is not trying ... to convey the ineffable; he is lamenting his inability to experience it any more.'

T. B. Shepherd's *Methodism and the Literature of the Eighteenth Century*[16] breaks new ground as a study of the literary importance of Methodism. The book falls into three sections, the first of which 'deals with the literary work of the Wesleys themselves', the second 'with the works of other Methodist writers, and the third with the attitude of the literary men of the time towards the new movement'. A bare statement of the subject-matter dealt with in the volume is an inadequate indication of its interest and its worth. The literary work of the Wesleys has been appreciated by earlier critics, but Shepherd is the first to deal with it in detail or to indicate the extent and value of John Wesley's writings apart from the *Journal* which is generally acknowledged to be a masterpiece in its own kind and a model of prose style. The description here given of the *Letters*, *Sermons*, political and controversial works proves that it is but the *chef-d'œuvre* among the writings of one who might, had he so desired, have earned his immortality solely as a man of letters. Shepherd also proves his point that Charles Wesley's place among English poets is secure, and lays

[16] *Methodism and the Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, by T. B. Shepherd. Epworth Press. pp. 286. 10*s*. 6*d*.

special stress on the note of 'rapture' that 'cuts [him] off from the poets of his day and joins him rather to the later Romantics'.

The examples quoted from Wesley's followers show that many of them, no doubt influenced by the precepts and practice of their master, wrote in an effective, plain style 'without any flourishes and affectation'. Wesley invited his preachers to send him accounts of their lives for his *Arminian Magazine* in 1778. As a result, some forty of these autobiographies were collected (they were republished in 1837) and, judged by the extracts given by Shepherd, these ought to be far more widely known and appreciated than they are by students of literature. His comparison with the style and matter of Bunyan and the eighteenth-century novelists appears to be justified. Certainly the writers were not uneducated men whatever the audience to which they wished primarily to appeal.

In the final section, Shepherd has not much difficulty in showing that Methodism had its effect on most contemporary writers. Generally speaking it is true to say that 'whether they liked or disliked it most of the great writers of the time were forced to consider the movement'. More important, in the long run also from the literary standpoint, than its influence on individual authors, was the effect of Methodism on the lives and ideas of the reading public. Shepherd's suggestion that Wordsworth and his contemporaries turned to 'men of lowly life' for their subject-matter, partly as a result of the direction taken by Methodist influence, is probably justified. Certainly it is true that 'Methodism gave increased impetus to the expression of emotion', and 'lyrical poetry has its roots in emotion'. But above all, as Shepherd points out in his concluding paragraphs, the new religious movement produced a new reading public in the lower middle class, whose interests were different from those of 'the typical reader of the early part of the century'.

Eighteenth Century Poetic Diction by Geoffrey Tillotson[17] is a lively attempt to analyse the true meaning of the phrase 'poetic diction' which has been staled by the contemptuous use of the nineteenth century. The writer begins by pointing out that Pope himself apparently invented the term to mark the difference between poetry and prose, and that, in Wordsworth's sense, it

[17] In *Essays and Studies*, xxv. See above, p. 14.

applies only to the poetry of external nature in the eighteenth century, i.e. to the 'less than best' as compared with the 'best poetry' of the succeeding age. Tillotson shows that the differing *kinds* of poetry 'entailed the use of different kinds of vocabulary' and that the influence of Virgil and pre-eminently of the *Georgics* dominated the diction of eighteenth-century pastoral verse, which is 'coloured with Virgilian connotation'. Moreover in 'good poets', e.g. Thomson, 'the diction is parcel of the meaning'. There was another reason for the periphrasis which avoided simple English words, in that these had been 'rotted by gross ridicule' by their use in parody and burlesque. Finally, 'The reasons why eighteenth-century poets use the diction share in the central reasons why they write poetry at all'.

The Epistolary Novel in the Late Eighteenth Century[18] by F. G. Black appears to be an exhaustive account of every book of the kind published between 1781 and 1800. The writer divides his examples into such groups as The Sentimental School, Fiction as Propaganda, and Historical and Gothic Romance: he examines in detail a great many individual examples of the kinds, and he includes an Alphabetical and a Chronological List of Epistolary Fiction from 1740 to 1840, as well as Lists of Epistolary Fiction in Verse, 1766–1835, and Epistolary Fiction in Periodicals. There are also two charts illustrating the production of such fiction and its kinds.

However prejudiced one may be against *Introductions to Literature*[19] which undertake to 'develop the literary taste' and train the 'critical judgment' of 'the mass of readers' by talking about but not introducing them to literature, even by quotation, one is bound to concede that this series is well planned and well carried out. The present volume is, notwithstanding, better suited to readers who are already acquainted with the books and authors that are discussed than to the uninitiated who may be led to accept as impeccable, opinions which they are incapable of

[18] *The Epistolary Novel in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Descriptive and Bibliographical Study*, by Frank Gees Black. Univ. of Oregon. pp. vi + 184. $1.95.

[19] *Introductions to English Literature*, ed. by Bonamy Dobree. Vol. iii. *Augustans and Romantics, 1689–1830*, by H. V. D. Dyson and John Butt, *with Chapters on Art, Economics and Philosophy*, by Geoffrey Webb, F. J. Fisher, and H. A. Hodges. Cresset Press. pp. 318. 7*s*. 6*d*.

challenging, and which are so persuasively advanced as to carry conviction to those who have no knowledge of other points of view.

Thus the lively style and refreshingly independent approach of H. V. D. Dyson may be a positive danger to the young student or the general reader. He is so quotable and so convincing that it requires some courage to differ from his conclusions which are by no means always those of others whose judgement also merits consideration. This is not to suggest that it has not been considered and, where he differs, found wanting by him, nor is it to complain that he has formed his own opinions. Just the contrary. But the danger of this type of book, condensed as it must necessarily be, is intensified when the writer possesses the merits which make Dyson's chapters so readable. If he knew how to be colourless and commonplace, there would be less chance that those who came to him for guidance would be unduly biased by his epigrams.

One virtue of his chapters is the admirable sense of proportion, which enables him to subordinate minor writers who might so easily in a book of this size occupy too much space if treated at all fully. He knows by allusion or merely by naming them in their context, how to fit them into his picture, just as he knows how to sum up in a paragraph or even in a memorable phrase or two the achievement of their betters. Thus: 'Scott writes of wonders but feels none; Jane Austen sheds a silvery satiric light on an everyday world, the everyday nature of which it is her first interest to maintain.' Or of Prior: 'One of the most courtly and witty of writers, he has at times a fine and graceful commonness which characterises those of his poems which are chiefly read today.'

The *Introduction* is completed by chapters on *British Philosophy* by Herbert Hodges, on *Eighteenth Century Art* by Geoffrey Webb, and on *The Economic Background of Eighteenth Century Literature* by F. J. Fisher, all of which are excellent, each in its own way. Nor can it have been easy to summarize such subjects in from ten to sixteen pages while retaining liveliness and interest.

John Butt's annotated and descriptive *Bibliography* completes the volume of which it constitutes roughly half. It is divided under sixteen such headings as Poetry, Imitation and Parody, Criticism, to name only the first three, with a couple of prefatory pages on General Reading. A bibliography of this kind is in some

respects the most difficult part of a text-book which is meant to be of enduring value, as it is apt to get out of date even while in process of compilation. Again, in such a book as this, it is bound to be selective, and every scholar will find both inclusions and exclusions which he is inclined to query. Moreover when, as in this case, the text is written by one man, and the bibliography compiled by another, discrepancies tend to appear between the two which reflect natural divergence of opinion. These difficulties are not altogether overcome and to the present writer the Bibliography appears to be the least successful part of the undertaking.

In the current volume of the *Burns Chronicle*[20] C. Angus publishes some marginalia written by the poet in Syme's copy of *The British Album* containing the poems of the Della Cruscans. There are also among other contributions a further instalment of the Syme-Cunningham Correspondence; articles on the *Alleged Commonplace Books of Burns*; by Elizabeth Ewing, on Jessy Lewars; by the editor on *The Glenriddell Burns Manuscripts*; and by W. D. Fisher on *Burns and the Other Poets* illustrated by a 'chart designed to show Burns's acquaintance with British poetry during the period 1550 to 1800'.

In her critical study of William Blake's *Poetical Sketches*,[21] Margaret Lowery has been able to prove the inaccuracy of the often-repeated assertion that Blake owed little to his predecessors and practically nothing to eighteenth-century poets. She shows, on the contrary, that Blake's early work was influenced by the Bible, by Spenser, and by Milton as well as by Shakespeare, and also demonstrates in detail that, as T. S. Eliot was almost alone in emphasizing, he had 'affinity with the very best work of his own century'. Miss Lowery illustrates Blake's indebtedness to Thomson, by many examples, also pointing out what at first seems curious, 'that there is no indication whatever that he knew *The Castle of Indolence* (any more than that he was attracted by the allegory of Spenser). Of Collins and Gray and Akenside there are also reminiscences in Blake's *Poetical Sketches*; with Chatterton he had much more in common than with Macpherson and his influence

[20] *Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*. Second Series: vol. xx. The Burns Federation, Kilmarnock. pp. viii + 146. 3*s*.

[21] *Windows of the Morning: A Critical Study of William Blake's 'Poetical Sketches, 1783'*, by Margaret R. Lowery. Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xii + 246. 18*s*. 6*d*. net.

was accordingly greater, and, finally Percy's *Reliques* contributed much to his imaginative development. Miss Lowery concludes her chapter on Contemporary Influences in Eliot's words: 'He was very eighteenth century'. But her study justifies the estimate by an exhaustive examination of Blake's poetry from this hitherto neglected point of view.

Dr. George Cheyne was a distinguished physician in his day, and was also the friend of Richardson and 'possessed a high reputation among the wits' being mentioned in Gay's verses on *Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece*, Young's *Epistle on Pope*, and quoted by Johnson in the *Dictionary*. Charles F. Mullett prints in his little volume Cheyne's *Letters to the Countess of Huntingdon*,[22] all but one of them from the Hastings MSS. in the Huntington Library. Only five have appeared before and it may be said at once that all merit the careful editing they have now received. They provide information about contemporary medical ideas and treatment while at the same time they tell us a good deal about both the writer and the recipient. Students of the eighteenth century will read them with interest and profit.

Durham Univ. Journal (June) contains *Letters from Humfrey Wanley to Eric Benzelius and Peter the Great's Librarian*, by Ruth C. Wright.

In *E.L.H.* (June), R. C. Boys writes on *A Finding-list of English Poetical Miscellanies 1700–48 in Selected American Libraries*, and (Dec.) R. K. Root on *Pope's Contributions to the Lintot Miscellanies of 1712 and 1714.*

M.L.N. has the following articles: (Jan.) *Burke's Error regarding Sugar-Crystals* by Dixon Wecter and *Recent Works on Prose Fiction before 1800* by Ernest Bernbaum; (March) *Some Notes on Eighteenth-century Essex Plays* by Dougald MacMillan and *The Dating of Young's 'Night Thoughts'* by Henry Pettit; (April) *A Parasitical Form of Biography* by Donald Stauffer, *Contemporary Allusions in 'The Tatler'* by Robt. J. Allen, and *Goldsmith and Steele's 'Englishman'* by Arthur Friedmann; (June) *Evidence for Defoe's authorship of 'The Memoirs of Captain Carleton'* by John R. Moore.

[22] *The Letters of Dr. George Cheyne to the Countess of Huntingdon*, ed. Charles F. Mullett. California: Huntington Library. pp. xxiv + 64. $1.75.

N. and Q. contains the following on the dates specified: Feb. 3, *A Defoe Allusion in Gulliver's Travels*, by J. R. Moore; Mar. 9, *Ursula Fielding and 'Tom Jones'*, by J. P. de Castro; Mar. 16, *Boswell and the 'Caledonian Mystery'*, by J. Murray; Mar. 16, *Collins's 'Young Damon of the vale is dead'*, by E. R. Wasserman; April 20, *Notes on David Mallet*, by H. W. Starr and *Chatterton's Letter from Isaac Fell*, by E. H. W. Meyerstein; April 27, *A Presentation Inscription by Fielding*, by 'Olybrius' (see also May 11, by J. P. de Castro); July 6, *Defoe's History of the Pirates: its date*, and Dec. 21, *Defoe, Selkirk and John Atkins*, by J. R. Moore.

In *P.M.L.A.* (Mar.) D. Wecter discusses *Burke's Theory concerning Words, Images and Emotion.*

P.Q. (April) includes *The Dating of Lady Luxborough's Letters to William Shenstone* by D. Mallam, and *English Literature 1660–1800: a Current Bibliography* by P. Bond and A. T. Hazen.

In *R.E.S.* (Jan.) H. G. Wright has an article on *Defoe's Writings on Sweden*, and R. W. Chapman a supplement to his list of *Johnson's Letters*; in April E. L. McAdam, Jr., continues his account of *Dr. Johnson's Law Lectures for Chambers* (see *Y.W.* xx. 151); Ellen D. Legburn writes on *The Translations of the Mottoes and Quotations in 'The Rambler'*, and G. Tillotson has a note on *Tobias Smollett's Assault on Gordan and Groom*; in July there are notes by C. E. Burch on *Defoe and the Edinburgh Society for the Reformation of Manners*, by F. W. Bateson on *The Text of Two Sheridan Plays*, and by R. W. Chapman on *Johnson's Letter to Taylor*; in Oct. there are notes by H. P. Vincent on *The Childhood of Henry Fielding*, and by P. B. Grove on *Dr. Johnson and the Works of the Bishop of Sodor and Man.*

To *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) D. E. Baughan contributes a paper on *Swift and Gentillet*, and (Oct.) R. T. Fitzhugh on *Burns's Later Years: Some Candid Notes by his Friend John Syme.*

The following have appeared in *T.L.S.*: Feb. 10, *A Translation of Stury's account of his Meeting with Johnson* by H. L. Levy; May 18, *Fielding Manuscripts* by R. M. Wallace and *A Boswell Reference* by C. H. Bennett; June 1, *Fielding Manuscripts* by J. P. de Castro; June 8, *Swift and Machiavelli* by Grattan Freyer; July 6, *Richard Savage* by C. R. Tracy; July 13, *H. P. Stury and Dr. Johnson* by H. L. Levy; Aug. 3, *An Essay by Burke* by G. M. Young (see also Aug. 10, by Sir P. Magnus).

XIII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

I

By Dorothy Margaret Stuart

The year 1938 was Coleridge's year; 1939 was fairly evenly divided between Wordsworth and Keats; but 1940 was everybody's—which means nobody's—year. It brought forth no major work dealing with any writer of the period here under survey, and several of its best books were new editions of English classics and augmented reprints. On the other hand it was far from infertile in the field of essays, notes, and commentaries.

Wordsworth, Arnold, Swinburne, and Browning shared between them the honours of new editions. In addition to *The Poetical Works of Robert Browning, complete from 1833 to 1868*[1] the O.U.P. brought out *The Ring and the Book* in their Standard Authors series, with a reproduction of Talfourd's drawing of Browning and four facsimiles from the 'old yellow book'. Swinburne[2] takes his place in Everyman's Library under the aegis of Richard Church, who has made a judicious selection of his poetry and prose.

