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THE YEAR'S WORK IN ENGLISH STUDIES

VOLUME XX

1939

Edited for

The English Association

BY

FREDERICK S. BOAS

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PREFACE

THE scheme of *The Year's Work in English Studies* was originally planned in 1914, but the outbreak of war delayed the publication of volume I till 1921. It is a cause of satisfaction to the English Association that the difficulties created by the present war have not prevented the publication of volume XIX of *The Year's Work* in 1940 and of volume XX this year. It is specially important that the record of what is being achieved in English Studies should at the present time be made as widely known as is possible.

Some changes due to the exceptional conditions have, however, to be noted. Professor Ifor Evans, owing to his additional appointment as Educational Adviser to the British Council, was unable to undertake Chapter I which he has contributed since volume XII. His place was taken at short notice by his colleague Dr. F. E. Budd, to whom the Editor is much indebted. Professor C. L. Wrenn had expected to contribute Chapter II, but the evacuation of King's College from London to Bristol, and other circumstances, have obliged him to postpone his contribution till volume XXI, when he looks forward to dealing with the general works in Philology for 1939 and 1940. Dr. McIlwraith had undertaken, as for some years past, the section on "The Later Tudor Period" in Chapter IX, but was delayed by an overseas voyage and was afterwards prevented from carrying out the work by his appointment at short notice to the Chair of English in the University of Istanbul. The omission will be made good next year.

The Editor welcomes a new contributor in Mr. G. N. Garmonsway, of King's College, London, who this year provides Chapter III on "Old English". He also has to make a special acknowledgement of thanks to Professor Allardyce Nicoll. The first draft of his Chapter VII, on "Shakespeare", was lost in transit from U.S.A., presumably through enemy action, and Professor Nicoll was good enough to undertake the labour of preparing and sending a second copy, which arrived safely.

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.
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.
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 F. E. BUDD

GENERAL works of literary history and criticism for 1939 are rather more numerous than in the previous year, and they include several important volumes.

The most ambitious work for notice is the late Ford Madox Ford's *The March of Literature*.¹ In his dedication Ford implies that academic teachers of literature are responsible for the slight general interest accorded to works of literary merit and that the cure lies in handing over the tuition to 'artist-practitioners' like himself. Hence the present volume, in which he deals with those books which he has found attractive in his reading of world literature from the early Egyptian and Chinese ages down to the present day. A clue to what Ford is likely to find attractive is given in his remark that, art being 'the highest form of communication between person and person, the quality that is necessary for the production of the Art of Literature is simply that of a personality of wide appeal. . . . What the subject may be, is of no importance whatever.' Ford tends to equate this 'wide appeal' with an appeal to himself, and his strong prejudices lead to many strange, dogmatic assertions.

English literature finds its due place in his lengthy story of the march—more properly, on his own showing, the ebb and flow—of literature. Old English poetry is represented by *Beowulf*, which is briefly touched on, and the Middle English period by Langland and Chaucer. Ford regards Chaucer as 'the great narrative poet of all time'. It is typical of Ford's general method that this judgement is supplemented, not by any ordered critical explanation of the grounds for it, but by a rather rambling biography of the poet, intended, perhaps, to suggest the all-important quality of personality.

¹ *The March of Literature from Confucius to Modern Times*, by Ford Madox Ford. Allen and Unwin. pp. xiv + 878. 16s.

From the Elizabethan period onward Ford's survey of the English element in his theme is rather more complete. He believes that it is the literature of Tudor and Stuart times that 'gives our art its incontestable right to stand amongst the great literatures of the world'. Shakespeare is treated less as a supreme dramatist than as 'a discontented poet, a little ashamed of the way he had made his money', and there is much talk about the second-best bed. But Ford is emphatic in his praise of the seventeenth-century lyrists, especially Donne, and though he dislikes Spenser and is doubtful of Milton, he claims that Dryden is 'one of the greatest of English poets'. In our Silver Age, the eighteenth century, he singles out from the poets Pope, for praise, and Goldsmith, for defamation. Gibbon, like Clarendon before him, is eulogized for his prose, and Johnson is pitied for the Boswell incubus which robs him of his deserts as a genuine man of letters. Towards the novelists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries his reactions are usually extreme. Thus he detests Fielding and Sterne, admires Smollett and Richardson, adores Jane Austen, and elevates Trollope's *Framley Parsonage* above any other English novel. His realist sympathies prompt a particularly violent anti-romanticism in his approach to nineteenth-century poetry. Keats alone is exempted from his sweeping generalization that 'You will find nowhere in the world such a body of ill-written stuff as in the English nineteenth-century poets; nor so great an inattention to form either of sentences or stories; nor such tautology; nor yet such limp verbiage'.

In such judgements, as in his not infrequent errors of fact and quotation, Ford has availed himself over-generously of his freedom from academic inhibitions. Nevertheless, his book makes lively reading, its strictures and enthusiasms are alike provocative, and it may well achieve the author's purpose of attracting new readers to some of the many masterpieces of world literature that it embraces.

F. C. Green's *Minuet*, first published in 1935, has been re-issued at a lower price.² One welcomes the reappearance of

² *Minuet: A Critical Survey of French and English Literary Ideas in the Eighteenth Century*, by F. C. Green. Dent. pp. vii + 489. 7s. 6d.

this important comparative study of French and English literature in the eighteenth century.

This year's volumes of collected essays are headed by R. W. Chambers's *Man's Unconquerable Mind*.³ Most of the twelve studies included here have previously appeared elsewhere, and, in so far as they are already familiar to many readers, they require no detailed description. Their collection in one volume is, however, a boon; and both for old and new readers this book will have a greater value than the sum of its parts by virtue of its cumulative demonstration of the concept embodied in its Wordsworthian title.

Chambers's purpose in most of his essays is to correct misunderstandings, and to that degree they are, as he says, controversial; but their tone is persuasive, not aggressive. The author's medieval interests are seen in the first five, which include a balanced discussion of 'Beowulf, and the "Heroic Age" in England' and two notable critical and interpretative essays on 'Piers Plowman: A Comparative Study'. As the biographer of More he writes with authority on 'Martyrs of the Reformation: More and Tyndale' and with special interest on 'Shakespeare and the Play of More', which is one of the most valuable contributions so far made to the controversy concerning Shakespeare's authorship of the disputed three pages. The essays on 'The Elizabethan and the Jacobean Shakespeare' and 'Measure for Measure' result in a truer understanding of Shakespeare's purpose in his 'great play of forgiveness' and a juster appreciation of its real dramatic quality. After a spirited defence of Byron in 'Ruskin (and others) on Byron', Chambers concludes with two filial essays on 'Philologists at University College, London'. The continuity of the tradition of humane learning which these philologists (Arthur Platt, A. E. Housman, and W. P. Ker) helped to establish at University College during the first century of its existence cannot be better attested than by the writings of their successor, while the ripe scholarship and catholic range of *Man's Unconquerable Mind* sufficiently illustrate his broad conception of the term 'philologist'.

³ *Man's Unconquerable Mind: Studies of English Writers from Bede to A. E. Housman and W. P. Ker*, by R. W. Chambers. Cape, pp. 414. 15s.