The following reprints should be noted. K. A. R. Sugden's *Short History of the Brontë Family* has been added to the Oxford Bookshelf Series. Harold Nicolson's haunting monograph, *Byron: the Last Journey*,[3] came out with a supplementary chapter on notes written by John Cam Hobhouse on the margin of a copy of Moore's *Life of Byron* in the author's possession. By the accession of Rossetti and Coventry Patmore F. L. Lucas's team in *The Victorian Poets* became *Ten Victorian Poets*[4] and made a welcome reappearance.

Few biographies call for mention. Dame Una Pope-Hennessy's *Agnes Strickland*[5] is a delightful book. Besides floodlighting the

[1] *The Poetical Works of Robert Browning, complete from 1833 to 1868 and the Shorter Poems thereafter.* O.U.P. pp. xiv + 698. 5*s.*

[2] *Swinburne: Poems and Prose.* Dent. pp. xx + 377. 2*s.* 6*d.*

[3] *Byron: the Last Journey,* by Harold Nicolson. Constable. pp. 303. 6*s.*

[4] *Ten Victorian Poets,* by F. L. Lucas. C.U.P. pp. 199. 7*s.* 6*d.*

[5] *Agnes Strickland: Biographer of the Queens of England,* by Dame Una Pope-Hennessy. Chatto & Windus. pp. vii + 328. 16*s.*

figure of 'Clio in a Crinoline' it throws revealing beams upon many matters of interest, the relations of author and publisher in Victorian times, the temper and method of literary criticism, the intractability of Macaulay as a dinner-table companion, the Scott centenary celebrations held a week too soon 'in order not to interfere with the grouse-shooting', and the possible genesis of the *Blackwood* article 'guying' Agnes, 'the literary woman of business . . . who introduces familiarly to our households in these days the reduced pretensions of the historic muse'.

A contrast alike in theme and in treatment is provided by E. L. Griggs's slightly sentimentalized aquarelle portrait of Sara Coleridge,[6] to whose mild Muse perhaps excessive attention is devoted. Two works of that sometimes irritating class now known as 'fictional biography' must be mentioned in passing: *These were the Brontës* by Dorothy Helen Cornish, and *As a Flame Springs: The Romance of Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, by James P. McCormick.

Against these pseudo-literary excursions may be set two books which without touching directly upon things bookish are of the greatest possible interest to students of that world in which moved Sir Philip Francis, Sheridan, Byron, and all the lions of the Regency period. These are *Lady Bessborough and her Family Circle*,[7] ably edited by the present Lord Bessborough and A. Aspinall; and *Hary-O: Letters of Lady Harriet Cavendish*,[8] edited by Sir Leveson Gower and Iris Palmer. To the same period belongs the major portion of another interesting book, *The Locks of Norbury*,[9] and there we meet both Madame d'Arblay and that ever-intriguing diarist, Elizabeth Vassall, Lady Holland.

Negative Capability: the Intuitive Approach to Keats, by W. Jackson Bate,[10] sets out to demonstrate that truth, especially

[6] *Coleridge Fille: a Biography of Sara Coleridge*, by Earl Leslie Griggs. O.U.P. pp. xiii + 259. 12*s*. 6*d*.

[7] *Lady Bessborough and her Family Circle*, ed. by the Earl of Bessborough and A. Aspinall. Murray. pp. xii + 307. 15*s*.

[8] *Hary-O: The Letters of Lady Harriet Cavendish*, ed. by Sir George Leveson-Gower and Iris Palmer. Murray. pp. xiv + 335. 18*s*.

[9] *The Locks of Norbury*, by the Duchess of Sermoneta. Murray. pp. xii + 390. 18*s*.

[10] *Negative Capability: the Intuitive Approach to Keats*, by W. Jackson Bate. Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. 96. 5*s*. 6*d*.

poetic truth, is to be apprehended intuitively and 'not by ratiocination', a convenient doctrine for those whose ratiocinative processes are difficult and slow. There are few writers to whom the intuitive method can be more happily applied than to De Quincey, whose vagueness makes severe demands on his devotees. The English Opium Eater continues to attract interest both as a man and as a man of letters. *N. and Q.* contained notes on the De Quincey family from J. S. Anderson (Mar. 23 and July 6) and W. Harcourt-Bath (June 15); and V. R. completed (Sept. 21, Dec. 14, Dec. 21) his devastating survey begun in the previous year and entitled *De Quincey: some Objections and Corrections*. 'Hibernicus' followed on (Dec. 28) with a note that Chesterfield misquoted Lucan in exactly the same manner as De Quincey, and suggested that the later misquotation may have been a subconscious echo of the earlier. J. P. de Castro had a note (Aug. 24) on De Quincey's review of Miss Letitia Hawkins's *Anecdotes, Biographical Sketches and Memoirs.*

Jane Austen maintains her place steadily as a source of discussion and a focus for enthusiasm. In the January *R.E.S.* J. M. S. Tompkins had an article, *Elinor and Marianne: a Note on Jane Austen*, further elaborating the theory first propounded by herself in *The Popular Novel in England, 1770–1880*, to the effect that in Mrs. Jane West's novel, *A Gossip's Story*, we have not exactly the source, but the starting-point of *Sense and Sensibility*. That industrious commentator, M. H. Dodds, adverted to this idea (*N. and Q.*, June 8) and cited one or two minor points in support of it. Earlier (*N. and Q.*, May 11) she had developed the hardly less intriguing theory that in *Sanditon*, Jane Austen's unfinished novel, the hypochondriacal Diana Parker so strikingly resembles Miss Iremonger (the *malade imaginaire* who looms large in the exactly contemporary correspondence of 'Dear Miss Heber') that it is at least possible that it was a sketch from life. In spite of her many clerical connexions, and of the correct and devout tone of her private correspondence, one does not think of Miss Austen as being a religious woman in the sense that Christina Rossetti was—the sort of woman whose emotions would find expression in written prayers. All the more interesting to her admirers are her three evening prayers printed, from copies in the handwriting of her

sister Cassandra, by the Colt Press of San Francisco, the owners of the manuscript.

The allusions in *Sense and Sensibility* to the restorative effects of lavender water on agitated ladies prompted an inquiry (*N. and Q.*, July 13) whether it was usual at that time for supplies of it to be carried to parties. This drew a reply from M. H. Dodds, citing Henry Tilney's remarks to Catherine Morland in *Northanger Abbey* as evidence that it *was*.

Sir Walter Scott kept pace with Miss Austen. In *T.L.S.* (Sept. 21, Sept. 28, and Oct. 5) W. M. Parker had three articles on *Scott's Book Marginalia* with copious extracts from the folio transcriptions in the National Library of Scotland. The unwearying industry of Laurence Phillips contributed much to the elucidation of many (though not all) of the points he raised. *The Pirate* was his quarry in *N. and Q.* on Feb. 10, and answers were forthcoming on Feb. 24, March 2, March 9, March 30, and April 20. On July 20 he was out after *The Fortunes of Nigel*, with results on Aug. 3. May one hope that after the war the fruits of all this investigation may be garnered in an annotated edition of the Waverley Novels? A list of songs by Scott which have been set to music was provided by H. G. L. K. (*N. and Q.*, Mar. 25), and on June 8 'Philoscotus' had a note on a possible plagiarism from Jane Porter's *Scottish Chiefs* in *Rokeby*, Canto V, ll. 34–6. On July 6 another analogy was noted, by W. H. J., who demonstrated certain resemblances between the thirty-third chapter of *Rob Roy* and the twenty-second chapter of *Les Louves de Machecoul* by Dumas. On August 10 'Philoscotus' sought information about Waverley Abbey and its connexion with the first of the Waverley novels. He had been not unnaturally puzzled by an article in the *Daily Telegraph* of Nov. 2, 1894, describing Waverley as 'a straggling locality portions of which were nothing more nor less than suburbs of Aldershot'. He was set right by Joseph E. Morris (*N. and Q.*, Sept. 21) in a very full and clear reply, supplemented (Oct. 12) by J. F. M. with a relevant extract from Carlisle's *Topographical Dictionary*, 1808. 'Rhedecynian' cited (*N. and Q.*, Sept. 28) Scott's remark that 'upon the point of Latinity the approbation of a Scotsman is not worth having' and J. S. Anderson denied hotly, with examples in support of the denial, that 'there was ever a general opinion that a Scots-

man's Latin was poor' (*N. and Q.*, Oct. 26). In *Suggestions for Scott's Muse* (*T.L.S.*, Mar. 23) W. M. Parker cited contemporary comment upon Sir Walter's subject-matter.

Few poets have been more fortunate in their editors than Wordsworth—and few have given them more to work upon. His 'meticulous and prolonged attention to his text' and his innumerable afterthoughts not only, as de Selincourt claims, illuminate his meaning but afford 'a valuable lesson in the art of just poetic expression'. Though the *Poems written in Youth* and *Poems referring to the Period of Childhood*[11] do not offer as rich and wide a field as the *Prelude*, the notes and comments are as learned, as penetrating, and as far-stretching as one would expect them to be; and what can one say more? The *Juvenilia* either never reprinted by Wordsworth or hitherto unpublished', make a welcome addition to the known corpus of his work. Many of these imitations and translations from the classics of the antique world form in themselves a rejoinder to the reiterated charge that the poet was 'meagrely equipped with book-learning'; and the *Imitation of Juvenal, Satire VIII* will be of particular interest to historians and students of social and political history.

In *E.L.H.* (Dec.) Ernest Bernbaum answered the question, *Is Wordsworth's Nature Poetry antiquated?* His starting-point is the paper on *Reason and Nature in Wordsworth* contributed by J. W. Beach to the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, i, 1940, coupled with the views set forth by Basil Willey in his *Eighteenth Century Background*, and he rebuts with vigour the conclusion of each writer that Wordsworth as a philosophical poet is out of date. In support of the view that Wordsworth's optimism cannot be dismissed as antiquated Bernbaum quotes W. Macneile Dixon's 1937 Gifford Lectures and the 'melioristic' theory advanced by Julian Huxley in *I Believe*.

In *Comment and Criticism* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) E. Wayne Marjarum wrote of *Wordsworth's View of the State of Ireland*, showing the poet's indebtedness to Spenser and Campion when formulating his views on Catholic Emancipation in 1829, in which year he addressed to Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, a letter opposing the

[11] *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth. Poems Written in Youth. Poems referring to the Period of Childhood.* Ed. by E. de Selincourt. O.U.P pp. xv + 379. £1. 1*s*.

measure. Poets are seldom less poetical than when they descend to the dusty arena of party politics, and that Wordsworth was no exception is demonstrated by John Edwin Wells in his article, *Wordsworth and De Quincey in Westmorland Politics, 1818* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.). This is the fullest account yet given of the participation of these two writers in the heated election controversies of 1818, when Brougham challenged the Lowthers on their own ground and Wordsworth contributed anti-Brougham propaganda to the *Westmorland Gazette* then under the editorship of De Quincey. Two letters from the poet to the *Westmorland Chronicle and Kendal Advertiser* are here reprinted for the first time. 'These patronizing, monitory letters', says Wells, 'were not likely to promote good feeling'; and the *Chronicle* in its next issue changed sides and went over to Brougham. It was at this juncture that the Lowthers hastened to establish the rival *Gazette*. Eight letters from De Quincey show rather pathetically his efforts to reinstate himself in Wordsworth's good graces after his marriage had practically severed relations between Dove Cottage and Rydal Mount.

J. V. Logan in *Wordsworth and the Pathetic Fallacy* (*M.L.N.*, Mar.) suggested that the best things in Ruskin's essay had already been enunciated by Wordsworth, though he did not actually formulate the Pathetic Fallacy theory and was less rigid than Ruskin in condemning its use. The purpose of A. L. S. Strout's article, *Wordsworth's Dessication* (*M.L.R.*, Apr.) is 'to review Wordsworth's financial difficulties and consequent domestic passivity; to consider the old story of growing self-absorption in later life; to discuss the reasons for his withering as a poet'. It is an interesting paper, fully documented, leading to the conclusion that the best explanation of this withering seems to lie firstly in this domestic passivity and isolation, and secondly in female adulation reinforced by the influence of Sir George Beaumont and 'other respectables'.

Also in *M.L.R.* for April was a note by P. K. Das, *Cowley and Wordsworth's 'Skylark'* (*'Ethereal Minstrel'*), suggesting an analogy between the final couplet of Wordsworth's poem and the concluding stanza of Abraham Cowley's *Shortness of Life and Uncertainty of Riches.*

J. E. Wells deals with Wordsworth's interest in church-

building efforts in the Lake district in *Wordsworth and Church Building* (*M.L.R.*, July) and shows how in the 1830's the poet personally canvassed that district, 'arousing interest and soliciting aid'. It includes a letter from Wordsworth, dated October 5, 1835 (of which only a part of the conclusion has hitherto been published, and that inaccurately) giving his own account of the composition of the poem, *Airey Force Valley*. Incidentally it preserves a fifth stanza not printed by Wordsworth. Bennet Weaver's article, *Wordsworth's Prelude: the Shaping Spirit* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.) is a philosophical study or analysis of *The Prelude* with special reference to the 'main essential Power' of imagination as conceived by the poet. By putting objects before mind and substance before Creator, as he does in the earlier books of the great poem, 'the poet has denied his own nature and walked out backward into the dark place of philosophical confusion': but in Book VI, ll. 566–72, his imaginative wisdom is said to have brought him to 'the very centre of Infinity', thus marking a turning-point towards his later change of attitude regarding formal religion. Weaver had another Wordsworthian essay, *Wordsworth: the Property of Fortitude* in the October *S. in Ph.* Here he combats the idea that beneath the tranquil surface of the poet's life and art 'there are lodged cowardly and uncandid repressions', and affirms that in the end, 'having suffered, Wordsworth was able to put away the desolation of death and stand up and lift the weight of the world'.

Between Sept. 7 and Nov. 9 a correspondence raged in *T.L.S.*, on '*The Mad Monk*' *and Wordsworth*. E. H. W. Meyerstein set the ball rolling by pointing out analogies between Coleridge's *Mad Monk* (*Morning Post*, Oct. 13, 1800, reprinted in *The Wild Wreath*, Sept. 1804, but not 'collected' till supplement to vol. ii, 1880 edition, of *Poetical Works*) and the first stanza of Wordsworth's famous *Ode*, 1807. Information was sought as to whether the resemblance had already been noted and whether a date as early as 1800 had ever been suggested for the *Ode*. Herbert Hartman replied, stating that the analogies had been noted by H. W. Garrod in *Coleridge: Poetry and Prose*, 1925 and that he himself had cited in this connexion (*R.E.S.*, Apr. 1930) Dorothy Wordsworth's diary as supporting a suggestion that 'in some

inchoate form an echo had come to hand from a year or two before' (*sic*). A further parallel was noted with *Dejection*. Meyerstein wound up the correspondence by a discussion of the extent to which such Coleridgean echoes had influenced Wordsworth's *Ode* and by intimating that the *Dejection* parallel had been noted by Hugh I'Anson Fausset in *Lost Leaders*.

In *N. and Q.* (Nov. 18, 1939) 'Senex' had set forth his reasons for doubting whether Wordsworth were a Greek scholar and also for regarding him as 'a man of few books'. On 16 Dec. of the same year he was vigorously challenged by W. Roberts. Now, on 9 March 1940, we find 'Senex' stoutly returning to the charge, adducing further evidence from De Quincey, Disraeli, Matthew Arnold, Dover Wilson, and Wordsworth himself.