Oliver Elton has brought together a pleasant collection of his printed essays and addresses.⁴ The first, and perhaps the most valuable, is his British Academy lecture on 'Style in Shakespeare', where the variety of Shakespeare's style is illustrated. 'The Present Value of Byron' brings out those qualities of Byron's poetry for which it is likely to be long esteemed. 'Robert Bridges and *The Testament of Beauty*' provides a helpful commentary on Bridges's conception of beauty. Elton's interest in Slavonic literature bears fruit in four essays on Pushkin, Chekhov, and Karel Čapek. Critical appreciation is blended with more abstract philosophical considerations in 'Reason and Enthusiasm in the Eighteenth Century' and 'The Nature of Literary Criticism'. The volume closes with discerning tributes to two recent scholars, George Saintsbury and James Fitzmaurice-Kelly.

C. S. Lewis has also issued a collection of essays and addresses, of which only one has previously been published.⁵ The first six are rehabilitations of poets or things disparaged. 'Shelley, Dryden, and Mr. Eliot' reverses Eliot's elevation of Dryden above Shelley. 'William Morris' offers a vigorous defence of Morris's language and themes. The English syllabus of the Oxford Honours School is upheld in two essays, particularly against those who object to the inclusion of medieval literature. 'High and Low Brows' makes a sensible plea for a less supercilious judgement of those 'popular' books in which most readers, whatever the elevation of their brows, find pleasure. 'The Alliterative Metre' gives a simple exposition of the principles of Old English versification. In other essays not concerned with rehabilitation, metaphor is wittily examined, the Elizabethan dramatic method of description by accumulated parallels rather than by consecutive synthesis is subtly brought out, and the relations of Christianity and Literature are discussed. In all of these studies, designed largely for undergraduate societies, Lewis presents with a light touch 'somewhat of lust, somewhat of lore'.

⁴ *Essays and Addresses*, by Oliver Elton. Arnold. pp. 275. 7s. 6d.

⁵ *Rehabilitations and Other Essays*, by C. S. Lewis. O.U.P. pp. ix+197. 7s. 6d.

Lewis and E. M. W. Tillyard have published their discussion of the personal heresy in criticism.⁶ This discussion ran half its course in *Essays and Studies*, vols. xix-xxi (see *Y.W.* xv. 23, xvi. 24), and the three essays which appeared there have now been supplemented by three others previously unpublished. Lewis's initial contention is that the enjoyment of poetry is not dependent on the reader's sharing the personality of the poet. This is challenged by Tillyard, who holds that 'part of the value of poetry consists in gaining contact with the normal personality of the poet'. In a rejoinder Lewis, after making minor recantations, reiterates his rejection of the personal heresy, whereupon Tillyard replies by stating more explicitly his conception of personality and then invites his opponent to submit his definition of poetry. This Lewis does in terms to which Tillyard, in the final essay, demurs. Though the controversy tends to follow a zigzag path to a conclusion wherein nothing is concluded, several interesting viewpoints are presented by the way.

In *Art and Freedom*,⁷ the Romanes Lecture for 1939, Laurence Binyon discusses the 'various ways in which certain kinds of tyranny have been exercised over the artist to his harm; the imposing of another's will from outside'. The treatment of freedom by English poets is illustrated.

Two books for notice are concerned, in very different ways, with the views of poets on poetry. J. Bronowski's *The Poet's Defence*⁸ examines the answers which 'great men who were both critics and poets' have given to the questions, 'What is criticism worth? What is poetry worth?' Bronowski believes that 'the plainest past criticism is the criticism written by poets: because their poems tell us what their words and their standards mean'. And so, in his endeavour 'to write criticism as reasoned as geometry', he expounds the critical utterances of selected poets by following their meaning relentlessly to its logical end and also by analysing their principles as embodied in represen-

⁶ *The Personal Heresy: A Controversy*, by E. M. W. Tillyard and C. S. Lewis. O.U.P. pp. vii+150. 6s.

⁷ *Art and Freedom*, by Laurence Binyon. O.U.P. pp. 37. 2s.

⁸ *The Poet's Defence*, by J. Bronowski. C.U.P. pp. 258. 7s. 6d.

tative poems. His initial study of Sidney includes an honest statement of Gosson's case, which Bronowski regards as a strong one, and he brings out the crux of their controversy thus: 'Both think that poetry is an ideal good; both think that poems abuse this good. For Gosson, the abuse outweighs the good. . . . For Sidney, the ideal good outweighs its abuses.' Sidney's faith is, as far as possible, demonstrated from *Astrophel and Stella*. With Sidney Bronowski couples Shelley, studying the latter's *Defence of Poetry* in relation to Peacock's *Four Ages of Poetry* and to his own poetry. Shelley, he concludes, has no ideal; he 'held vaguely to poetry because he liked it; but his faith was in science because he was in awe of it'. Dryden is found to be in a half-way stage between Sidney and Shelley. An interesting essay on Dryden's theory and its exemplification in *All for Love* reveals his conception of Nature as 'the root mind of man' and as 'an ideal of order; and the acts of man, Wit and Judgment, are acts towards this order'. For Wordsworth, Nature is found to mean 'the root passions of man', and his theory of poetry is shown from his own poetry to be an imperfectly resolved theory involving both the soul and the senses. Wordsworth is the last to hold 'an ideal of poetry which is almost religious'.

Bronowski then deals with Coleridge's psychology of pleasure and his theory of imagination, and thereafter with Swinburne, A. E. Housman, and Yeats, whose mock ideal of 'pure' poetry leads them to believe 'that we can only like or dislike a poem and we cannot say what we like or dislike in it'. Swinburne and Housman are heartily damned both as critics and poets, but Yeats, though he is alleged to profess an 'anti-poetic faith', is deemed to be a worldly poet 'great enough to stand against poetry'. Bronowski's conclusions, it may be seen, often constitute provocative challenges to orthodox beliefs. They are, however, based on clear reasoning and well organized analysis of the critical and creative writings of the poets.

Desmond Flower's *The Pursuit of Poetry*⁹ makes fewer de-

⁹ *The Pursuit of Poetry: A Book of Letters about Poetry written by English Poets, 1550-1930*, ed. by Desmond Flower. Cassell. pp. xv + 310. 10s. 6d.

mands on the reader. It is a pleasant anthology of letters by poets from Spenser to Housman, with brief prefatory comments (usually biographical) on the authors drawn upon. The letters cover many subjects besides poetry; indeed, relatively few are strictly 'about poetry', as Flower's sub-title asserts. Moreover, from the glimpses of poetic processes occasionally revealed it is not easy to build up a unified, composite picture. Those who pursue poetry through these pages will not discover the secret of its creation, but they will find much else of interest to reward their reading.

A useful contribution to the history of English poetry has been made in James A. S. McPeck's *Catullus in Strange and Distant Britain*,¹⁰ a study of the influence of Catullus on English poets until the death of Pope. There is no evidence for direct influence in the medieval period, though McPeck discusses certain indications of indirect evidence; and even in the case of Skelton, the self-styled 'British Catullus', direct influence is problematic. The reading of Catullus was consistently deprecated by critics puritanically inclined, and his works were not published in England until 1684. Nevertheless, poets from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century increasingly appreciated his elegance and emulated certain of his poems. Among his direct imitators are Sidney, Spenser, Campion, Jonson, Herrick, Randolph, Cartwright, and Crashaw, while a more independent use of certain Catullan features is found in Shakespeare, Donne, Lovelace, Cowley, Marvell, and (after a considerable interval) Pope. In a series of well documented chapters, enriched by generous quotation, McPeck displays the influence of Catullus' most popular poems or themes. In 'A Sparrow's Flight' he admits that the long sequence of English 'sparrow' poems owes as much to Skelton's *Philip Sparrow* as to Catullus' two poems on Lesbia's bird. Catullus' satiric poems were apparently not widely imitated; but in his chapter on them McPeck makes a valuable contribution to the problem of the disputed authorship of *The Expostulation* by showing that the manner in which classical (including Catullan)

¹⁰ *Catullus in Strange and Distant Britain*, by James A. S. McPeck. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xvii + 411. 28s.

material is used suggests the hand of Donne rather than of Jonson. The love poems to Lesbia are shown to have been frequently emulated, but McPeck's longest and most important chapter is devoted to the influence of Catullus' marriage songs. Here, as in his other chapters, McPeck is careful to distinguish direct from indirect evidence—a task involving wide reading in Italian and French poetry of the Renaissance. How greatly the possibilities of indirect influence complicate his task is to be seen from his lengthy analysis of the sources of Spenser's *Epithalamion*, in which, it appears, there are more borrowings from the obscure French poet Buttet than from any other single author. A note on English translations from Catullus concludes this interesting and scholarly volume.

Philip Henderson has written a discriminating study of modern poetry in *The Poet and Society*.¹¹ His first two chapters give a clear, impartial, and amusing survey of both 'bourgeois' and 'Marxist' criticism of the last twenty years, especially criticism written by poets. Neither type of criticism is found to have much positive value, and Henderson fears the dangers that threaten culture from the Marxist tendency to judge all literature by its party colours. He also dislikes the lack of intellectual independence and the stylistic flatness of Marxist critics, who 'write as though it were sinful, or bourgeois, to give the reader any pleasure by their books'. His own critical chapters are refreshingly free from these shortcomings. After a consideration of the Edwardian poets and of those who sought in poetry a means of spiritual escape from the consequences of the last war, he finds that 'the best poetry of our time represents an attempt to return to the real world, an effort on the part of the poet to reintegrate himself with society'. 'As things are,' he adds, 'this must be a very painful process'; and he fears that 'whatever gaiety there is in modern poetry is of a pretty desperate kind'. His studies of individual poets begin with Hopkins, whose inclusion is justified by his influence on modern poetry (especially, curiously enough, on 'our more abstruse Marxist poets'). Hopkins's agonized, ecstatic poetry

¹¹ *The Poet and Society*, by Philip Henderson. Secker and Warburg. pp. 248. 7s. 6d.

is well analysed, and there follow equally discerning chapters on Yeats's mature poetry of self-realization, T. S. Eliot's expression of 'all the diseases of modernity', D. H. Lawrence's poetic revolt against self-consciousness and his feverish cult of 'mindlessness', and, finally, the verse of the Auden group, alternately communistically exalted or realistically disillusioned. Throughout, Henderson's judgements reflect his conviction that 'it is not his political opinions, philosophy, or beliefs that make a poet, so much as the range, sensitiveness, and depth of his perceptions'.

Ruth Bailey has discussed modern poetry in a dialogue¹² between four principal speakers: the Attacker, who objects that 'the poets maunder and the public has been bamboozled into accepting their maunderings'; the Defender, who believes that modern poetry has recovered a vigour which 'makes it, in capacity if not in achievement, superior to any poetry that has been written for the last two hundred years'; the Plain Man, who finds it incomprehensible; and the Moderator, who adopts a middle way. Each speaker is allowed to quote his favourite poems in illustration of his views, and the discussion is kept to the point by constant reference to this 'joint anthology'. Eliot's theory and practice tend to dominate the debate, and the author's sympathies are obviously with the Defender. Nevertheless, all parties are given a fair hearing, and at the close of this lively dialogue the reader of conservative tastes will be, like the Plain Man, 'rather less bewildered' than he was.

Fitzroy Pyle has examined in considerable detail the mechanics of the pentameter line, in *The Rhythms of the English Heroic Line: An Essay in Empirical Analysis* (*Hermathena*, xxviii).

Several verse anthologies call for notice. Particularly welcome is the new edition of the *Oxford Book of English Verse*.¹³ Some hundred pages have been added, partly by revision of the selec-

¹² *A Dialogue on Modern Poetry*, by Ruth Bailey. O.U.P. pp. 99. 5s.

¹³ *The Oxford Book of English Verse, 1250-1918*, ed. by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. New Edition. O.U.P. pp. xxviii + 1172. 8s. 6d. (India Paper, 10s.).

tions down to the original later limit of 1900, but chiefly by additions from verse published between 1900 and 1918, including many pieces which have already become established favourites. From post-war poetry Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has held aloof, thus avoiding an inharmonious close to an anthology throughout which the 'note of valiancy—of the old Roman "virtue" mated with cheerfulness' is dominant.

In *The Sacred Fire*¹⁴ W. B. Honey has sought to illustrate only the genuinely creative poetry of the last six centuries, 'to demonstrate the several phases of our incomparable English poetry in their purity and integrity'. In a vigorous introduction he defines his conception of creative poetry and relates its various manifestations to the changes of taste and outlook in successive ages, more particularly since the Renaissance. His robust pronouncements on individual poets are usually defensible, and he is catholic enough to combine admiration of Milton and Tennyson with appreciation of the younger school of contemporary poets. His selections, which draw upon epic and narrative as well as upon lyric poetry, are well chosen to illustrate the recurrent creative impulse in English poetry.

Gerald Bullett's *The English Galaxy of Shorter Poems*, which first appeared in 1933 (see *Y.W.* xiv. 42–3), has now been included in the Everyman series.¹⁵

Robert Lynd has cast his net widely to include no less than a hundred and ten poets in his anthology of modern verse.¹⁶ The age qualification excludes those who were not still living at the accession of George V or whose works were not first published thereafter. Poetic competence is the only other qualification, for all types and tastes are represented. So numerous are the authors that few are allowed more than one or two pieces. But if we cannot learn to know any one poet reasonably well from this anthology, it does achieve Lynd's

¹⁴ *The Sacred Fire: an Anthology of English Poems from the Fourteenth Century to the Present Day*, ed. by William Bowyer Honey. Routledge. pp. xii + 488. 7s. 6d.

¹⁵ *The English Galaxy of Shorter Poems*, ed. by Gerald Bullett. Dent. pp. xvii + 496. 2s. 6d.

¹⁶ *Modern Poetry*, ed. by Robert Lynd. Nelson. pp. xx + 247. 7s. 6d.

purpose of giving 'the general reader some idea of the harvest of poetry in modern times'.

One such harvest, from which Lynd apparently found nothing to glean, is the poetry which appeared in *New Verse* during its first six years of publication. The editor of the periodical has produced an anthology of this verse,¹⁷ representing twenty six authors who seem to be unmoved by the theory that poetry should be 'simple, sensuous, and passionate'. Lynd's 'general reader' will recognize few names beyond those of MacNeice, Spender, and Auden.

In celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of Rhodesia, John Snelling has produced, with an introduction by A. S. Cripps, an attractive anthology of the verse which the country has inspired in that half-century.¹⁸ Twenty-seven poets are represented. Their sincere and unpretentious verse clearly reveals their sensitive response to the beauty and distinctive atmosphere of Rhodesia. It is in itself a sufficient proof of the editor's modest claim that there 'the arts have not lain wholly neglected'.

Two books covering a wide range of European comedy have appeared. Henry Ten Eyck Perry has surveyed it from classical Greek to modern times in a series of studies of authors whom he regards as 'masters of dramatic comedy from the standpoint of both social criticism and aesthetic form'.¹⁹ The opening chapters on Greek and Roman comedy provide a very helpful critical account of Aristophanes, Menander, Plautus, and Terence. The revival of classical comedy in the Renaissance is studied in the plays of Jonson (Shakespeare's comedy being regarded as 'for all its relations to the tradition of comedy, a thing apart') Jonson's progressive adaptation of the classical tradition to the conditions of his own day and his comic treatment of 'the evils of an economic civilization' are well brought out. Thereafter

¹⁷ *New Verse*, ed. by Geoffrey Grigson. Faber and Faber. pp. 264. 6s.