The Warton Lecture for 1940 was devoted to Wordsworth, and the approach was from a somewhat unusual direction. In *Wordsworth and the Seventeenth Century*[12] J. Crofts offers, as he modestly explains, 'questions rather than conclusions', and his first and main question is why Wordsworth's 'achievement in poetry should not have been achieved much earlier', to wit in that simpler world of the seventeenth century to which spiritually he belonged. It is not long before we are presented with a conclusion. After tracing 'a kind of pedigree' for the poetry of Shelley, Keats, and Byron, the lecturer affirms that 'Wordsworth's best work has none'; and later he makes the interesting suggestion that when 'the top-heavy fabric of his self-esteem crashed under him . . . the very texture of his mind had been changed'. The seventeenth-century poets with whom Wordsworth's kinship is held to have been closest are Vaughan and Traherne; Habington and Marvell are also introduced, but George Herbert is an unexpected absentee. The prose specimens from the Welsh prophet Rhys Evans and the hedge-evangelist 'Ranter' Coppe are intriguing rather than convincing; and it is justly remarked that 'the comparison with *Resolution and Independence* cannot be pressed very far': yet it is a stimulating study, close-packed with ideas.

Thomas Taylor, Platonist of the Romantic Period, by Frank B. Evans III (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.), gives a good account of this scholar

[12] *Wordsworth and the Seventeenth Century*, by J. Crofts (Warton Lecture on English Poetry. British Academy). O.U.P. pp. 20. 1*s*. 6*d*.

whose books were well known to Wordsworth, Shelley, Coleridge, Southey, and Byron, and who is satirized by Peacock in *Melincourt.*

Arthur Lovejoy in *Coleridge and Kant's Two Worlds* (*E.L.H.*, Dec.) laid it down that Coleridge learned his 'final philosophy' partly from Kant but more from Jacobi and Schelling. The purpose of this paper is to inquire into the precise nature and source of Coleridge's ideas on the matter of free will, and to consider whether it was in fact 'freedom' or its opposite which the acceptance of his reasoning would establish. Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* and its influence on Coleridge are closely analysed, the reading of Kantian epistemology and metaphysics into *Dejection: an Ode,* resting, according to Lovejoy, upon 'a pure confusion of ideas'. He is anxious to prevent 'certain current misreadings of *Dejection* from becoming stock misreadings in future text-books', and in his view the Kantian dualism of the phenomenal and noumenal worlds opened for S. T. C. 'the gate back into the emotionally congenial fields of Evangelical faith and piety'.

This paper links up with Edward Tauber's *German Influence on the English Vocabulary in the Nineteenth Century* (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.). In the latter attention is drawn to a letter from Crabb Robinson to his brother on the Kantian philosophy, 1802, first applying the word 'form' in its Kantian sense of the subjective element in knowledge; to the 'loan-translation' from Kant in Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria,* and to the 'high point' of German influence in Carlyle.

C. R. Sanders contributed to the September *P.M.L.A.* an article, *Sir Leslie Stephen, Coleridge and Two Coleridgeans,* which should be read in conjunction with Dover Wilson's book on *Matthew Arnold and Leslie Stephen as Critics of Wordsworth.* The 'Coleridgeans' are Frederick Denison Maurice and F. Dykes Campbell, and the thesis is that though Stephen had little in common with Coleridge and Maurice 'his interest in both men was unusual—he was fascinated by them'.

Earl R. Wassermann in *Coleridge's Metrical Experiments* (*M.L.N.*, June) demonstrates that at least two of the eleven lyrics published in 1912 by Ernest Hartley Coleridge as 'metrical experiments' on the part of S. T. C. were copied from the works

of others, one from a seventeenth-century song in Ritson's *Select Collection* and one from the eighteenth-century poetaster Thomas Parnell. *Coleridge and the Theory of Imagination* by P. L. Carver (*U.T.Q.*, July) is concerned with the poet's philosophy but not in relation to Kant. Plato and Bacon are here classed as his philosophical progenitors, and 1809, when an article in *The Friend* (earlier version) marked his break-away from Hartley's system, is fixed as the date of his 'conversion'.

Certainly Plato and Bacon blaze in the forehead of the prospectors of the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* reproduced in facsimile by Alice D. Snyder in her *Coleridge and the Encyclopedists* (*Mod. Phil.*, Nov.), one with a quotation from the *Parmenides* and the other with one from *The Advancement of Learning*, each selected by Coleridge at the request of his coadjutors. This interesting and sometimes amusing article illuminates the genesis of that ill-starred, abortive enterprise with the aid of recently discovered documents, among which are the minutes of 'a kind of committee meeting' held in April, 1817, to discuss 'Mr. Coleridges Sketch of Prospectus, Plan, &c'.

In *R.E.S.*, Oct. 1939, there was a paper by Werner W. Beyer seeking to show that Coleridge's study of Wieland's *Oberon* 'contributed several threads to the multicoloured web' of *The Ancient Mariner*. Now in *R.E.S.* (July) the same influence is rather more convincingly traced through 'the abortive pattern of the earlier *Cain*' in another paper by Beyer—*Coleridge, Wieland's 'Oberon' and 'The Wanderings of Cain'*. The affinities here are not so strained as such illustrations often tend to be, and the light incidentally thrown upon Coleridge's early studies of German literature (as distinct from German philosophy) is certainly interesting.

Coleridge and the 'Enquirer' Series (*R.E.S.*, April) is Lewis Patton's reply to D. Coldicutt's query (*R.E.S.*, Jan. 1939). He shows that the Rev. William Enfield was the writer of the papers in question, and thinks it unlikely that Coleridge's hasty borrowings of material for *The Watchman* were 'the result of an arrangement with publishers'. In *Some Coleridge Parallels* (*N. and Q.*, June 15) E. H. Visiak gave one from Chaucer and four from Milton, all unmistakable—when once perceived. F. H. Heinemann records *Unknown Coleridge Marginalia* (*N. and Q.*,

June 29) on the copy of *The Friend* (1818) now in the possession of Manchester College, Oxford. These marginal comments denote the transition from the second to the third edition; many were written or dictated by the poet; and in some instances there are addenda running into several hundreds of words, not all of which were incorporated in the new edition. *Scrutiny* for June contained a critical estimate of Coleridge by F. R. Leavis. R. W. Armour and R. F. Howes have done in *Coleridge the Talker* (Cornell U.P. and O.U.P.) very much what Edith J. Morley did at greater length for all the literary men in Crabb Robinson's circle. They have collected every contemporary account of him, and they have thus been able to convey to the reader something of the magic which his conversation exercised upon those who were privileged to listen to it.

Keats received little attention in 1940, apart from the book *Negative Capability*, already noted. James H. Pershing in *Keats: where was he born and when did he die?* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) examines afresh two questions of some importance to biographers. In regard to Keats's birth the uncertainty was not as to month or year but day of month, and it was resolved by Dr. Willard B. Pope (*T.L.S.*, Dec. 22, 1932) with correct excerpts from the St. Botolph's baptismal register, incorrectly quoted by Amy Lowell. Whether the day of his death was Feb. 23 or 24 is still a moot point, but Pershing inclines towards the early hours of the 24th.

A query as to what edition of Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary* was used by Keats elicited (*N. and Q.*, May 11) the answer from H. K. Hudson that Keats's own copy was bequeathed by Sir Charles Dilke to the Keats Museum at Hampstead. On June 15 W. W. S. contributed what he modestly described as 'rough jottings' on the subject of Keats's indebtedness to Lemprière, which is differently assessed by two recent editors, de Selincourt not considering it to be a substantial one and W. T. Arnold rating it high. W. W. S. himself gives some examples in support of 'the letter but not the spirit' of Byron's gibe that Keats 'versified Lemprière'.

Byron, apart from the fascinating supplementary chapter in the reprint of Harold Nicolson's book, inspired nothing of much importance. In *M.L.N.* (Jan.) was a note from Bradford A.

Booth, *Moore to Hobhouse: an Unpublished Letter.* The original is in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California. Written from Newstead Abbey in 1828, when Moore was collecting materials for his *Life* of Byron, it shows both the bitterness of his animus against Leigh Hunt and his unenthusiastic attitude towards Hobhouse.

A Possible Source for the Female Disguise in Byron's 'Don Juan' by Margaret E. McGing (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) rejects Captain Gronow's story that the incident in Cantos V–VI was derived from the actual adventures of a certain Dan Mackinnon, and suggests that in so far as *Don Juan* was derivative and not original those cantos were more probably based on Miss Tully's *Narrative of Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli in Africa.* E. R. Seary in *A Sequel to 'Don Juan'* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.) deals with the work of an obscure South African writer, George Longmore, who was 'one of the most ardent and painstaking admirers of Byron in the generation after Byron's death' and whose *Don Juan, A Sequel* (especially Cantos XIX and XX) does not deserve, says Seary, 'to be entirely forgotten'.

A. L. Strout in *Lockhart on 'Don Juan'* (*T.L.S.*, Nov. 30) identifies Lockhart as the author of the *Letters to the Right Hon. Lord Byron* ascribed by Samuel Chew to John Black of the *Morning Chronicle.* This identification is based on unpublished correspondence between Lockhart and John Wilson Croker now in the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. This shows that Croker 'lied like a gentleman' and that the *Blackwood* group, in order to protect J. G. L., 'set up a smoke screen', allowing Jeremy Bentham to be dubbed the author of the *Letters.*

Rehabilitations and other Essays by C. S. Lewis (O.U.P.) was published too late in 1939 to be included with the books of that year, but the essay on Shelley must not be left unnoted. J. L. Lowes in *The Witch of Atlas and Endymion* (*P.M.L.A.*, March) demonstrates that in some thirty odd stanzas of *The Witch of Atlas* Shelley draws upon all four books of *Endymion* and twice upon *Sleep and Poetry.* We are given what is described as a 'bald preliminary list of the more obvious instances', but not all of these are really 'obvious'. It is hard upon a poet to convict him of plagiarism, witting or unwitting, because he writes of

a 'sea-nymph' and another poet writes of an 'ocean nymph': but several of the examples cited are sufficiently striking to lend support to the view that when *The Witch of Atlas* was written there were shreds and patches of the text of *Endymion* clinging to Shelley's subconscious memory.

Shelley and Shakespeare: an Addendum (*P.M.L.A.*, June) is Sara R. Watson's postscript to D. L. Clark's *Shelley and Shakespeare* (*P.M.L.A.*, March, 1939); she pleads that the *Othello-Cenci* parallels there noted 'demand fuller discussion', even if only to strengthen Clark's general conclusion. Alice F. Braunlich in *Some Passages in 'Prometheus Unbound'* (*M.L.N.*, June) gives instances of Shelley's 'great susceptibility' to the influence of other writers: e.g. Homer, Catullus, St. Paul, Shakespeare, and the author of the *Song of Songs*. A note from J. A. Notopoulos on *The Dating of Shelley's Fragment, 'The Moral Teaching of Jesus Christ'* (*M.L.R.*, April) gives evidence in support of November, 1819. *Shelley, Godwin, Hume and the Doctrine of Necessity*, by Frank B. Evans III (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.), is an interesting analysis of the ideas underlying *Queen Mab*. These, according to Evans, Shelley derived not only from the chapter on Free Will and Necessity in Godwin's *Enquiry concerning Political Justice* but also from Godwin's own source, David Hume's *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*. Shelley borrowed his arguments from Hume, but interpreted them through the mind of Godwin, thereby missing, consciously or unconsciously, the force of Hume's sceptical negation of reason.

Mary Hays, Disciple of William Godwin by M. Ray Adams (*P.M.L.A.*, June) gives a valuable sketch of one of the lesser lights in that queer coterie 'which afforded William Godwin a sort of philosophical seraglio', and adds an analysis of each of her forgotten novels, *The Memoirs of Emma Courtney* and *The Victim of Prejudice*.

A. L. Strout in *J. W. Croker and the 'Noctes Ambrosianae'* (*T.L.S.*, March 9) illustrated with the aid of unpublished letters from Lockhart and Croker (in the William L. Clements Library) the casual fashion in which the *Noctes Ambrosianae* were thrown together. Especial reference is made to the *Edinburgh Review* notice of Croker's edition of Lady Suffolk's letters, 'lauded in

the dun-coloured and derided and vilipended in the blue-and-yellow', and a reflection of one of Croker's letters to Lockhart is pointed out in the sixteenth of the *Noctes*.

The same group of writers figures in two articles by W. M. Parker on *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk* (*T.L.S.*, June 22 and 29). These throw interesting light on the manner in which Lockhart's love of mystification exercised itself in connexion with these letters, 'Christopher North' having been suspected at one time of having a finger in the pie. There was some slight further correspondence on the subject on July 6, 13, and 20. Lockhart's rhyming epigram on Patrick Robinson, quoted in Dr. John Brown's *Horae Subsecivae*, provided a note for 'Philoscotus' in *N. and Q.*, Aug. 31.

John Wilson and the 'Orphan Maid' by A. L. Strout (*P.M.L.A.*, March) compares original letters in the National Library of Scotland with the versions published by Wilson's daughter, Mrs. Gordon, in her *Christopher North*, while confessing that her omissions have not inflicted 'much loss on posterity'. Some of these, however, are of considerable interest, and there is something to be said for the theory that though Wilson's early and perfervid romance, *The Orphan Maid*, did not explain his later eccentricities it clearly gave a foretaste of what was to follow.

In *Hazlitt and Northcote* (*E.L.H.*, Dec.) S. C. Wilcox points out that modern editors have overlooked the account given by Cunningham (in his *Lives of the Painters*) of James Northcote's 'hypocritical treatment' of the essayist in connexion with the *Conversations of Northcote* (1830) and shows how Hazlitt's aged friend turned upon him to save his own face and to preserve the good opinion of the Mudge family. It was also S. Wilcox who noted (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) *A Manuscript Addition to Hazlitt's Essay 'On the Fear of Death'*.

J. Milton French in *A Chip from Elia's Workshop* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.) recalls Lamb's sense of the contrast between the original MS. of *Lycidas* and his own methods of composition. Very few of his first drafts have survived, but this 'Chip' is the holograph of *Grace before Meat* bequeathed by Amy Lowell to Harvard. It is, as French claims, a 'vivid and living record of the mental pilgrimage of a felicitous artist'. J. Paul de Castro had a note (*N. and Q.*, Sept. 28) on the identity of 'Barbara S—' and gave

his reasons for supposing that she was not (as stated by E. V. Lucas and other biographers) Fanny Kelly but Miss Street. E. G. B. replied (Oct. 19) with a reminder that Lamb himself twice acknowledged that 'Barbara S—' *was* Miss Kelly, Miss Street having been introduced to divert attention from the real heroine of the story. Thomas Manning, Lamb's eccentric explorer friend, had a centenary on May 2, marked by an excellent little memoir in *N. and Q.*, April 27. M. Ray Adams in *George Dyer and English Radicalism* gave (*M.L.R.*, Oct.) the first detailed account of 'G. D.'s' contribution to the liberal thought of the period.

An interesting suggestion came from M. F. Ashley Montagu (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 27) to the effect that Landor borrowed the idea of his *Imaginary Conversations* from Clara Reeve's *Progress of Romance*, known to have been the source of his first long poem, *Gebir*.