¹⁸ *Fifty Years of Rhodesian Verse*, ed. by John Snelling. Oxford Blackwell. pp. 128. 4s. 6d.

¹⁹ *Masters of Dramatic Comedy and their Social Themes*, by Henry Ten Eyck Perry. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xxii + 428. 21s. 6d.

Perry devotes chapters to the peak periods and supreme exponents of dramatic comedy in Spain (Lope de Vega and his school), France (Molière, 'the greatest writer of thoughtful comedy in the history of the theatre'), Denmark (Holberg), Italy (Goldoni), Germany and Austria (Lessing and Raimund), and Russia (Gogol, Turgenev, and Chekhov). In a final chapter he returns to England in order to discuss Bernard Shaw, who 'has an unmistakable affinity with Aristophanes, the comedies of both men containing a strange amalgam of bitter sarcasm and fervent idealism expressed with felicity'. By incidental comment on the dramatic milieu of his selected authors Perry relates them adequately to the general development of European comedy, and their own contributions are displayed through critical descriptions of each of their comedies. Though Perry does not write for specialists on the various authors, his shrewd appreciations of so wide a range of comic dramatists will give pleasure and profit to specialist and general reader alike.

James Feibleman ventures on an even wider field in that his *In Praise of Comedy*²⁰ covers the same period as Perry's work but includes non-dramatic as well as dramatic comedy and theory as well as practice. His purpose is 'not to exhaust the history but rather to discover a theory of comedy which will prove permanently and ubiquitously true'. His opening three chapters, though admittedly derivative, are likely to prove the most useful part of his book to readers wishing to make some acquaintance with comedy and its critical background. The first chapter sketches the history of comedy from Ancient Greek times to the close of the nineteenth century; the second and third chapters give a résumé of the views on comedy of critical theorists, philosophers, and psychologists from Plato to the present day. Then, in his fourth chapter, Feibleman attempts his own interpretation of the meaning of comedy, and he illustrates this in his last chapter from a curious assembly of 'Modern Comedians', including the Marx Brothers, Gertrude Stein, Charlie Chaplin, and the *New Yorker*. No dramatist is admitted, and the reader may well be excused his

²⁰ *In Praise of Comedy: A Study in its Theory and Practice*, by James Feibleman. Allen and Unwin. pp. 284. 10s. 6d.

feeling of anti-climax (among other things) in finding such a conclusion to a volume which opens with Aristophanes and Plato.

In *The Novel and the Modern World*²¹ David Daiches has considered how the major fiction writers of a time of transitional civilization 'have reflected this transitional quality, how they have reacted to it, and what is the nature of their work as a result'. Indeed, Daiches considers that they *are* major writers because their works 'most adequately reflect the civilization of which they are a product'; and their technical innovations are among the most significant of their reactions. In his opening chapters he suggests that, with 'the drying-up of traditional sources of value and the consequent decay of uniform belief', twentieth-century writers of fiction have had to determine their own standards of value and to select character and incident accordingly; or, if they lack such standards, to compensate by technique, as Joyce does in *Ulysses*. Moreover, advances in the science of psychology have led fiction writers to experiment with the 'stream of consciousness' technique in characterization; and the aims and methods of this technique are well discussed.

Daiches then traces the evolution of these modern developments. Galsworthy is first examined, rather disparagingly, as a traditionalist in both spirit and technique; he is 'the last of the great Victorian novelists'. Conrad's innovations are held to be interesting, though uninfluential. Katherine Mansfield is seen to approach the modern formula, but Joyce is the first to attain it. To the analysis and illustration of Joyce's artistic development from *Dubliners* to *Finnegan's Wake* four chapters are devoted, including a shrewd study of the technique of *Ulysses* as a not wholly successful experiment to combine space and time. Virginia Woolf's fiction is praised for its reflection of a fine meditative intellect and for the important contribution to technique made in *Mrs. Dalloway*. Aldous Huxley, whose interesting mental development is offset against his failure to master 'even the elements of form and structure

²¹ *The Novel and the Modern World*, by David Daiches. Chicago Univ. Press and C.U.P. pp. x + 228. 15s.

in fiction', is judged to be no novelist but a brilliant essayist. By relating questions of form, technique, style, and subject-matter to current civilization Daiches has exploited an interesting avenue of critical approach to at least one group of modern novelists.

G. U. Ellis's *Twilight on Parnassus*²² is also concerned with those contemporary novelists who 'revealed some particular aspect of a cultural phase that was distinguished by a noticeable revolt against current social values, and a marked innovation in the treatment of prose-fiction'. His emphasis, however, for the most part falls on different authors from those whom Daiches finds significant, his concern with technique is slighter, and his method is far more discursive. One might even suggest that his sub-title, 'A Survey of Post-War Fiction and Pre-War Criticism', is misleading. At least a third of the book deals with pre-twentieth-century literature. Victorian standards in biography and criticism are discussed; a detailed consideration of Leslie Stephen as critic leads to a roving survey of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literature which he criticized (including poetry and drama); the development of the novel from Fielding to Dickens is expounded; and only in chapter viii do we come to post-war novelists. This seems to be an uneconomical method of bringing out those changes which Ellis considers to be important in the constitution and taste of the body of readers on whose patronage novelists depend. A corresponding leisureliness marks his discussion of post-war novelists from Norman Douglas onwards. Huxley and Lawrence receive fullest treatment. Among others who are dealt with because, in Ellis's opinion, they made 'an extremely valuable and highly personal contribution to prose-fiction' are Wyndham Lewis, Virginia Woolf, Ronald Firbank, and Evelyn Waugh; Joyce, who would not appear to be inferior to such authors, receives little attention. A more coherent organization of his material would have helped to clarify the impressions which Ellis seeks to convey.

Andrew Block has produced a catalogue of English prose

²² *Twilight on Parnassus: A Survey of Post-War Fiction and Pre-War Criticism*, by G. U. Ellis. Michael Joseph. pp. 438. 15s.

fiction published between the years 1740 and 1850.²³ In a prefatory note Ernest A. Baker pays a well deserved tribute to the unselfish labour which has gone to the making of this very useful compilation. The numerous entries have been accumulated from a variety of sources, chiefly booksellers' catalogues, and Block does not pretend to have seen or handled all the works listed. Certain errors of description would have been avoided by such first-hand acquaintance; other errors, of omission, are perhaps inevitable in a work of such range. Some of these errors are rectified in a lengthy review in *T.L.S.* (March 25).

Randolph G. Adams has published three interesting lectures on a trio of nineteenth-century Americans distinguished in various ways for their interest in 'Americana'.²⁴ They are the bibliographer, Henry Harris, compiler of the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* (1866) and author of works on American history of the period of discovery; George Brinley, a New England collector of books concerning or printed in America; and President Thomas Jefferson, whose policy as a bookman was 'to acquire books which would be useful for reading in America'.