It is with something like a shock of surprise that one realizes that as recently as 1937 Dickens had admirers in the Reich. On the face of it, there could be no sharper antithesis than that between the rather muddled humanitarianism of the novelist and the narrow and ruthless philosophy of Nazism. The earlier Germany savoured his novels, which, with their use of primary colours and their unsubtle demarcations, were sometimes not unlike *Struwelpeter*; but what common ground can there be between the *Herrenvolk* and Boz? What there has hitherto been is ably shown by Ellis Gummer in his carefully documented and exhaustive survey, *Dickens's Works in Germany*.[13] Nothing is omitted. Translations, contemporary and modern criticism, influence on the German novel, all are ably handled in a book which is equally useful on the critical and the bibliographical side.

Dickens and the Evolution of Caricature by Earle R. Davis (*P.M.L.A.*, March) traces the influence of Fielding, Smollett, and the contemporary stage on Dickens's technique and notes interesting points of resemblance between Mr. Jingle and characters in *The Road to Ruin*, *How to Grow Rich*, *A Cure for Heartache*, and other plays of the period. Davis also shows that the

[13] *Dickens's Works in Germany, 1837–1937*, by Ellis N. Gummer. O.U.P. pp. 200. 12*s.* 6*d.*

comic device of staccato diction was probably derived from various sources in addition to the novels of Theodore Hook, already recognized as having coloured the mind of Boz while he was writing *The Pickwick Papers*. The discussion in *N. and Q.* a year earlier on *The Ibsen and Dickens Christmas* produced two echoes in 1940. On Jan. 20 Sir Stephen Gaselee stoutly defended Dickens from the charge that he 'snooped' at area windows; a week later M. H. D. followed with a note on the Victorian habit of sending poultry, pies, and puddings to be cooked in the baker's oven, giving apt instances from *Cranford* and from Jane and Ann Taylor's *Poems for Infant Minds*. Two *Pickwick* queries brought forth some interesting information (*N. and Q.*, Sept. 14, Oct. 26, Nov. 16) about 'the red-faced Nixon as the sixpenny books gives picters on'. In the summer *Yale Review* was a long article by Audrey Lucas on *Some Dickens Women*; her favourite 'candidate for credibility' is Dora Copperfield, and she ranks Rosa Dartle as the most essentially tragic of all Dickens's women.

In a book by George Orwell, *Inside the Whale*,[14] there is a vigorous essay on Dickens as he appears when looked at from the Left. From that angle his lack of 'consciousness that the *structure* of society can be changed' is exasperatingly conspicuous, and his 'woolly vagueness' almost as bad. The statement that there are no 'friendly pictures of soldiers (i.e. officers) and none at all of naval men' needs qualification. Captain Hawdon, though a waster, is not dealt with unsympathetically *qua* officer; and though we never meet Captain Swosser, R.N., in the flesh most of us feel that it would have been pleasant to do so. Orwell is fond of literary pedigrees; he traces the descent of Mark Tapley and Sam Weller by way of Smollett back to Cervantes.

Thackeray made only two fleeting appearances. An inquiry about the present whereabouts of his drawings brought forth helpful answers from J. Ardagh (*N. and Q.*, March 9) and Edward Heron-Allen (March 30); and he figures with Scott in a query (*N. and Q.*, July 6) from H. G. L. K. headed *Authors repeating other Authors' Mistakes*.

[14] *Inside the Whale and Other Essays*, by George Orwell. Gollancz. pp. 188. 7*s*. 6*d*.

One of the most important recent additions (1939) to the Clarendon Series of English Literature was Sir E. K. Chambers's *Arnold: Poetry and Prose.*[15] This includes William Watson's memorial poem and reprinted essays by H. W. Garrod and Lionel Johnson (O.U.P., 3*s.* 6*d.*).

The recrudescence of interest in Arnold noted in 1939 has been further demonstrated by the publication not only of this valuable selection but also of a most useful commentary[16] on his poetry by C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry. With the aid of the Yale MS. and Arnold's own marginalia these commentators have made good their claims that their book, besides being 'an indispensable guide to the poems', is 'in a wide sense a new history of Arnold's thoughts and feelings during the early and most significant years of his poetic activity'. It covers cancelled and unpublished poems as well as the recognized Arnold canon, and is charmingly wound up by Sir Francis Wylie's essay on *The Scholar-Gipsy Country.*

It will be remembered that in 1939 impassioned correspondences raged upon the topographical background and other elements in *Thyrsis* and *The Scholar Gipsy.* 'The punt's rope' (*Scholar Gipsy,* stanza 8, line 6) was again in evidence in 1940. Frederick Page pointed out (*N. and Q.,* Jan. 20) that the later (1869) version, 'As the punt's rope chops round', though 'less euphonious suggests a more accurate observation'; and W. W. Gill (*N. and Q.,* Jan. 27) put forward alternatives by which Arnold might have 'saved us (and probably himself) a spot of bother'. In the March *M.L.N.* was an article, *Arnold, Shelley, and Joubert* by W. S. Knickerbocker, suggesting that Arnold derived the 'ineffectual angel' image from a passage in Joubert which he himself translated as follows in his essay on that writer: 'Plato loses himself in the void . . . but one sees the play of his wings, one hears them rustle.'

E. K. Brown on *Matthew Arnold and the Eighteenth Century* (*U.T.Q.,* Jan.) contends that it is an error to think of Arnold as 'almost neo-classic in his temper and aesthetic', in spite of his unenthusiastic attitude to the Romantic Movement. This

[15] *Arnold: Poetry and Prose,* ed. E. K. Chambers. O.U.P. pp. xxxv+187. 3*s.* 6*d.*

[16] *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold: a Commentary,* by C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry. O.U.P. pp. xv+404. 12*s.* 6*d.*

view is combated in a survey of Arnold's judgements on what he himself called 'our excellent and indispensable eighteenth century'. For Swift he felt 'respect without interest'; on Dr. Johnson he was 'wretchedly vague'; only infatuation can explain his reverence for Thomas Wilson's *Maxims of Piety and Christianity*; and Butler in his eyes was 'not fully an eighteenth century figure'. This century was to him an 'age of prose and reason', not to be taken seriously as a poetic one; hence his disparagement of the heroic couplet and the French alexandrine. Dissatisfied with the period, he failed to understand it: 'for he was himself a Romantic . . . his quarrels with the Romantics were family quarrels'.

One of Arnold's most indisputably romantic poems, *The Church of Brou*, was the subject of an interesting note by 'Hippoclides' (*N. and Q.*, June 15) in which Dumas's description of 'this grand jewel-box' is quoted from his novel, *Les Compagnons de Jehu*, and the enigma of Duchess Marguerite's motto is considered afresh. In '*Dover Beach*' *revisited* by Theodore Morris (Harper's, CLXXX) five purely hypothetical English professors are invited to 'explain and evaluate' the poem—and accept the invitation.

Browning was well to the fore in 1940. M. B. Cramer in *Browning's Friendships and Fame before Marriage* (*P.M.L.A.*, March) combats the generally accepted view, endorsed by Lownsbury and De Vane, that *Sordello* 'ruined a promising reputation' and that during the last years of his bachelorhood the poet was 'relegated to obscurity'. Among the friendships recorded is that with Macready, but Cramer seems to have missed the important article by W. Lyon Phelps (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 28, 1939) giving two hitherto unpublished letters from Browning to the actor. In *Browning's Letters to Isabella Blagden: an Addendum* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) W. O. Raymond points out that in Knickerbocker's article (*P.M.L.A.*, June, 1939) 'August, 1870' is named as one of the periods for which Browning's letters to this correspondent are missing whereas a letter dated 'August 19, 1870' is in Wise's collection of the poet's letters. This *Addendum* also stresses rather tantalizingly the probable interest and significance of the letters that really *are* missing.

In the same number of *P.M.L.A.* C. R. Tracy considers *The*

Source and Meaning of Browning's 'Tray' and suggests that this poem, besides embodying an attack on vivisection, reflects Browning's ideas on the nature and function of the soul and was coloured by Frederic Harrison's articles on *The Soul and Future Life* in the *Nineteenth Century*, 1877.

In *M.L.N.* (March) Bernice Fox wrote on *The Revision of Browning's 'Paracelsus'*, reaching the conclusion that after its fourth revision *Paracelsus* was 'a more graceful composition than the original'. J. M. Ariail's article, *Is 'Pippa Passes' a Dramatic Failure?* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.) is a vigorous rejoinder to J. M. Purcell's *The Dramatic Failure of 'Pippa Passes'* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan. 1939). He dissents point by point from the unfavourable opinions there expressed, and doubts whether what he calls Purcell's 'Calvinistic interpretation' of Sebald and Ottima can justly be applied since Browning was 'by training and nature Evangelical, almost Arminian, in his thinking'. An interesting article by W. O. Raymond (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.) on *Browning's Casuists* suggested that, though there may be 'much aridness' in Browning's casuistic monologues, a knowledge of them is essential to a grasp of his genius. Incidentally touched upon is the connexion between *Bishop Blougram's Apology* and Newman's *Lectures on the Present Position of the Catholics in England* already noted by C. R. Tracy. Raymond gives a good sketch of the 'intellectual perplexities' of the 1850's in England, and confesses that 'it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Browning's casuists are never really routed'. Though 'in the sphere of love the poet rises quite above casuistry' in the sphere of reason he is 'obviously entangled in it'.

The same writer contributed an admirable essay, *Browning's Poetry: Fifty Years After*, to *U.T.Q.* (Jan.). The time, he says, is as yet unripe for a definitive estimate of Browning's place among English Men of Letters, and there have been violent pendulum-swings of critical opinion since his death, the present estimate being centred on his artistic quality. Raymond pleads that the 'bouncing vulgarity' condemned by F. L. Lucas, George Santayana, and other fastidious critics is really 'a strain running like an *elixir vitae* through his verse in the golden era, giving it headiness and flavour'; and he claims that 'there is a place on the altar of literature for the Dionysiac fires of romantic art'.

The ever-fascinating subject of the 'certain volume' in which

Raphael wrote 'a century of Sonnets' comes up in *Browning Vindicated* (*T.L.S.*, May 25), wherein Frederick Page proves that Browning did not invent or imagine the precious volume, of which the existence is attested in Baldinucci's *Notizie*.

A query as to *The Secondary Source of 'The Ring and the Book'* brought a reply from A. R. Bayley (*N. and Q.*, March 30) giving particulars as to the famous 'square old yellow book' now preserved in the library of Balliol. 'Senex' produced a crop of *Browning Queries*, some of which were answered by Frederick Humphreys and G. Catalani (Aug. 24) and others by T. O. M. and M. H. Dodds (Dec. 28).

Charlotte Brontë on Mary Stuart provided interesting material for an article by Davidson Cook (*T.L.S.*, April 20), giving for the first time the complete text of *The Lament for these Times of Night* written by Charlotte in her nineteenth year. The last twenty lines were omitted when the poem was first published in *Cornhill* in August, 1916, and also in C. K. Shorter's and J. Alex Symington's editions in 1923 and 1934 respectively. In the March *Dublin Review* Martin Turnell analysed and interpreted *Wuthering Heights* with emphasis on its precision, its ascetic quality, and the 'almost terrifying honesty of the writing'. *N. and Q.*, July 13, had a note from 'Eve', '*Villette' and a French Critic*', reverting to a book written some thirty years ago by Ernest Dimmet, *Les Sœurs Brontë*.

It has not been customary till recently to treat Disraeli very seriously as a man of letters, but here and there one sees signs that this long neglect is coming to an end. C. L. Cline (*R.E.S.*, Jan.) gives an entertaining note on *Benjamin Disraeli on the Grotesque in Literature*, showing that a large part—if not the whole—of the review of *Vivian Grey* in the *New Monthly Magazine* was written by Disraeli himself, with the connivance of Thomas Campbell, then Editor or 'his very active assistant, Cyrus Redding'. The long dissertation on the Grotesque exists in two versions, both in Dizzy's hand, among the Hughenden archives, and it can hardly be denied that it is a remarkable piece of self-criticism to have come from an excited young novelist of twenty-one. He sets out to explain and justify the fantastic extravagances of the Johannisburger banquet in *Vivian Grey*, but incidentally he makes some very shrewd observations,

among them one to the effect that 'in the grotesque natural effects are produced by unnatural means and truth is developed by exaggeration and fiction'. 'Hibernicus' (*N. and Q.*, July 6) asked whether Disraeli knew Spanish, the question arising from the circumstance that in *Venetia* Don Quixote's rhapsody on the Golden Age is quoted by Herbert (Shelley) in a version neither Shelton's nor Jarvis's.

Thomas Campbell made a fugitive appearance (*N. and Q.*, June 29) when Charles Duffy gave the text of a manuscript poem, *Hymen's Ball*, now in the National Library of Scotland, unsigned, but endorsed (perhaps by Cyrus Redding) 'This is Mr. Campbell's'.

The hunt for sources and analogies went merrily on in many different fields. G. G. Loane (*N. and Q.*, Oct. 12 and 19) provided a short but fascinating supplement to Churton Collins's list of 'passages chiefly in Greek and Latin in which Tennyson has been anticipated'. These *Illustrations of Tennyson* are drawn from modern as well as ancient poets, but it is left for R. M. Lumiansky to point out (*N. and Q.*, July 13) the 'obvious similarity' between 'Home they brought her Warrior dead' and *Guþrúnarkviþ I* from the *Poetic Edda*, a similarity already, though more briefly, noted by Lee M. Hollander in his translation of that Epic (U.T.P., 1928).

Yale Univ. Press published an excellent edition, with notes and commentaries by Richard A. E. Brookes, of a manuscript acquired by the University Library in 1932, *Thomas Carlyle, Journey to Germany, Autumn, 1858*; George Harting had an essay, *An Immortal Friendship: Emerson and Carlyle* in the *Hibbert Journal*, xxxviii; and in Sir Herbert Grierson's *Essays and Addresses* there was a well-timed essay on *Carlyle and Hitler*. Otherwise the Sage was left in oblivion.

An appreciative study of *Thomas Lovell Beddoes* was contributed by E. H. W. Meyerstein to *English* (Spring). He finds in the Pembroke College undergraduate's *The Bride's Tragedy* 'practically all we mean by Beddoes', but deplores his acceptance of friends' advice not to publish *Death's Jest-Book* in 1829. To Meyerstein the essential Beddoes 'lies in the passages where he speaks of earth and the creatures whose heads, wings, and

bellies are nearer earth than ours. Had he not been a poet he would have been a naturalist.'

English (Summer) helps to revive the interest in four women writers, all of whom, as it happens, had East-Anglian connexion. W. L. Bond deals sympathetically, though critically, with *Amelia Opie: Novelist and Quaker.* In an article on *Ann and Jane Taylor* Muriel Kent gives an interesting sketch of the careers of the two sisters who in their two volumes of *Original Poems for Infant Minds* and their *Hymns* were the nursery laureates of their day. Jean Ingelow receives what is now a somewhat rare tribute from Gladys Singer-Bigger, who makes what to many will be an unexpected point in tracing in her verse the influence of Milton and who also finds in it some pre-Raphaelite affinities.

N. and Q. (Oct. 26) contained two hitherto unknown letters from Thomas Jefferson Hogg to Leigh Hunt. Joanna Baillie was cited (*N. and Q.*, Oct. 12) as an example of the habit once common amongst spinster ladies of assuming the more stately form, 'Mrs.'

W. H. J. suggested (*N. and Q.*, July 13) an emendation to Blanco White's famous sonnet as given in the new edition of *The Oxford Book of English Verse*, line 11. He points out that a 'fly' is an insect, and asks if one should read 'flower'. L. R. M. Strachan (Aug. 17) adds the note that 'flow'r' was the reading adopted by William Sharp in *Sonnets of this Century* (1886) and that this emendation was whole-heartedly approved by Sir Edward Cook in *More Literary Recreations* (1919).

George Eliot figured in a note from H. G. L. K. (*N. and Q.*, Aug. 3) on authors seeking professional advice, with examples from *Daniel Deronda* and *Felix Holt.* J. P. de Castro followed (Aug. 17) with a reminder that James Payn when writing *Halves* and *By Proxy* consulted Lord Russell of Killowen on some legal points: and E. G. W. noted (Aug. 31) that the material for chapter xxv of *Mr. Dove's Opinion* was obtained by Trollope from a barrister friend.

Barbara D. Simison in *The Letters of R. W. Emerson: Addenda* (*M.L.N.*, June) notes two letters from the Library at Yale not included in Rusk's edition, listed by him 'but not then located or published'. Clarence Gohdes's article, *Longfellow and his Authorized British Publishers* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) gives the other

side of the piracy picture and demonstrates how British publishers of the less reputable class were no less ready than their American opposite numbers to make huge profits out of cheap pirated editions. The devices to which Longfellow's authorized British publishers resorted—in an effort to frustrate these knavish tricks—are here detailed at some length and make rather curious reading.

The Conservative Attitude towards Fiction by W. F. Gallaway Jr. (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) is a comprehensive survey of English Criticism of the 'die-hard' school, the austere school which regarded even the best works of fiction as fribbling things and their purveyors as seldom worthy either of personal respect or literary consideration. *The Romantic Movement*, by Walter Graham (*E.L.H.*, Mar.), is a list of the more significant books, articles, and reviews relating to the literature of the Romantic Movement in England and other countries, America excepted.

Comedy: an Experience is the title of an exceedingly serious paper by Arthur E. DuBois (*E.L.H.*, Sept.), in the course of which we learn that 'comedy at its fullest is an intuitive experience, analogous with other intuitive experiences, including the mystic'. Examples are given from many English writers, Wordsworth, Peacock, Byron, Keats, Lamb, Hazlitt, and Miss Austen among them. Intuition is becoming fashionable.

In the symposium on *Romanticism* noticed above (p. 12) Hoxie N. Fairchild contributes the section on *The Romantic Movement in England* and Elizabeth Nitchie that on *Romantic Permutations and Combinations in England*. Fairchild declares that, 'although Wordsworth, Keats, and others sometimes make gestures of rebellion against the rationalistic and pseudo-classical side of the eighteenth century, English romanticism is far more evolutionary than revolutionary', that it is, in short, 'the romanticism of Englishmen, insular, bourgeois, puritanical, empirical, and philosophically rather innocent'. At the same time it is reassuring to hear that it is 'wonderfully strong, indigenous, sincere and noble, a genuine part of the religion of the race'.

XIV

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

II

By H. V. Routh

It will be remembered that last year's issue contained a notice of A. M Weygandt's *Kipling's Reading* (*Y.W.* xx. 186). That essay, by the limitations of its subject, was restricted to a study of the poet's models and prosody, and left untouched the scope of his ideas, and the range of his influence. So it is a happy coincidence that 1940 should bring to light the most important inquiry[1] yet published on Kipling's position as a political thinker and humanist. Shanks treats his subject so sympathetically and broadmindedly that the book may well serve as an introduction to our period, especially at the present time.

The critic dispels once and for all the myth that Kipling was at best a super-journalist, though he admits that in *one sense* the basis of all his work was 'reporting on a gigantic and lavish scale'. The poet was indeed a master of facts, and he was sufficiently a moralist to admire any man who really knew and faithfully discharged his job; but he also used his eyes and brains so well that he was able to discern beneath events the forces which were shaping the fate of our nation.

By residence in India followed by travel in two hemispheres he gained an unusual insight into the problems of foreign administration and the tendencies of the British Empire. He settled in London at the age of twenty-four, just at the time when this unique experience was particularly needed. It looked as if the Empire were falling to pieces. Kipling constructed a philosophy of English imperialism—the cult of The Law, that is to say, the cult of human organizations and adaptations which stand between man and barbarism, and are the embodiment of civilization. He propounded and illustrated this encouraging theory, so forcibly and unconventionally, with such skilful craftsmanship, that he became a conspicuous man of letters, the counterblast to the

[1] *Rudyard Kipling: A Study in Literature and Political Ideas*, by Edward Shanks. Macmillan. pp. xi + 270. 7*s*. 6*d*.

decadent school (who nevertheless welcomed him as a fellow artist), and also the most influential author of his time.

His enthusiasm supported him till the troubles of the South African War. Thereafter his spirit began to be clouded with doubt, and his tone became more critical and embittered. *The Recessional* was a foretaste of his disillusionment and Shanks appends an interesting note on its origin. But, while alluding again and again to official incompetence and red-tape, he tended more and more to turn his gaze from the present back to the past, and gradually discovered the charm of England in its historical continuity, in its long record of effort and self-devotion. 'The English may make mistakes, at home and abroad, the affairs of the Empire may go awry, but England is a country which has been built up by the work of generation after generation.'

As regards literary criticism and biographical details, Shanks has nothing particularly new to offer, though his remarks on his author's 'physical sympathy' and on the origin and scope of *Kim* are notable. As was right, he insists again and again on Kipling's artistry, and contends that if he could not master the technique of the sustained novel with its leisurely development of character, he had a genius for the short story and poem, with their flashes of human nature ready-made yet highly individualized.

The study of Kipling lures us back to the reign of Victoria and then hurries us forward to the crisis which we are now facing. Otherwise the student might have preferred to begin with some of the collections of letters which have been made public, like voices out of the immediate past. Robert Bridges[2] writes to H. Bradley about visits, lunches, domestic trifles, and the reform of spelling, asserting in 1912 that some form of phonetic spelling will prevail with our democracy, and later, that boys and girls will learn foreign languages more quickly and accurately, if they have first learnt how to spell English by the ear. As early as 1901 Bridges states his poetic creed in these memorable words:

> I always seem to see man as the center of concentric spheres, the nearest to him being the "circle" of common sense and matter-of-fact, and beyond this the circle of science and intellect, and beyond that, stretching out to infinity, the realm of imagination,

[2] *Correspondence of Robert Bridges and Henry Bradley: 1900–23.* O.U.P. pp. vi + 191. 7*s.* 6*d.*

which imagination, if it be present, radiates from the center and is related to everything, at least *if it be present* at all.

E. A. Robinson's letters[3] are casual manifestations of friendship and should be appreciated as the expression of his vigorous and on the whole unsophisticated personality. Some of his utterances, however, make us think. He considers Shaw to be an 'illogical composite of red rags and white corpuscles'; of Hardy, that '*Jude*, with all its misery, his one book that is true'. He defines poetry as 'a language that tells us, through a more or less emotional reaction, something that cannot be said'. He asserts: 'I am pretty well satisfied that free verse, prohibition and moving pictures are a triumvirate from Hell, armed with the devil's instructions to abolish civilisation.' He claims to be an incurable optimist and dismisses the machinist as 'an intrepid explorer standing on a promontory in a fog, looking through the newest thing in the way of glasses for an ocean that he cannot see, and shouting to his mechanistic friends behind him that he has found the end of the world'. Robinson's few comments on international politics are shrewd, even prophetic, and his epistolary manner is admirable.

By far the most interesting and instructive letters are those received by S. C. Cockerell.[4] He seems to have corresponded with all those of his contemporaries who took pleasure in self-expression through the post, and the list is as long as his long life. Most of them are to be read for their literary or artistic gossip, but a certain number really help to give life and spirit to the Edwardian and Georgian periods. Thus W. Scawen Blunt's bulky collection challenges us with the assertion that *The Dynasts* is 'Alison's History of Europe done into very poor blank verse, eked out with prose where the writer gets into difficulties with his lines'; that 'Doughty's poetry is the worst as his prose is the best of the nineteenth century'; that 'Shaw is a very wonderful man, the most wonderful in his line of wit since Voltaire—indeed, he is better than Voltaire'; that 'Bridges' prose is even flatter than his verse'. Interesting light is thrown on some literary personalities. For instance Ruskin's letters, with

[3] *Selected Letters of Edwin Arlington Robinson.* The Macmillan Co. pp. x + 191. $2.50.

[4] *Friends of a Life-time: Letters to Sydney Carlyle Cockerell,* ed. by Viola Meynell. Methuen. pp. 384. 18*s*.

Cockerell's running commentary, present a unique picture of the art-critic's old age; the correspondence with Sir Emery Walker occasions an illuminating note on his typographical activities, especially the part he played in the Kelmscott Press (Cockerell regarded him as the leading revivalist of artistic printing in England); the quarrel between Walker and T. J. Cobden-Sanderson over the Doves Press, and Cockerell's part as peacemaker is in itself a chapter in the history of modern book production. The biographical note on C. M. Doughty is an admirable introduction to his career; that on Charlotte Mew (her own letters, and T. E. Lawrence's comments on her verse), should be read, if only to remind us that besides shouldering the burden of her destiny, she succeeded in writing poetry.

There are several more generalized pronouncements to be noted. It makes one think, when W. B. Yeats in 1906 declares that a vehement confident book is 'a rare thing to-day, when science has robbed us of our courage'. Most significant and historically curious of all, in January 1914 Blunt assembled a gathering of younger poets at Newbuildings Place and records with surprise that several of them 'are futurists and believe that verse should be written without metre, rhyme or scansion, a region where I am unable to follow'. Thomas Hardy was shown the letter, and agreed; regretting that 'a fashion for obscurity rages among young poets and readers overlook good verse as they have to wrack their brains over conundrums'.

From Cockerell's correspondents we may pass to Herbert Read's *Annals* of his own life.[5] Read is now first and foremost an aesthetician and his autobiography is largely devoted to revealing how he reached his present position—how the varied and sometimes wire-drawn strands of his experience, from early childhood, have so worked on his temperament, that he has found truth in beauty. The story of his evolution is an illuminating side-light on modern culture. He is a farmer's son, who was educated at an orphanage and began life as an under-clerk in the local savings bank at Leeds. His first aspirations led him to poetry and he eagerly assimilated Donne, Blake, Yeats, G. M. Hopkins, and especially Browning, whom he believes to be the only poet alive enough to inspire the rising generation of 1906–15, 'the decisive years in the formation

[5] *Annals of Innocence and Experience*, by Herbert Read. Faber & Faber. pp. 212. 10*s*. 6*d*.

of the modern poetic tradition'. At about the same time he devoured the most difficult thinkers, like Somerset Maugham passing with suspicious lightness from Spinoza to Kant, from Kant to Schopenhauer, then onwards to Nietzsche, Bergson, and Whitehead. He deeply admired Santayana, a materialist who clung to super-materialist values. He thanked Traherne for teaching him that the observation of the outward world should, despite appearances, awake the consciousness of Love pervading all things, and therefore reveal a hidden glory; and he thanked Kierkegaard because of his long search for a principle of true inwardness.

A student so readily responsive to such different thinkers was not likely to remain no more than a thinker himself, and during the Four Years War and the years thereafter spent at the Treasury, he was continually seeking the best outlet for his artistic personality. Naturally he coquetted with the novel, but was deterred, because Henry James was the only novelist worth imitating, and James was inimitable. Though he mirrored an artificial and formal world, there gleamed beneath the polished surface 'the moral issues which are the particular concern of the novelist'. Read turned to criticism and we have interesting pages on the founding of *Art and Letters*, *The Egoist*, and *The Criterion*, also on the generation of younger personalities who contributed or edited, for instance the Sitwells, Aldous Huxley, F. M. Ford, Sassoon, and especially T. S. Eliot. He never renounced the sheer enjoyment of writing verse—not the intensity of emotion leading to expression, but emotion generated by the act of creation, the discovery that an image could be matched with exact words. This attitude seems to be reminiscent of Croce, so it is not surprising that Read ended by finding in aesthetics the nearest way to all we can know of reality. He was confirmed in this intention by D'Arcy Thompson's *Growth and Form* and by Whitehead's *Principles of Natural Knowledge* in which it is argued that the structure of matter corresponds to the morphology of art. 'A valid analogy existed between the order of the universe, the order of art and the order of conduct.'

Herbert Read's autobiography should be followed by de la Mare's *Pleasures and Speculations*[6] since this book also is to be valued

[6] *Pleasures and Speculations*, by Walter de la Mare. pp. xviii + 347. Faber & Faber. 15*s*.

for its self-revelation, and the light it throws on contemporary art and aspiration. For instance, he complains that Tennyson's characters do not 'evoke in us that hidden self which may seldom excite our waking attention but yet never sleeps beneath day's restless consciousness'. On the other hand, he recognizes in W. H. Hudson 'a peculiar intensity as if a profoundly concealed innate voice of memory rather than a novel earthly experience were struggling to express a secret knowledge'. In the essay on 'Rupert Brooke and the Imagination' will be found the frequently quoted pronouncement that all poets resemble either children or boys. But the reader must continue through the essay to understand that by children de la Mare means the visionaries and introverts (Plato, Plotinus, Blake, Vaughan, Yeats, Freeman), that is to say, those who may indeed succeed in weaving their dreams into the fabric of actuality, but who nevertheless draw the source and origin of their poetry from the world within. The boys are those who learn from the world in which they find themselves, who are inventive rather than creative. Of such was Browning.

Surrealistic sympathies of this sort colour most of his criticism. Even in the important essay on 'Poetry in Prose' he insists that the prose writer reveals his self and character more in the verbal mimicry of his states of mind, than in his views and sentiments. Characteristically, when de la Mare comes to consider individuals, he appears to be too much in love with all of them to be a full-blown critic. Yet those who carefully peruse this book will now and then be surprised at his scholarly aptitudes. He can even propound a theory on the date and method of composition of *The Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Passing from these more general considerations, we come to the special problems of contemporary verse. This year has produced some interesting and significant contributions. Dorothy Wellesley's[7] collection of letters from W. B. Yeats, apart from their literary gossip and style, throw light on the personality of the writer, and the tendenciousness of his art. Yeats is revealed as a conscientious, dogmatic, not to say despotic critic, always correcting other people's compositions as well as his own, and an indefatigable if wayward artist. Though he believed himself

[7] *Letters on Poetry from W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley.* O.U.P. pp. vii + 216. 8*s.* 6*d.*

to be a philosopher and was always seeking for 'thought' in poetry, yet he also trusted in visions, personal immortality, the occult, and to the last was a symbolist even in the interpretation of dreams. He took little interest in natural beauty for its own sake (though he had a painter's sense of massed effects) and it was, perhaps, this lack of 'visualness' which rendered him impatient with English verse writers. Thus he admired Dorothy Wellesley herself for the vigorous directness of her language; her precision and homely touches; the intensity with which she explored the imaginings of her childhood; the profound and sometimes enigmatic implications which underlay her meditations. He thought her *Matrix* to be the most moving philosophic poem of our time. He valued Huxley's *Barren Leaves* as a satire which has for theme the whole of life. He delighted in Laura Riding's 'intricate intensity', but declared that Owen was 'all blood, dirt and sucked sugar stick'. When he saw Gielgud's *Richard II*, he found it 'as fine a performance as possible, considering that the rhythm of all the great passages is abolished'. As may be inferred, Yeats had not himself attained to the serenity which is supposed to be the compensation of old age. Dorothy Wellesley describes his characteristic as 'an excess of passion disturbed by reason'. His judgement on the New Verse should be remembered: it 'has the substance of philosophy and is a delight to the poet with his professional pattern; but it is not your road (Dorothy Wellesley) or mine, and ours is the main road, the road of naturalness and swiftness and we have thirty centuries on our side'.