William Kent, already author of five books on London, has produced a volume of *London Worthies*.²⁵ In this he gives short biographies of 350 men and women who at some time in their lives were associated with London. Kent makes a very tolerant selection from the innumerable candidates for inclusion. Inevitably, many literary figures appear, and his chatty paragraphs about them make pleasant reading. His biographies are purely topographical, that is, they deal not with the whole life of their subjects but only with their London contacts and, in the case of the men and women of letters, with the reflection of London in their writings. By concentrating his detailed

²³ *The English Novel, 1740-1850: A Catalogue including Prose Romances, Short Stories, and Translations of Foreign Fiction*, by Andrew Block, with an introd. by Ernest A. Baker. Grafton. pp. xi + 367. 63s.

²⁴ *Three Americanists*, by Randolph G. Adams. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Univ. Press; O.U.P. pp. 101. 7s.

²⁵ *London Worthies*, by William Kent. Heath Cranton. pp. xiv + 421. 10s. 6d.

knowledge on this one aspect, Kent has written a useful as well as an entertaining volume.

An abridgement of *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* has been edited under the title, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Literature*.²⁶ The staple matter of the parent volume has been retained in shorter form, and a number of brief articles has been added on general literary subjects, periods of literary history, and contemporary English and American writers. This handy reference book should meet the needs of a large public, and it preserves much of the attraction of its source as a book in which to browse.

André Classe's *The Rhythm of English Prose*²⁷ is a scientific investigation of the question of rhythm from the phonetic point of view. Through a series of experiments with the kymograph Classe has studied the mechanics of 'Stress and Syllable', 'The Distribution of Accents', and 'Quality and Rhythmic Patterns'. His data and conclusions would seem to have considerable importance for phoneticians.

The two annual collections, *Essays and Studies*²⁸ and *Essays by Divers Hands*²⁹ have appeared. The articles in the former are mainly noticed in later chapters, but attention should be called also to the stimulating study of *Matthew Arnold* by T. Sturge Moore. In the R.S.L. volume Robin Flower's learned and exciting lecture on *Lost Manuscripts* is specially noteworthy, and others of interest are Richard Church's *The Poet and the Novel*, L. E. Tanner's *Literary Links with Westminster Abbey*, and Michael Roberts's *The Dignity of English Thought*.

²⁶ *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Literature*. O.U.P. pp. 567. 6s.

²⁷ *The Rhythm of English Prose*, by André Classe. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 138. 10s. 6d.

²⁸ *Essays and Studies by members of the English Association*, Vol. xxiv, collected by Laurence Binyon. pp. 131.

²⁹ *Essays by Divers Hands: Transactions of the R.S.L.*, Vol. xviii, ed. by St. John Ervine. pp. 165.

III

OLD ENGLISH

By G. N. GARMONSWAY

THE most outstanding contribution to Old English scholarship in 1939 was undoubtedly A. J. Robertson's edition of the Anglo-Saxon Charters. As the General Editor of the Cambridge Studies in English Legal History says, 'the original indebtedness of scholars to Miss Robertson's skill and learning as an editor of texts through the publication of her *Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* is greatly increased by this book, in which she provides accurate texts of many vernacular documents, and full and valuable notes.¹ . . . In form and content the 135 documents here included vary enormously. A few of them are royal charters; many are leases and grants by bishops; others are wills and grants in reversion, records of lawsuits, narratives of the history of disputed estates, surveys, and accounts of services and dues rendered.'

The documents are printed on the left-hand page with a translation to face. There are about 250 pages of notes which give particulars of each manuscript, its language and date, information about facsimiles and editions, and which identify the places and boundaries mentioned in the documents. Moreover, an attempt is made to identify each name which appears, whether it be that of a person mentioned in the document or of a witness named at the end. The book will take its place as one of the principal source-books for the study of early English history, enriching our knowledge of the language, the diplomatic, the life, and the law of the pre-Norman age.

The second outstanding work which appeared was the publication of volume I of the series *Introductions to English Literature*² which contains a remarkable essay by W. L. Renwick.

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by A. J. Robertson. C.U.P. pp. xxviii + 555. 25s.

² *The Beginnings of English Literature to Skelton 1509*, by W. L. Renwick and Harold Orton. The Cresset Press. pp. 431. 6s.

It is long since Anglo-Saxon studies stood in debt to a literary historian who was able to sum in right proportion the labours of many and present his calculus so attractively, both for the practised scholar and for the general reader. Renwick's vantage ground is almost outside the period: as an authority on Spenser he stands at its close and is able thereby to look backwards with a less prejudiced eye than some of us upon the medieval scene. This, in fact, compels a serious attention to his impressions: whereas we have had, in the past, to tolerate the easy pronouncements of some men of letters on our early literature, it is soon evident that this writer is not only in sympathy with his subject but is also able to surprise the professed expert by his knowledge of some remote stanza or chapter of prose.

The essay continually remembers its purpose—to serve as an introduction to the beginnings of English literature: in particular the advice given at the end is of the right kind: 'In order to gain some acquaintance with the general average content of mediaeval life, the student could make an intensive study of a small area he knows . . . or begin with a poem or a story, and follow it back. Anything will do for a starting point, but follow your fancy. . . .' This, one may presume, has been Renwick's own approach. Spenser's dragons, faunes and satyres have been followed back to their primitive haunts: in his search for old ballads and the antiquities of the North, so well known to him, he has hit the same trail: if this has interrupted for a time the lone sitting by the shores of old romance it is to the profit of us all.

The second part of this volume, the Bibliography, has been compiled by Harold Orton: it has been designed 'to point out to the general reader the most helpful studies of each work listed, to give a little more guidance to any reader who has a special interest in any one, and to show where more may be found'. The difficulties of Orton's task are legion: he deals with works many of them anonymous, and about which there is often no certainty and much difference of opinion as to their dates of composition and transcription: one 'book' will contain works by different authors, again frequently unknown. How is all this material to be satisfactorily arranged? It can be said that Orton has admirably surmounted these obstacles; the

arrangement as planned works clearly and with little ambiguity for the novice. A prominent preliminary note should, however, have been given to make clear all the conventions used. The reading lists are arranged alphabetically according to the author's name: this may mislead the beginner, who will assume the work which tops the list to be the most important or the most recent. Brief comments, however, follow such titles in square brackets and guide by a discrimination often too laconic, e.g. 'standard', 'excellent', 'indispensable'. But the extended commentaries which tell what is known of poet, codex, or poem are excellent, up to date, and well informed: they combine with skill the difficult task of providing instruction for the beginner with literary criticism for the experienced. Little of importance is missing from these bibliographies: if a title is absent it will usually be found in the last chapter of the book, called 'The Arts', which might have been given more publicity in the volume itself.

The publishers of this volume merit our thanks for realizing that books on our early literature deserve—as this one does at least—an attractive format which need not be expensive.

A great number of the shorter papers of 1939 deal with *Beowulf*. On the one hand, F. Klaeber from his wide knowledge continues to point and repair the immense structure he has already raised by his article *Beowulfiana minora* (*Anglia*, lxiii. 400 ff.): on the other hand, Kemp Malone is no less active in demolition and ingenious reconstruction. Both critics review again the Ingeld story, Klaeber in *A Notelet on the Ingeld Episode in Beowulf* (*Anglia Beiblatt*, 223 ff.); Kemp Malone in *Notes on Beowulf IX-XI* (*Anglia*, lxiii. 105 ff.). Klaeber notes a parallel from Anglo-Saxon history for a marriage ceremony to take place at the court of the bridegroom: his notelet, admitting that this had been noticed by Girvan, gives another example from the *Nibelungenlied*. Malone, on the contrary, in his important article which sums up some of his previous conclusions adds among new points the contention that *dryhtbeorn Dena* 2035 is plural, and cannot be taken with *he* 2034.