All the more reason for investigating this new by-road, which so many poets seem to prefer; nor is material lacking. One of the most remarkable is Edith Sitwell's Anthology,[8] which, beginning with Chaucer and ending with Swinburne and Rossetti, might have been more appropriately discussed in some other section, except for the Introduction. Here we have the new attitude to poetry. The anthologist has little patience with the Victorian idea of 'a criticism of life'. In fact she dismisses Matthew Arnold as a writer who 'could feel neither the shape nor texture of a poem with his hands'. Her theme is technique: the sense of poetic sounds and rhythms; the unrealized power of 'huge, fiery majestic double vowels'; the gentleness and sweetness due to

[8] *Edith Sitwell's Anthology*. Gollancz. pp. 812. 7*s*. 6*d*.

accent; how a word can have 'a little, trembling sound, like that of dew being shaken from a flower'; how, for instance, the moonlit enchanted drowsiness of *The Eve of St. Agnes* arises from the difference in *depth* as well as in *length* of pauses occurring in different places; how vowel-music may often be the secret of composition with enjambed couplet and female rhymes. In a word, we now tend to look for rhythm in the texture of a poem whereas our fathers looked for it in the structure. They relied more on logic, we rely on sensibility and instinct, placing our rhymes in an elaborate pattern throughout the poem (internally, outwardly, and at the beginning of lines). Compare the technique of Tennyson's *Now sleeps the Crimson Petal, now the White* with Owen's *Strange Meeting* which is an experiment in assonances and dissonances, especially dissonances, with the louder sounding vowels at the beginning of each couplet, lines often ending with a falling foot which gives 'a feeling of unutterable weariness'.

It must not, however, be inferred that this anthology appeals only to the technicians. Miss Sitwell's range of selection is surprisingly sometimes perplexingly unacademic and unorthodox. Many acknowledged masterpieces are omitted, many ignored pieces, the work of minor poets, are included. There is a bias towards tragic passages, charged with emotion, yet we are given folk songs, children's games, and 'nonsense' rhymes by Edward Lear, possibly in sympathy with surrealism. Be that as it may, every student will be pleasantly surprised to find in an English anthology a section devoted to French poetry, not so much the accredited masterpieces consecrated at the Sorbonne, as the tentative or venturesome efforts of those who have helped to inspire and form our modern verse—Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Verlaine, and Rimbaud. So, if we may trust this very modernist selection of medieval as well as renaissance, Augustan, and nineteenth-century verse, there is no question of narrowing the scope of poetry, but of widening the scope of our senses—'the chief inlet of soul in this age'.

Suggestiveness and craftsmanship seem to be the test of poetry in T. S. Eliot's introduction to a reprint of Pound's *Selected Poems*.[9] 'Poets', he says, 'may be divided into those who develop

[9] *Ezra Pound: Selected Poems*, ed. by T. S. Eliot. Faber & Faber. pp. xxxii & T. 184. 3*s*. 6*d*.

technique, those who imitate technique, and those who invent technique.' He claims that Pound's art was based on nineteenth-century influences—Browning, Yeats, Swinburne, Morris, and the Decadents, learning from the moderns how to write verse as speech, and from his antiquarian studies, how to write verse as song. His artistic output is a combination of literature with life. In fact, when he penetrates the life of another age, he is penetrating the life of his own, not forgetting his own private life. He is most original when reviving Provençal and early Italian poetry (*Personae*, 1910) and these experiments are a preparation for his paraphrases of Anglo-Saxon (e.g. *Seafarer* in *Ripostes*, 1912). His deepest self-expression is to be found in his imitations of Propertius and Chinese (especially *Cathay* and *Propertius*). In these earlier efforts content and form are not perfectly blended. How could they be? A poet's progress is bound to be unequal, either a progress in technique, or in the accumulation and digestion of experience; we cannot expect perfection in both processes, though Pound nearly attains that consummation in *Cantos* (which is not included in the selection).

This poet has for years been rather a puzzle to students of contemporary literature. Much of his work is so obscure or pedantic that some of the best-intentioned critics doubt whether he is more than a perverted iconoclast. Others admire his vigorous personality but complain that it finds expression in such conplex arabesques of sensation and sentiment, woven so whimsically into any chance theme (however apparently inappropriate), that the reader misses the connexion between the author and his subject. This selection will give all and sundry the opportunity to re-examine their impressions, especially because of the introduction. T. S. Eliot certainly writes with all his accustomed air of authority.

From Pound and the imagists, it is not a far step to symbolism, and the student will find some useful suggestions in Marcel Chicoteau's fragmentary, aphoristic, and rather inaccurate essay in the theory of aesthetics.[10] The writer argues that poetry, always and ever symbolical, became symbolistic after 1850. The turning-point was the Pre-Raphaelite movement which introduced subconscious reaction to the subject chosen. That is to say, poets

[10] *Studies in Symbolist Psychology* (*Mind—Spirit—Morals—Men*), by Marcel Chicoteau. Priory Press: Univ. College of S. Wales. pp. 47. 3*s*. 6*d*.

no longer set themselves only and always to create such and such an impression on a preconceived design. They allowed themselves to remodel the outer world under the influence of some deeply felt but unreasoned impulse 'to suit the caprice of mood, to satisfy the cravings of certain states of mind'. Many of his illustrations are from Verlaine; we should be grateful; that enigmatic character is too little known in this country, even by those who invoke his name.

One of the scholarly needs of our time is some examination or at least review of the post-war period—'the years between'—explaining why so many talented authors, so readily supported by the reading public, nevertheless disappointed so many hopes, and puzzled so many heads. *The Long Week-End*[11] is inadequate and inaccurate, especially the sections devoted to reading matter and literature. On the other hand A. C. Ward has produced a seventh revised and enlarged edition of his popular *Twentieth-Century Literature*,[12] bringing the story down to the present year. This text-book commands respect because its author writes so pleasantly and clearly, and moves with such easy sure steps among the tortuous paths of the last two decades. But this finality, though helpful when studying the established giants of the far-off Edwardian period, leaves unanswered the questions arising when we come to such authors as T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, Virginia Woolf, and D. H. Lawrence. Nevertheless the volume is welcome as an introductory book.

All the volumes noticed in this section (except the first) reflect a certain preoccupation with art, technique, or scholarly culture. They smack of 'the Ivory Tower'. So it should be noted that an American professor with strong 'left-wing' sympathies has protested against this attitude in a spirited and expert review[13] of ten recent poets whom he apparently considers to be the most representative. In each case he first asks how far they had overcome the self-absorption, obscurantism, and self-sufficiency imposed by middle-class education, and looked for the truth amid

[11] *The Long Week-end. A Social History of Great Britain, 1918–39*, by Robert Graves and Alan Hodge. Faber & Faber. pp. 472. 7*s.* 6*d.*

[12] *Twentieth-Century Literature, 1901–1940*, by A. C. Ward. Methuen. pp. x + 265. 4*s.*

[13] *Sowing the Spring: Studies in British Poets from Hopkins to MacNeice.* By James G. Southworth. Blackwell. pp. viii + 178. 8*s.* 6*d.*

the spectacle of our crude, crowded and often perverted humanity, the victims of industrialism, war-mania, and plutocracy. Then he examines, with academic fastidiousness, their technical achievement, as measured by the chaotic complexity of their theme. Apparently none are masters of their art or subject, but all are helping to trim a lamp which will soon burn with a brighter and bigger flame. On the whole his best chapters are those on Hopkins (the fore-runner), Eliot, Lewis, Auden, Spender, and MacNeice. He seems to conclude that our fellow-creatures are growing daily more complex, thanks to self-knowledge and social transition. Hence the unusual importance and difficulty of the poet's calling.

Another American has accomplished a much wider and more searching inquiry into modern poetry as linked to the fate of Europe.[14] Daiches begins his study by explaining that Victorian poets more or less reconciled themselves to God, nature, and civilization and shouldered the obligation to encourage others to do the same. Their successors, represented by Marsh's *Georgian Poetry*, refused the responsibility and wrote for themselves, seeking consolation in the simple, inalienable pleasures of life, in verse that was rather thin, unpretentious and conventional. Rupert Brooke was, perhaps, the type. The Imagists carried the retrenchment further. They discarded direct appeals to the reader and concentrated on clear-cut, wire-drawn pictures or symbols which should speak for them.

T. S. Eliot (with the help of T. E. Hulme) emerged from this cult of precision. His work represents the quest for a symbol, as distinct from an image or allegory, that is to say, a point of view and mode of expression which embrace all we have learnt from the past and see and feel in the present—a synthesis of seeming opposites. So he enlarged and intensified imagism in order to assert the value of tradition, to discredit the romantic faith in man's innate perfectibility, and to insist on classic restraint and self-discipline as our only hope of moral progress. He believed in original sin and clung to the authority of the Church. W. B. Yeats carried the reaction yet further. He also sought to build up a tradition (at first ostensibly for Ireland) by

[14] *Poetry and the Modern World. A Study of Poetry in England between 1900 and 1939*, by David Daiches. Univ. of Chicago Press and C.U.P. pp. x + 247.

which he could reconcile the visions and intuitions of the seer with the inevitable facts of daily experience. So he also laboured at creating a symbol or myth which should externalize and yet fuse the two-sidedness of the modern soul. But he lost his clue and in the end found refuge in Plotinus's doctrine of reality outside time.

By the time we reach the 'thirties' the problem has become disconcertingly clear. There emerges a group of young poets who realize that they have lost touch with civilization and culture, and consequently are uncertain about their audience, function, attitude, and means of expression. Their task is to understand the past, interpret the present, and plan for the future; and for this purpose they must create a technique (symbols, myths, rhythms, patterns) which means as much to the unknown reader as to themselves. C. Day Lewis, W. H. Auden, S. Spender are the representatives of this latest phase.

Though Daiches's book is occasionally diffuse and perplexing, his main thesis is quite clear. The original cause of the present dilemma is the 'disintegration of values'. Writers and readers have no common meeting-ground, because none have ideas and ideals to share. We have to create symbols sufficiently vital to suggest all that poetry should mean. In fact Daiches defines literature as 'pattern with maximum implication'. This consummation is all the more difficult, especially in our time, because thereby every true poet must 'write on more than one level', that is, combine technique, sensuousness, imagination with spiritual convictions, thus conveying many meanings at one stroke of the pen, as if by an explosion. Hopkins was a striking example.

By Frederick S. Boas

In *More Swinburne-D'Annunzio Parallels* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) Calvin S. Brown, Jr., adds to the collection of these parallels which have appeared in *La Critica* (viii and x–xii) eighteen others, with one exception, from D'Annunzio's plays. Brown illustrates the way in which the Italian 'made careful mosaics' of Swinburne's lines. His borrowing is confined almost entirely to the first series of *Poems and Ballads*, which he knew in Gabriel Monsey's French prose version. A notable feature of his method is to repeat more than once his use of a striking borrowed passage.

Another list of parallels is discussed by F. Manning Smith in *Whitman's Poet-Prophet and Carlyle's Hero* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.). Smith aims at showing that many of Whitman's ideas came from Carlyle, mainly from *Sartor Resartus* and *Heroes and Hero-Worship* which he reviewed for the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle* in the latter part of 1846, shortly before he began making notes for *Leaves of Grass*. The main thesis of the article is 'that among Carlyle's eleven heroes are several who founded new religions, and one who wrote a new Bible, the Koran; that two others are compared to the Hebrew prophets, and that Carlyle suggests the writing of a new Bible for the moderns . . . that Whitman in his notes for *Leaves of Grass* wants to found a new religion and write a new Bible; and that he wants to be considered in a class with the old Hebrew prophets'. Detailed quotations are given in support of these and kindred parallels in the writings of the two men.

Walt Whitman's Reading of Dante is discussed by J. C. Mathews in *University of Texas Studies in English* (1939). He first read the *Inferno* in 1859 in J. A. Carlyle's translation (1849) and recorded his first impressions of it as '*hasting on*, great vigor, a lean and muscular ruggedness; no superfluous flesh; and the fascination there always is in a well told tragedy'. He notes also that 'one simple trail of idea, epical, makes the poem—all else resolutely ignored. This alone shows the master. In this respect is the most perfect in literature.' A remarkable tribute by one whose own method was so different.

Carlyle translated only the *Inferno*. Whitman states that he had not read the *Paradiso* and does not show any knowledge of the *Purgatorio*. Mathews mentions his references to Dante in his miscellaneous notes, especially in 1862, during the Civil War. In 1885 he told W. R. Thayer that he could not quite understand Dante's great position among poets and in the history of Italy, but admitted that the fault lay with himself. But in 1888, commenting on a portrait of Dante, he declared that he is 'one of the first class men, if there are classes in men . . . stands in this thing or that for the supreme ideals. They are not my ideals, but they are ideals—very lofty ideals.'

T. O. Mabbott in *A Review of Lowell's Magazine* (*N. and Q.*, June 29) prints an unsigned review by E. A. Poe in the Philadelphia weekly *Saturday Museum* eulogizing the first number of

the *Pioneer*, edited by J. R. Lowell and published at Boston in January 1843. Mabbott makes a convincing case for Poe's authorship.

E. H. Eby in *M.L.Q.* (March) discusses the significance of *Herman Melville's 'Tartarus of Maids'*. A sketch by Melville, *The Paradise of Bachelors and The Tartarus of Maids* appeared in Harper's *New Monthly Magazine* (April 1855). The first part was based on memories of an enjoyable dinner to which he had been entertained in the Temple in December 1849 during a visit to England. The second contrasting part was suggested by a paper-mill near Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where Melville was resident. Eby argues persuasively that Melville's main intention here is to represent 'by symbolism remarkably consistent and detailed' the biological burdens imposed on women through child-bearing.

Leon Howard in *Melville's Struggle with the Angel* (*M.L.Q.*, June) adopts his comparison of his artistic struggle to the wrestling of Jacob. He traces his development, by trial and error, and his limitations. Howard emphasizes melodramatic suspense and allusiveness as the two major devices in his earlier literary career. In *Moby Dick*, when at last he triumphed over the angel—art, he was influenced in his mastery of tragic characterization by Shakespeare, interpreted through Coleridge; and in his narrative method by Hawthorne. Howard gives reasons why he could not repeat this success.

Pat Lawlor quoted in *T.L.S.* (July 13) part of *A George Meredith Letter* to Mrs. Trimble of Dunedin, N.Z., dated April 9, 1909. According to W. M. Meredith his father's last letter was to Watts-Dunton on April 13, 1909. M. Buxton Forman (*T.L.S.*, July 20) in *Meredith's 'Last Letter'* pointed out that there was a letter from the novelist to Lady Butcher, dated April 18, 1909, and that there were two letters dated April 23, 1909, to G. W. Foote and T. J. Wise. Forman suggests that other letters may have been written on that date or subsequently before Meredith's death on May 18.