Bernard F. Huppe in an article called '*A Reconsideration of*

the Ingeld Passage in Beowulf (J.E.G.P., April) considers the question whether Beowulf was speaking prophetically when he used the present tense in his speech to Hygelac. The linguistic investigations of J. M. Steadman (*M.L.N.* xlv. 522-5), which led him to pronounce against the suggestion of Olrik that the use of the present is 'historical' are noted and approved by Huppé, who proceeds to interpret the speech as a dramatic prophecy of the future turn of events: in fact he approves of the 'old' interpretation and has set out its best debating points very cogently. He disagrees with Malone as to the scene of the action.

In Klaeber's article mentioned above, *Beowulfiana minora*, there are notes of varying length on sixty to seventy passages in the poem. Some of these suggest parallels from Latin and Germanic sources for the interpretations proposed by him, and serve by the author's wide scholarship to give support to his arguments: others deal with syntactical and idiomatic usages. To one note on characteristic 'attitudes of sorrow, joy, meditation etc.' (cf. *unbliðe sæt, úti stendr*) Klaeber might have added the admonition of *Drymskviða*. The meaning of *æfter* in *nallas beagas geaf æfter dome* 1720 is rather 'according to' than 'in pursuit of, striving after' which Klaeber gives: 'Heremod was not generous according as the standard of kingly honour requires'. Notes on the meanings of *on andan*, and *gebæran* deserve special notice: all are worthy of detailed mention but we look forward to their appearance in the next edition of *Beowulf* together with those which appear (*Anglia Beiblatt*, 330 ff.) under the title *A Few Beowulf Jottings*.

Kemp Malone's *Notes on Beowulf IX-XI* (*Anglia*, loc. cit.) also contains a justification for the readings *hereric* 1176 and *heaðoric* 2466; 'they show the survival, in the poetical vocabulary at least, of primitive English *-ric* in nouns other than personal names'. Note X shows that the usual emendation to *Hemming* of *Hemning* 1944, *Heming* 1961 is needless: the three forms 'are all perfectly good forms, and none of them ought to be emended out of existence'.

In an article *Becca and Seafola* (*Eng. Stud.* lxxiii. 180 ff.)

Malone seeks to discover whether these heroes go back to any living persons. He notes the identification of *Seafola* of *Widsith* 115 with Sabene, and thinks that although the name may derive from the name of the Roman general Sabinianus Magnus, the hero himself must be sought among the retainers of sixth-century Frankish kings, particularly kings named Theodric. The account of the *Historiae* of Theophylactus Simocatta mentions two legates of King Theodric II, King of the Franks, by the names *Βόσος* and *Βέττος*; the first a nickname for someone whose true name has not come down to us, and the second a name which may be brought into connexion with that of Berchtung, the faithful retainer of Hugdietrich and Wolddietrich—the Becca of *Widsith*. The historical sequence of events out of which grew the Wolddietrich story has been preserved to us in the narrative of Gregory of Tours, and in Malone's opinion *Widsith* 115 constitutes a reference to this story: 'the younger Sigiwald is named first: his name appears as *Secca*, a hypocoristic form based on the first element *Sig-* of his full name. His faithful friend and helper, Prince Theodberht, comes next; he is called *Becca*, a hypocoristic name-form based on the second element *-berht* of his full name. The other two characters named in the line are *Seafola* and King Theodric himself'. No *Seafola*, however, appears in Gregory's narrative, and Malone thinks his inclusion in the tale is no mere invention of some Frankish story-teller, but has arisen by reason of the two retainers of the boy king Theodric II being made retainers of Theodric I as well. 'One of these retainers, Betto, was identified with Theodberht, thereby lowering his status from prince to henchman: the other, Boso, was seized upon to provide the tale with a villain. . . . Whether *Seafola* was Boso's true name, or only another nickname, indicative of the man's cunning, we cannot tell.' Another article by Kemp Malone, *Hygelac* (*English Studies*, xxi.108) has not been available for notice.

W. S. Mackie contributes ten pages of observations on a number of passages in *Beowulf* in his article *Notes upon the Text and the Interpretation of 'Beowulf'* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.). Some suggest emendations of the text, but all are guided by careful attention to OE. usage in idiom and syntax. Several deal with

the Finn episode. Mackie's interpretation of *woroldrædenne* (l. 1142) is on the right lines, following Clark Hall's 'so he (Hengest) did not run counter to the way of the world'. 'This worldly custom', says Mackie, 'refers to the wreaking of revenge upon the Eotens'. He sees a hint of moral disapproval in the telling of the story: 'the poet admits, regretfully, that the taking of revenge is "the usual custom of the world".' But surely *Hroþgares scop* must speak 'in character': from his point of view Hengest is under a cloud as long as he *forwyrnde woroldrædenne* i.e. 'rejected the course suggested by public opinion', i.e. to take revenge on Finn.

Dorothy Whitelock (*Med. Æv.*, Oct.) discusses the passage in *Beowulf* (2444–2471) which follows the account of the accidental slaying of Herebeald by his younger brother Hæðcyn: this passage describes the feelings of an old man who has lived to see his young son ride on the gallows. She shows that there is an even closer connexion of thought than has hitherto been appreciated between this passage and the preceding lines. She first points out that the accidental nature of the slaying would not in itself have saved the perpetrator from the penalties of homicide: in the case of slaying within the kindred, however, where vengeance is impossible, the State might punish by forfeiture of property. Then the text of the passage in question is given with a translation and keen critical commentary: it is pointed out that most commentators only see in these lines an attempt by the poet to portray imaginatively Hreðel's grief by an illustrative parallel which has no particular aptness to the situation. Miss Whitelock then shows that there were, however, other occasions in Anglo-Saxon law in which no revenge or compensation was permitted, namely when a man had been legally executed for theft, broken pledges, &c. She concludes, therefore, 'it is natural then that the author of *Beowulf*, describing Herebeald's fall, should call to mind the commonest type of *feohleas* death, and compare Hreðel's situation with that of a man whose son has suffered death as a law-breaker'.

W. W. Lawrence has an article on *Grendel's Lair* (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.), in the main a refutation of Mackie's paper of 1938 in

the same journal (cf. *Y.W.* xix, 50), which had implied that the descriptive methods of *Beowulf* are such as to render comparison with the *Grettissaga*, and interpretation on this basis, dangerous: 'we may, as it were, be attempting to complete *Kubla Khan* with the help of *Robinson Crusoe*'. The reply is, of course, that there is the connexion of the same folk-tale, clear in the saga, but confused in the poem by incongruous elements; in spite of which, however, the localization emerges clearly as a waterfall-setting, with the cave behind the fall. Mackie's theory, as is pointed out, is a revival of Sarrazin's contention that the scene of the lair is 'eine Meeresbucht', a theory which has had no encouragement from leading editors of the poem. To end the article, Lawrence draws attention to the use by Old English poets of epithets which are not strictly applicable to their context; e.g. the use of sea-terms to describe fresh water and lakes: the significance of this fact for the descriptive passages of the lair in *Beowulf* is brought home.

F. P. Magoun, Jr., deals once and for all with several of the contentions of Gustav Hübener's article 'Beowulf and Heroic Exorcism' (*R.E.S.*, April) in a paper entitled *Zum heroischen Exorzismus des Beowulfepos* (*Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, lv. 215 ff.). He tests Hübener's theories by a detailed consideration of the Grendel episode, and shows how the meaning of the text has been strained to achieve his 'subjektiv und daher unanfechtbar' interpretations; in addition Magoun brings a great deal of evidence to disprove Hübener's statement that it is only among the early Indo-Germanic culture systems that there is no mention of the exorcist or of obsessions: moreover this evidence, in its descriptions of exorcism, runs directly counter to that which Hübener points to in *Beowulf*.

In an article *Humblus and Lotherus* (*Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, xiii. 201 ff.) Kemp Malone discusses with much ingenuity the passage which opens the first book of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, comparing the evidence of Icelandic and English sources. He shows how Saxo's genealogy represents a combination of two other genealogies, with the subsequent substitution of Dan for Gaut; with the result that, since Gaut had a sor

Hreþel (i.e. Lotharus) in one genealogy and a son Humul (i.e. Humblus) in the other, Saxo gives Dan the two sons Humblus and Lotharus. Further, on the assumption that the *Angis of Jordanes is to be identified with Angel, then Humul (i.e. Humblus) would displace Offa as father of Angel, and the elder Humblus of Saxo would be accounted for. 'Finally the displacement of Offa by Humblus deprived the three generations of their proper genealogical connexions, and facilitated their transfer to the head of the genealogy, a place more suitable for eponyms in any case'. To the two eponymous brothers was added Dan to give the Danes representation in the list. By comparison of the Norse and English authorities, Hlöd̥r (Lotharus) is identified with Hreþel of *Beowulf*, whose personal conflict with his brother Angantýr (Ingengþeow, Ongengþeow) is the representation in Scandinavian tradition of a warfare between Gauts and Swedes, of which we are told in *Beowulf*: the quarrel of the two brothers 'is clearly a Scandinavian version of the tale Herebeald and Hæðcyn as recorded in *Beowulf*', and which in places in Saxo is close to the original story. Saxo's characterization of the brothers sprang, in the writer's view, out of the linguistic connexions of their names: Løther, the tyrant, Humblus, the weak brother. 'In Danish tradition, we may presume, Skiold once had the tyrant Heremod for a father. This tyrant Saxo replaced with another tyrant, Løther, and thereby tied Skiold to the line of kings that he had set at the beginning of his Danish history'.

S. O. Andrews (*Med. Æv.*, Oct.) deals with *Three Textual Cruxes in Beowulf*. The first is a suggestion to read *opre* for *oþðe* (649) '[Hroðgar] knew that the monsters intended battle when once they could see the sun's light darkening with *another* nightfall': this certainly removes the necessity of inserting *ne* before *meahton* (648) and the difficulties of construction in reading *oððe* as equivalent to *oððæt*.

The second note disagrees with the practice of editors in cancelling *fela* which in the MS. precedes *sinnigne* (1379): Andrews's reconstruction of the half-line is very ingenious: *secg* is the suspicious word, not *fela*; it is simply a dittograph of the four letters which follow it in the second half-line (*sec g*),

and in any case a strange word to use of a she-monster. With the reading therefore of *sele sinnigne* (*fela* misread for *sele*), the line scans and better sense is achieved, since *sele* re-echoes the previous words *eard*, *stowe*. Klaeber (*Beowulfiana minora*) is suspicious of *fela*, noting that *fela*-compounds invariably bear f-alliteration.

The third note considers the great difficulties of 3066 ff. Andrews is no doubt right to take *gearwor* as a key-word which requires the full sense of the comparative: i.e. 'in no wise would he (Beowulf) rather have looked upon the treasure at the first', which is the usual litotes for 'far rather would he never have set eyes on the treasure'—since it had been the cause of all the disasters for himself and his people.

In a note *Beowulf* 769 and *Andreas* 1526 ff. (*Eng. Stud.*, May) Klaeber returns to the old crux of *meoduscerwen*. He puts forward the following facts: (1) the verb itself can be interpreted as meaning either 'dispensing of ale' or 'deprivation of ale' (assuming that the verbal ending has been shortened from *bescerwen*, as is possible), (2) the *Andreas* passage admits of no other interpretation than 'dispensing of ale', parallel to *beorþegu*, implying that the warriors swallowed the deadly draught of the waves and were drowned. (3) The *Beowulf* passage recalls that at the beginning of the poem which speaks metaphorically of the subjugation of peoples by Scyld as 'depriving them of their banqueting halls' (*meodosetla ofteah*). Thus on the one hand the meaning seems to imply 'giving', and on the other 'taking away'. If we assume that the *Andreas* poet knew the *Beowulf* passage we begin with *ealuscerwen* and must assume that he inferred from the context the sense 'deadly terror', but construed the word as meaning 'ale-giving', introducing the word into his own purple passage as a parallel to *beorþegu*. Klaeber by printing the Greek, Latin, and prose OE. versions of the *Andreas* passage shows that the metaphorical treatment is peculiar to the poet.

He also points out that *Ynglingasaga* XI relates how Fjölfnir met his death after a carousal by falling into a vat of beer (*fell i mjaðarkerit*) and draws out points of resemblance between this story and the *Andreas* account: (1) the fatal drink, (2) the

sudden terror, (3) the awakening from sleep or drunken torpor. This is an instructive parallel, for it serves to give point to the curious, apparently gratuitous expressions *slæpe tobrugdon* and *æfter symbeldæge* of the *Andreas*: after pleasure, the reckoning!

Malone in a *Note on Widsith*, 76–8 (*J.E.G.P.*, April) puts forward more reasons for not rejecting the Casere section of the poem, against the views of Sievers and Klaeber. On general grounds it is maintained that even Homer may nod, and therefore we have no right to reject the passage simply on the grounds of poverty of inspiration. On more particular grounds it can be said for the passage that the visit to the Emperor's court fits admirably into the pattern: it follows visits to Guðhere and Ælfwine and precedes that paid to Earmanric—a sequence which probably aims at climax in a compliment to the Goth.

Marcus Konick is probably justified in his contention, set out in his paper *Exeter Book Riddle 41 as a Continuation of Riddle 40* (*M.L.N.*, April), that Riddle 41 provides us with a summary of its predecessor, and exhibits definite parallels to its original in Aldhelm, therefore regarding these two fragments as a relatively complete riddle.

In her study³ *Wessex and Old English Poetry, with Special Consideration of the Ruin*, Cecilia A. Hotchner attempts to discover what basis there is 'for the belief that Northumbria was the only center of poetic composition' in the early OE. period. A chapter of eight pages attempts to put Wessex 'on the map' by reference to the names of Theodore, Hadrian, and Aldhelm and the supremacy of Wessex around A.D. 700 to reach the conclusion: 'surely if such factors, therefore, as advanced cultural development and political power are at all suggestive of literary activity, then we are justified in considering the possibility of an early literary center in Wessex'.

Since the poem the *Ruin* 'presents the most striking case for

³ *Wessex and Old English Poetry, with Special Consideration of the Ruin*, by Cecilia A. Hotchner. Privately printed. New York. pp. v + 146.

West-Saxon authorship', chapter II gives us the text of the poem 'in its entirety' (*sic*): whence this text derives we are not told: not apparently from the facsimile edition of the *Exeter Book*, although the author quotes copiously elsewhere from Dr. Flower. A 'literal translation' (Appendix A) does nothing to inspire confidence in the author's ability to deal with the real difficulties of the poem; she ignores Mrs. Chadwick's edition.