C. J. Weber in *The Restoration of Hardy's Starved Goldfinch* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) throws light upon the omission in the early English editions of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* of an episode which had appeared when it was serially published in *The Graphic* and in the American 1886 edition. It was the return of Henchard to

Elizabeth-Jane's wedding, his departure, and the discovery of the goldfinch starved to death which he had bought for her. In 1895 Hardy restored this 'at the instance of some good judges across the Atlantic'. These were Rebekah Owen and her sister, American friends of Hardy. Miss Owen's copy of *The Mayor* is now in the library of Colby College, Waterville, Maine, and she records that Hardy thought it weakened the book to have Henchard go away twice, but that she and her sister persuaded him to restore the original text.

St. John Ervine in *A Note on the Hardys* (*T.L.S.*, Dec. 28) draws attention to the longevity of the novelist's family. His father died in his eighty-first year and his mother when she was ninety-four. Thomas Hardy himself died in his eighty-eighth year, and his two sisters and a brother were also long-lived. As Thomas alone married and had no children, the family is now extinct.

Earl Baldwin of Bewdley's speech at Dorchester on *Thomas Hardy* at the centenary celebrations, June 2, 1940, is printed in *English* (iii. 14). Though Hardy delayed the publication of some of his verses for forty years, poetry was to him 'an irrepressible form of expression' and Lord Baldwin doubted, if he had been financially independent, whether he would have written novels at all. In the novels 'he painted a picture for all time of one particular local part of perhaps the most English part of England'. In a characteristic comparison Lord Baldwin declared, 'that picture is as vivid of the England of which he wrote as the *Georgics* are of the Italy of two thousand years ago'. Among the novels Lord Baldwin's favourite was *The Woodlanders*.

He denied that Hardy was a pessimist, though he 'very often seems to find no purpose in life'. He was a lonely figure, 'always meditating on the problems of life, and asking the eternal question, Why? The pity and the irony do not spring from pessimism.'

A centenary article in *T.L.S.* (June 1), on *Thomas Hardy, Born June 2, 1840,* is devoted mainly to *The Dynasts* as 'the book of the moment', which 'presents a panorama of Europe when England was imperilled as now it is and also a mirror of England's soul'. The writer of the article finds in *The Dynasts* 'the crown of Hardy's work but no break from his other achievements; only a continuing of their spirit and original character into a wider region'. This is developed and illustrated by a discussion of a

number of the episodes in this 'great sad epic' to whose close we are bidden to look for encouragement.

In another article inspired by *The Hardy Centenary* (*Q.Q.*, Autumn) Pelham Edgar takes an equally high view of *The Dynasts* as presenting 'in its entirety an imaginative conception which has scarcely been equalled since Dante'. Edgar, however, deals more generally with Hardy's life and work, especially his verse, and discusses the accusation of pessimism which Hardy resented. Edgar's conclusion is that 'he cannot perceive evidence of any loving-kindness in the ordering of our fate, but no writer of modern times has realized more fully the nobility of the human struggle. If that is pessimism we must accept the verdict.'

In *A Conundrum for Trollopians* (*T.L.S.*, Oct. 19) Michael Sadleir attempted to identify the six novelists mentioned by Trollope in *John Caldigate* (1877) under pseudonyms, with short descriptions. Four of these he took to be Meredith, Rhoda Broughton, Wilkie Collins, and Trollope himself; about one he was doubtful, and another baffled him. To this enigma Michael Oliphant (*ibid.*, Oct. 26) supplied a clue in Hawley Smart, while Simon Nowell Smith found in the doubtful one a combination of Ouida and Helen Mathers, and G. M. I. B. plumped for Mrs. Oliphant. H. P. (*ibid.*, Nov. 2) suggested Mrs. Alexander.

F. X. Roellinger in *E. S. Dallas in Trollope's 'Autobiography'* (*M.L.N.*, June) gives the key to what might be called another conundrum. Trollope censured a critic who showed him the manuscript of a book by a popular author presented to him in acknowledgement of a laudatory review of it in a leading journal. The critic was Dallas, the journal *The Times*, the author Dickens, and the book *Our Mutual Friend.* The review was less laudatory than Trollope implies, but the publicity in *The Times* was valuable.

In *The Telegraph Girl* (*T.L.S.*, Oct. 26) W. M. Parker called attention to a letter from Trollope in the National Library of Scotland explaining how he came to write that short story in *Good Words* (Christmas 1877) and an article on *The Young Women at the London Telegraph Office* in the same magazine.

J. Aitken in support of the view that *The Duel Scene in 'St. Ives'* was based on fact gave an extract (*T.L.S.*, Feb. 3) from the *Reminiscences* (1878) of Charles Cowan. His family owned

a paper-mill at Penicuik, near Edinburgh, where French prisoners of war were housed. He describes the quarrels between them which were sometimes fought to a fatal end with a scissor-blade fastened on a stick. J. Thorn Drury (*ibid.*, Feb. 10) suggested that Stevenson's source was an incident recorded in the *Annual Register* (April 14, 1813) when there was a fatal affray between two prisoners of war armed in this way on the 'Samson' prison-ship. W. F. Alexander (*ibid.*, Feb. 17) confirmed this view through information from the librarian of the Beinecke Stevenson Collection, New York, which possesses Stevenson's own copy of the *Annual Register*, with his annotations.

E. D. Snyder in a *Note of R. L. S.* (*M.L.N.*, March) prints for the first time from Stevenson's *Geometry Notebook*, now at Haverford College, an early pessimistic poem, of which the first eight crucial lines appear thrice in different parts of the *Notebook*, and which therefore seem to be of genuine autobiographical significance.

In *The Ranee Brooke and Joseph Conrad* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.) John D. Gordan adds to his evidence that the novelist was indebted to the letters and diaries of James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak (see *Y.W.* xix. 248). He has now been informed that Conrad wrote to the Ranee Margaret Brooke, niece-in-law of James, to tell her that he had got the idea of the 'Mosquito house' in his novel, *The Rescue*, from a photograph in her book, *My Life in Sarawak* (1913). Conrad began *The Rescue* in 1896, but laid it aside till 1916, three years after the Ranee's *Life* had appeared, which he is not likely to have read unless he were already familiar with the history of the Brooke family.

T. O. Mabbott recalls *Kipling at Gloucester, Massachusetts* (*N. and Q.*, April 6). Kipling on Aug. 30, 1894, and July 1, 1895, began visits to Fairview Cottage, Gloucester, and is stated to have written parts of *Captains Courageous* there. The description of the boarding-house where Mrs. Cheyne rested was modelled on the Fairview hostelry.

The Durham University Journal opens its New Series, to which a welcome may here be given, under the editorship of C. Collier Abbott, with an article of penetrating insight by W. L. Renwick on *Re-Reading Kipling* (Jan.). He traces Kipling's limitations,

his philistinism, and his lack of taste, in large part to his early circumstances, and then proceeds:

> He was a journalist . . . and he claimed a place with the men of letters. . . . Kipling was a journalist all his life; no artist or seer, but a tradesman. He would, I think, accept the appellation and with pride. It is an honourable title. . . . Kipling's understanding and appreciation of the tradesman, the mechanic and technician, is one of the most notable and most significant of his new contributions to society's self-consciousness. . . . He realised, in short, the value and importance of 'talking shop'.

He carried 'shop' also in *The Maltese Cat* from the human into the animal world. So too in his historical tales, he showed the journalist's gift of seizing upon significant detail. But in Renwick's view he was insensitive to purely intellectual and emotional processes, and thus his longer novels failed. 'This positivism which underlay his method made him a story-teller and not an analyst. . . . He is in the line of Smollett and Scott; a lesser man than either, but of the same kind,' and this Renwick holds to be the true line.

Walt Taylor in *S.P.E. Tract LI* discusses *Doughty's English*, which he styles 'at once modern, Chaucerian, Elizabethan, and Arabic'. It was in Arabic especially that he found his model for pure English, not primarily because in his prose masterpiece he was writing about Arabia, but because he felt that a primitive language is more concrete and emotional than a more civilized one. Doughty found in Arabic, especially as spoken in the desert, an elemental quality. His archaism, Taylor asserts, is merely incidental. He aimed, not at 'a revival of earlier English, but a renaissance of modern English'. Taylor illustrates fully his innovations, and the various peculiarities of his English, including his distinctive compound words and his individual grammatical usages.

A. Guérard, Jr., gives in *M.L.N.* (March) *The Dates of Some of Robert Bridges' Lyrics*. A notebook in the possession of Mrs. Bridges contained fifty-eight poems in MS. with their dates, of which only twelve are given in the 1936 standard edition. Guérard supplies those of the other forty-six. He also transcribes from Bridges's own copy of his earliest volume, 1873, the pencilled dates of fifty-three poems, of which only seventeen were reprinted.

C. C. Abbott in *D.U.J.* (Jan.), writing on *Gerard Manley Hopkins*, gives the text of a letter and drafts of early poems. The letter was written on March 22, 1872 by Hopkins to A. W. Garrett who had been his contemporary at Balliol, and who was then in Bengal in the Indian Educational Service. Hopkins begins 'Happy you! You are in the land of the Vedas' and declares later 'the Vedas and Hindoo philosophy are what I should hugely like to go in for'.

Abbott also prints versions in Hopkins's handwriting preserved at Stonyhurst of two poems, *Lines for a picture of St. Dorothea* and *The Kind Betrothal*, published as *The Habit of Perfection*. He compares these with the versions printed by Bridges.

In *English* (iii. 13) Terence Heywood discusses *Gerard Manley Hopkins: His Literary Ancestry*, with reference to the two chief strains in his poetry, the primitive and the metaphysical. On the former side he is related in different ways to Whitman, Doughty, and the Dorset-dialect poet William Barnes. Welsh poetry influenced his rhythm and vocabulary, but these were already formed before he found parallels in his belated study of Anglo-Saxon verse. On his metaphysical side Heywood deals with his relation to Donne, Benlowes, and especially George Herbert who had on him 'a lasting influence, spiritual as well as technical'.

D. Caclamanos in *N. and Q.* (Feb. 24 and April 6) gives *The Sources of Two Poems by A. E. Housman*. 'When first my way to fair I took' in *Last Poems*, xxxv, was inspired by four lines in the *Greek Anthology*, ix. 138, '*Ἦν νέος ἀλλὰ πένης*'; and 'The weeping Pleiads wester' in *More Poems*, x, by Sappho's tetrastich '*δέδυκε μὲν ἀ σέλανα*'. Caclamanos compares the former favourably and the latter unfavourably with its source.

John Carter and John Sparrow contribute to *The Library* (Sept.) *A. E. Housman: An Annotated Check List*, giving a chronological list, with informative notes, of forty-two of his publications beginning with his prize poem at Bromsgrove School on *The Death of Socrates* when he was aged fifteen, in 1874, and ending with his *Collected Poems* (1939). The list also includes five biographical works containing original material, and a note on Housman's poetical manuscripts.

In *The Yale Review* (Sept. 1939) Frank O'Connor, who was one of the directors of the Abbey Theatre, has some vivid personal

memories of *Two Friends: Yeats and A.E.* (George Russell). A complement to this article is another (*ibid.*, Dec. 1939) by Pamela Hinkson on *Letters from W. B. Yeats*, who was brought into relation with Yeats through her mother, Katherine Tynan. She gives reminiscences of him and of A.E., and quotes from unpublished letters written to her mother, beginning in 1895, referring to his *Book of Irish Verse*, published in that year, and ending in 1914, with an allusion to Katherine Tynan's similar anthology, *Wild Harp*.

In *Étud.-Ang.* (Jan.–March) W. de Lipski has a *Note sur le Symbolisme de W. B. Yeats*. He traces this symbolism through various phases, though in all it is 'une évasion vers un monde de rêve et de beauté'. At first it finds its inspiration in the virgin field of Irish legend and tradition. It springs not out of the poet's individual consciousness but from the Spirit of the Race, which to Yeats was no mere metaphor. Under the influence of Synge this symbolism took a more realistic and precise form. But after the war of 1914–18 Yeats came under another influence, that of Indian mysticism, partly owing to his admiration for Tagore. While he thus was throughout at odds with the realist currents of twentieth-century poetry, his greatness lies in his realization that the artist expresses something that transcends all that is merely egoistic or personal.

J. Patrick Byrne, discussing *Sound in Modern Irish Poetry* (*Q.Q.*, Spring), lays stress on the revival to-day by Irish writers using the English tongue of assonance, which was a prominent feature of early Gaelic poetry. He gives illustrations from the verse of Austin Clarke, F. R. Higgins, and C. Day Lewis. He claims that 'assonance opens a road midway between the strictness of rhyme, with its almost unavoidable use of the hackneyed, and the looseness of "free verse"—which is generally not verse and seldom poetry. In return for freedom in this direction, however, it demands a verse content that is purely poetic; a lean, austere line stripped of all unnecessary verbiage.'

In conclusion, attention may be called to the article on *Recent Trends in Victorian Studies* (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.) by C. F. Harrold, containing a comprehensive and critical analysis of books and articles published in 1932–9, dealing either with general aspects of Victorian literature or with individual writers. Many of these have been noticed, as they appeared, in successive volumes of *The Year's Work*.

XV

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

By JOHN SOUTHGATE

ONLY an Alexandrine age could desire or produce a bibliography of its own literature; but since such a work is necessary it is pleasing to see it done with the care and discrimination which mark the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*.[1] The *Bibliography* is intended as a modern equivalent of the bibliographies appended to each chapter of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*. It is 'a distinct entity, with its own arrangement, scope, and style, and its own army of contributors'.

The *Bibliography* includes works of authors whose 'floruit' falls within the limits A.D. 600–1900 and manuscripts written before 1500. There is no attempt at complete and exact bibliography, for the degree of detail in the description varies with the importance of the work. Pamphlets and contributions to periodicals are generally omitted, and entries for biographical works are either omitted or cut down where they are covered by the *Dictionary of National Biography*. On the other hand, no critical work of any importance has been deliberately left out. The entries for first editions represent the original spelling and wording of title-pages, but imprints are given in summary form and typographical peculiarities are ignored. Changes of title and revisions of text are noted. The arrangement is throughout chronological. Introductions, prefixed to each of the main chronological divisions, which are subdivided by form, contain references to all that the student of literature can reasonably require for the social and political background of the period.

The general introduction, occupying some fifty pages and divided into four sections headed Bibliographies, Histories and Anthologies, Prosody and Prose Rhythm, Language, lists works that cannot be conveniently fitted into the chronological scheme. This section is a particularly valuable summary of information which is not easily come by in an orderly and comprehensive

[1] *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, ed. by F. N. W. Bateson. C.U.P. vol. i, 600–1660, pp. xl + 912; vol. ii, 1660–1800, pp. xx + 1008; vol. iii, 1800–1900, pp. xxi + 1008; vol. iv, Index, pp. 287. £7. 7*s*.

form. The index occupies the whole of the fourth volume. The only serious defect in this sensible and thorough compilation is that the chronological arrangement has perhaps been taken a little too far. Long lists of secondary works are obviously difficult to deal with, but the arrangement of secondary works by modern writers under the date of their earliest work is sometimes really inconvenient, since these works are omitted from the index.

Few private libraries can have rivalled that of Gibbon either in extent or quality, at least as a scholar understands the terms; for, although he spent above £3,000 in three and a half years, the collection contains no useless curiosities, no costly bindings, and few rare editions. Some further bibliographical points may be here added to the notice of the catalogue of it by Geoffrey Keynes.[2] The catalogue is a list of books that were in Gibbon's possession at one time or another, not a record of his library as it was at any one time. When Gibbon moved part of his library to Lausanne he bought large numbers of books to make up for what he had to leave behind, and many such purchases are recorded in multiple entries in this catalogue. The introduction traces the growth of the library, largely in the words of the *Autobiography*, and sets out what is known of its obscure history since the death of its creator. The first important source of information is a manuscript list of the library in Bentinck Street in 1777. This volume has not been described before. It is divided into the headings Historia, Theologia, Juridici, Philosophia, Artes & Scientiæ, Lit. Humaniores, Miscellanea, Tracts, of which the first and the sixth are by far the largest. There are 1,920 entries for 3,226 volumes. It is thought that this catalogue may have been written by Caplen, Gibbon's valet. The second source is a catalogue, now in the British Museum, of the library at Lausanne, kept up to 1789. It is written on the backs of 1,676 playing-cards, and some of the entries are in Gibbon's hand. The remaining sources are the catalogue of books offered for sale in 1832 by Dr. Frederic Schöll, Sotheby's catalogue of Dec. 20, 1914, which includes some of the books sold by Schöll to John Halliday in 1825, and C. Howes's catalogue of March 1936, which lists twenty-five books bought in England just before Gibbon's death.

[2] See above, pp. 193–4.

The work is illustrated by facsimiles of half a dozen playing-cards and the entries on them, and of pages of books with manuscript notes by Gibbon. In the catalogue the present ownership of the book is given where possible.

Bibliotheca Pepysiana, Part IV, by W. J. Carlton has been dealt with above (pp. 184–5).

The bibliography of later seventeenth-century English song-books[3] briefly noticed above (p. 177) throws light on original or nearly contemporary settings of some of our best lyrics. Most of the reputable poets and all the good composers of the time are well represented. *English Song-books* is intended to cover all secular song-books and all miscellaneous books which contain the words and music of two or more secular songs. Works published in Scotland are included. More than 4,000 songs, 250 authors, and 200 composers are listed. Sources of songs, including plays, are cited by short-titles. All sub-titles and all short-titles are cross-referenced in the index of sources. The work is generously illustrated. The subject is by nature involved, and systematic research on general lines has for the most part been neglected. The greatest merit of this thorough work is consequently the excellence of the indexes. Indexes are provided under these headings: Index of First Lines; Composers, Authors, Singers, and Actors; Tunes and Airs; Sources; Song-books; Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers.

The following articles have appeared in *The Library*[4] during 1940–1.

Hugh Pope (March and June) contributes *A Brief History of the New Testament first published at Rheims in 1582 continued down to the present day*. The Catholic version of the New Testament has been so transformed by revision that it is hardly recognizable as the same translation. The second section of Pope's long and scholarly article is an account of the causes which led to the version of 1582 and a discussion of its merits.

[3] *English Song-Books, 1651–1702*. A bibliography . . . by Cyrus Lawrence Day and Eleanore Boswell Murrie. O.U.P. for Bibliographical Society. pp. xxi + 439. 30*s*.

[4] *The Library* (*Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*), New Series, vol. xx, no. 4; vol. xxi, no. 3, 4. O.U.P. 5*s*.

The next two sections deal with the editions between 1600 and 1738, and include a note on Cornelius Nary's version of 1718. The fifth and sixth sections are an account of Challoner's series of revisions of the 1582 version and their influence upon modern versions. The seventh section deals with the state of the text between 1825 and 1860, and the eighth with the sources of the different renderings. The last two sections are an attempt to discover the causes of the eclecticism that has produced the admittedly unsatisfactory version that is in use to-day.

In *The Date of 'King Lear' and Shakespeare's Use of Earlier Versions of the Story*, W. W. Greg (March) examines the evidence for the commonly accepted date. He believes that the quarto text is a shorthand report obtained at the performance. At first sight it seems that the prominence of the author's name and the mention of Edgar on the title-page were intended to distinguish the play from the old *King Leir*, which was published in 1605. But there is also evidence for believing that the success of Shakespeare's play suggested the publication of the old play, rather than that Shakespeare's play was inspired by the publication of the old play. On the other hand Greg thinks, and in the second part of the paper collects material to show, that Shakespeare had undoubtedly read *King Leir* with some care not long before he began his own play. Greg proposes no definite solution of the dilemma, but he thinks that the accepted date may be correct and that Shakespeare may have seen the old play in manuscript. It is also possible, as he points out, that *King Lear* was acted as early as the spring of 1605, and the allusions to events of the autumn of that year may be later additions. In the third part of the paper the use Shakespeare made of the accounts in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, and *The Faery Queen* is illustrated by several examples.

In *Henry Vaughan and his Publishers* William R. Parks (March) lists the entries of the Silurist's works at Stationers' Hall during his lifetime and discusses their implications with respect to the way in which his books were published.

Donald Paige (June) in *An additional Letter and Booklist of Thomas Chard, Stationer of London*, gives an account of Chard's publishing business, identifies the books listed, and summarizes what is known of William Knowsley, the Cambridge bookseller

to whom the letter is addressed, and of the Cambridge dons and booksellers mentioned in the text. The letter is preceded by an invoice of books and prices. It was written between 1588 and 1590. Like the two of Chard's letters already known,[5] it was preserved by being used as an end-paper by a contemporary binder.

An article by Charlton Hinman (June), entitled *Principles concerning the use of variant spellings as evidence of alternate setting by two compositors*, begins with a discussion of variant spellings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the possibility of laying down rules for separating significant and non-significant evidence. The conclusions reached are based mainly on the study of *The Sun's Darling*, 1656, a masque by Dekker and Ford, and *Othello*, 1622. An analysis of variant spellings in *The Sun's Darling* suggests that the text was set in alternate pieces by two compositors and that the preliminaries were set by the second compositor alone. This distribution is verified by the analysis of variations in the typography and position of scene headings, the form of simple stage-directions, and the speech-prefixes.

The resurrecion of the masse . . . by Hugh Hilarie?, a rare pamphlet in verse with the imprint 'Strasburgh . . . at the signe of the golden Bibell . . . 1554' is the subject of an article by Christina Garrett (Sept.) noticed above (p. 92). The *S.T.C.* corrects 'Strasburgh' in the imprint to 'London'. The copy in the British Museum has Hugh Singleton's device. It is suggested that Singleton, whose whereabouts between 1553 and 1559 are uncertain, was in fact at Strasburgh in 1555 and that this pamphlet with the false date 1554 was the first of the series issued from the Golden Bible.

H. R. Mead (Sept.) describes three issues of *A Buckler against the Fear of Death*, which appeared in 1640 under the initials E. B., and supports the recent attribution to Edward Buckler. The work is commonly assigned to Edward Benlowes.

In an article entitled *Minerva Press Publicity* Michael Sadleir (Sept.) publishes an undated advertisement of 1794 which has

[5] See *The Library*, New Series, vol. iv, pp. 219–37.

recently come to light. It is headed 'A Tale addressed to the novel readers of the present time'. After this allegory of an elegant young lady and an enchanted castle comes a list of thirty-eight novels and an address to the public on circulating libraries signed by William Lane.

F. C. Francis (Dec.–March) contributes a chronological list of the writings of the late Ronald Brunlees McKerrow.

Curt F. Bühler (Dec.–March) in the first of *Two Notes* examines the text of the two Caxton editions of Lydgate's poem *The Churl and the Bird*. He decides that the unique copy in the Pierpont Morgan library is of the first and the unique copy in the Cambridge University Library is of the second edition. In the second note he describes the discovery of a variant setting of one of the sheets in the *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* and adduces further evidence for reversing the traditional order of the first two editions.

Robert E. Brittain (Dec.–March) in *Christopher Smart and the Magazines* adds a dozen poems to the canon, and by dating the poems gives a more consistent account of the poet's life and work than has so far been possible. These fugitive publications show that the verse produced after Smart's release from the asylum was, contrary to the common opinion, larger in quantity and better in quality than his earlier work, and that the text of Christopher Hunter's edition published at Reading in 1791 is often unreliable. Smart's poems, except those published in *The Student*, *The Midwife*, and *The Universal Visitor*, are listed in a table at the end of the article.

The Department of Printed Books at the British Museum has received the collection of Kipling's works formerly kept at Bateman's and known as 'The File'. Mrs. Kipling's bequest is the more welcome as Kipling has until now been very inadequately represented in the Library. 'The File' consists of more than 1,200 volumes, of which 300 are translations into foreign languages. Pirated American editions, particularly the early ones, are well represented. Several of the books contain manuscript notes. The department has also been given a collection of translations of the works of Dickens. There are nearly one hundred books comprising translations into twenty-five European languages. Several translations into Oriental languages have been

handed over to the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts.

Three volumes of Kipling have been presented to the Department of Manuscripts. The first contains the *Jungle Books*, the second short stories written between 1892 and 1896, and the third miscellaneous pieces and later poems.

The department has also obtained a manuscript of 117 leaves in poor condition headed 'S^{r} Arthur Gorges his vannetyes and toyes of yowth'. The manuscript may be the work of an amanuensis, but the corrections and some additional poems are in the author's hand. The largest and most interesting part of the volume contains poems written during the 1580's. These poems, known to Spenser, who introduced Gorges as Alcyon into *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, were long thought to have been lost. Most of the additional poems date from the reign of James I. At the end of the volume in a different hand is a short account of the execution of Sir Walter Ralegh.

Another accession, a manuscript probably written towards the end of the fourteenth century, contains a number of medieval devotional works. It begins with the poem *The Prick of Conscience*, which is followed by two prose pieces *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* and *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*. At the end come fourteen metrical prayers, meditations, and hymns.

The department has recently acquired a letter from John Keats to his brother Tom. It was written during the Scottish tour of 1818, and is dated 'Belantree, July 10'. The letter includes the *Galloway Song* and the sonnet *To Ailsa Rock*.

The manuscript of Hazlitt's reply to an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* for August 1818 has also come into the possession of the Museum. It occupies twenty-three foolscap pages. Instead of publishing it Hazlitt instituted proceedings against the *Magazine*.

Other manuscript accessions include seven volumes of collections for the life of Robert Browning by W. Hall Griffin, nine letters of Robert Louis Stevenson to George Saintsbury, a letter from John Morley to W. S. Blunt, and letters relating to Sir Thomas Grenville's library.

The Bodleian's collection of Johnson manuscripts has been increased by a holograph letter from the Doctor to Dr. Robert

Lowth, Bishop of London, together with the Bishop's reply. The correspondence relates to the desire of an acquaintance of Dr. Johnson to be admitted to Holy Orders. Other notable manuscript accessions are two volumes of sonnets by D. G. Rossetti written out by Mrs. William Morris, the correspondence of Robert Bridges and Henry Bradley between 1900 and 1923, the holograph manuscript of Beddoes's *Pygmalion*, six autograph letters of W. S. Landor, and six letters of Thomas Hood.

Accessions of printed books include Thomas Newton's *A View of Valyaunce*, 1580, a history of the struggle between Rome and Carthage for Spain, of which only two copies are known; Congreve's *Amendments of Mr. Collier's false and imperfect citations, etc.*, 1698, an unrecorded state of the first issue of Congreve's reply to the *Short View*; the second edition of Dryden's *Virgil*, 1698; Fielding's *A Full Vindication of the dutchess dowager of Marlborough*, 1742; a copy of the *Songs of Innocence*, *c.* 1800, containing twenty-seven of the thirty-one plates; *Lyrical Ballads*, 1798; Shelley's *Queen Mab*, 1822; and Alfred and Charles Tennyson's *Poems by Two Brothers*, 1827. The Library has also acquired two rare pamphlets by Landor, the *Statement of Occurrences at Llanbedr*, 1849, and a copy of *Tyrannicide*, Bath 1851, with the suppressed prose address. The Pope collection has been further increased by a copy of the 1736–8 edition of the *Works*, with contemporary manuscript notes by William Cole.

The National Library of Scotland has published no report this year.

The volume of the book-trade was reduced by the outbreak of war, but later in the year it returned almost to normal, and a number of interesting books came into the market. Several valuable manuscripts and printed books were disposed of by Christie during 1940. Byron's original manuscript of *The Waltz* was bought by the Rev. Frank Harris for £1,155. Part of the original manuscript of Chapter 20 of *The Newcomes* was sold to Cohen for £19. 19*s*. A set of *The Compleat Angler* comprising the editions of 1653, 1655, 1661, 1668, and 1676 in the original uniform bindings was bought by Scribner's for £1,600. A copy of the 1685 folio of Shakespeare was sold to Maggs for £157. 10*s*. MacLeish paid £540 for Dame Juliana Berner's *Treatise perteyning to Hawkynge, Huntynge and Fysshynge, etc.*, Wynkyn de

Woorde, 1496. Hodgson offered for sale two manuscripts of poems by Bridges: *Now in Wintry Delights*, Daniel Press, 1903, with a manuscript letter and the first draught of *Ibant obscuri* was sold for £7. 10*s.*; and the first draught of the *Feast of Bacchus* for £5. 10*s.* A good copy of Blake's *Songs of Innocence*, 1789, was bought at Hodgson's privately for £25. The manuscript of Arnold's *Geist's Grave*, 1881, was sold to W. H. Robinson for £27. 6*s.*

The following poetical and dramatic works, which are arranged in rough chronological order, are selected from the more interesting books that changed hands during the year: Spenser's *Faery Queen*, 1590–6, £12; Donne's *Poems*, 1639, £9. 9*s.*; copies of the second edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1674, from 16*s.* to £3. 10*s.*; copies of Rowe's edition of Shakespeare, 1710, from £7 to £17; the 1785 edition of Shakespeare with notes by Johnson and Steevens, £5. 5*s.*; Baskerville's edition of Congreve's *Works*, 1791, £3. 5*s.*; copies of Gay's *Fables*, 1793, with engravings by Blake and others from 12*s.* to £3; *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800, £1. 12*s.*; Scott's edition of Dryden, 1821, £3; Crabbe's *Tales*, 1812, 10*s.*; and Bridges's *The Feast of Bacchus*, 1889, with the corrected proof-sheets, £5.

The following is a similar list of prose works: Hakluyt's *Voyages*, 1589, £31; Bacon's *History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, 1622, £1. 2*s.*; *Essaies*, 1624, £17; *Works* and *Letters*, 1861–79, edited by Spedding, Ellis and Heath, £8. 5*s.*; Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, 1646, £1. 10*s.*; *Works*, 1686, the first collected edition, £4. 4*s.*; *Posthumous Works*, 1712, 15*s.*; Hobbes's *Leviathan*, 1651, £2. 10*s.*; Cotton's *Compleat Angler*, pt. 2, 1676, the first appearance of the second part separately, £9; Camden's *Brittania*, 1695, £2. 15*s.*; Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*, 1742, 6*s.*; Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*, 1749, £2. 10*s.*; the *Idler*, 1761, £1. 10*s.*; copies of the *Dictionary*, 1755, £4 and £5; *Lives of the Poets*, 1781, 12*s.*; Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, 1814, £5. 5*s.*; and Landor's *Imaginary Conversations*, 1826–9, 12*s.*

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