The next section of the book, and one of value, discusses the localization of the poem, and disposes effectively of the suggestion of S. J. Herben (which has to be noted among the contributions of 1939) in his paper the *Ruin* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.), that the site is Hadrian's Wall, not Bath. Herben asserts that the poem does not refer to 'hot springs at all', but to Roman hypocausts, such as fed the baths at Newcastle, Benwell, &c., along the Wall: according to him ll. 42 ff. of the poem describe aqueducts such as are found at Great Chesters. Copious references to the testimony of antiquarians and geologists lead Miss Hotchner to the conclusion that the 'neighbourhood of Hadrian's Wall shows no evidence of having enjoyed in the Roman era the security and peace absolutely essential to the welfare of a city, especially of the wealthy and comfortable type described in the *Ruin*'. The significance of this for the Anglo-Saxon should have been pointed out: part of the inspiration of the poet derives from his envy of the Roman.

Having claimed the *Ruin* for Wessex, Miss Hotchner makes the suggestion, which we know to be not unreasonable, that the *Exeter Book* was written at Glastonbury. But the remaining poems of the *Exeter Book* are not so easily localized, and Miss Hotchner is driven back on old subterfuges to claim their composition for Wessex: the Northumbrian Cynewulfian poems were easily transmitted to Glastonbury because of its Irish and northern associations; among the precious relics, saved by Tican, Abbot of Whitby, in 754 from the Norsemen, and brought to Glastonbury 'may well have been those by Cynewulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne. . .'. Such assumptions would not have been necessary if Miss Hotchner had looked at Kenneth Sisam's lecture, nor would she have had to strain her argument in bringing Cynewulf's poems from the north if she had seen what was said about the possibility of Cynewulf being a

Mercian. For the rest, it is sufficient to point out Latin influences and thematic resemblances for the *Wanderer*, the *Seafarer* and the *Ruin* to be proved to 'belong to the same literary tradition as the *Ruin* the exile theme, the theme of the last survivor, and other formulae are all derived. Is it not time to call a halt to the restless desire of scholars to see nothing in OE. verse but a wan reflection of Latin poetry?

With great ingenuity F. Holthausen reconstructs the poem on Ælfred's death in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in his note (*Anglia Beiblatt* 1, 157) *Zu dem ae. Gedichte von Ælfreds Tod* (1036). The original rhyme scheme of the poem is established with some degree of certainty.

Genevieve Crotty in an article *The Exeter 'Harrowing of Hell'* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) discusses the implication of the fact that the poem diverges considerably from the OE. prose version and from other possible sources. She supports Cramer's view that the poet may have been following an earlier and freer version of the Harrowing of Hell than those now known, on which possibly derives from Irish tradition. The caution, expressed by Krapp and Dobbie has, however, to be kept in mind in this investigation of possible sources: 'the poet's interest is not in an orderly and sequential narrative, but in the lyrical development of those aspects of his theme which lend themselves most readily to the lyric form'. Miss Crotty passes on to deal with the identity of the speaker in the latter part of the poem. She disagrees with Dobbie, who followed Holthausen in making the long address (ll. 59-137) to be delivered by Adam not John, and proposes to emend the difficult *gi* (l. 135) to *gio* to remove the difficulties and make John the speaker.

The Old English Inscription on the Brussels Cross is the title of a scholarly article by S. T. R. O. d'Ardenne (*English Studies* xxi (4), 145 ff.). She gives a transliteration of the inscription with epigraphical notes, followed by an interpretation and translation: the linguistic forms of the inscription are then investigated. The conclusion is reached that the art, epi-

graphy, and language point to the early eleventh century: the language is the late standard Old English, but provides no clue for localization. The second part of the article endeavours to identify the relic and the persons mentioned in the dedication. An appendix discusses the forged charter of the Refoundation of Westminster Abbey and the value of its evidence for the author's purpose. Two plates of this charter are given, together with one showing the sides of the cross which bear the inscriptions, and another which shows the position of the inscriptions on the cross. On pp. 271-2 of the same volume Miss d'Ardenne adds an additional note on the intrusive vowel in *beropor* of the inscription.

Two volumes⁴ of prose texts continue the Methuen Old English Library. Dorothy Whitelock edits Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi* and the present writer Ælfric's *Colloquy*. Neither text has hitherto been examined exhaustively and as a whole by English editors, and the present-day undergraduate is likely to be grateful for the editions of this series and the apparatus they provide which replace the abbreviated texts of readers, their wilderness of glossary words and hidden notes.

Miss Whitelock's edition of the *Sermo Lupi* is penetrating and scholarly. She discusses in the Introduction the relationship of the five manuscripts, and gives important textual variants below the Cotton Nero version which she gives: she has also brought together 'all existing evidence for Wulfstan's career, and attempts to give some guidance on what works may, in all probability, be regarded as his'. The Notes, which foot the page, employ the results of the author's extensive knowledge of previous work on OE. historical documents, and they become particularly interesting where they illuminate the meaning of a passage to the Laws, Charters, and Wills of the period: e.g. the notes on *hlaforðswican* (73), *unforworhte* (45) &c. Such knowledge is important for an editor of Wulfstan who was closely connected with the legislation of King Ethelred,

⁴ *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock. pp. viii+63. 2s. 6d.

Ælfric's Colloquy, ed. by G. N. Garmonsway. pp. ix+65+plate. 2s. 6d.

some of whose codes 'are full of mannerisms of style that occur in all Wulfstan's writings, but most pronounced in this homily'. Further, the style and phraseology of the rest of Wulfstan's homilies has been used in many places by the editor to clarify the form and meaning of some words and phrases that occur in the *Sermo*: e.g. the notes on *laðet* (159), *gelewede* (167). A little more might have been said about the colour of the style itself, and its relation to the rest of OE. prose writing, but little else seems missing from this excellent study.

An important scholarly work⁵ by Charles W. Jones discusses Bede's scientific writings:

'This work is a prelude to an edition of Bede's computistical writings. Such an edition would be premature as long as his true work is obscured by a body of spurious writing attracted to his name. Though it has long been recognized that Bede never wrote many of the works discussed in this volume, students have continued to cite spurious works under his name or as 'pseudo-Bede'. Consequently competent scholars have often confused the material with Bede himself and more often have regarded these spurious writings as English thought of Bede's time when they may well have been written, let us say, in Germany in the eleventh century. Conversely, here and there in this drab set of writings is a passage that has been neglected in its setting and deserves attention as a serious creation of a worthy medieval writer, even though his name has been lost to us.'

The book is based on *Patrologia Latina* xc, and the writer first explains how this body of writing became attracted to Bede's name, and then discusses each separate work as it appears in that volume, showing as far as is possible the period and district in which the work was written. Relevant passages are transcribed from early printed editions, without correction of errors or inconsistencies. The Appendix contains anonymous commentary found in several of the manuscripts, an index and description of the manuscripts, an index of citations from *Pat. Lat.* and a full final index.

⁵ *Beda's Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings Falsely Attributed to Bede*, by Charles W. Jones. Ithaca. N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xv+154.

The author's scholarship is everywhere evident: perhaps more remarkable is the clarity and precision of the style in which this 'drab material' (as he calls it) has been handled, not only in the Introduction (which we could wish to be longer) but throughout the length of its pages. There is no space here to note more than two illuminating paragraphs: the first (p. 86) which reveals the author at his research; the second (p. 60) which indicates how the evidence drawn from computistical items can be used to trace the influence upon each other of monasteries in different countries.

N. R. Ker continues his important work on OE. manuscripts in an article *The Hague MS of the Epistola Cuthberti de Obitu Bedae* (*Med. Æv.* Feb.). The oldest part of this Hague MS. belongs probably to the tenth century, and contains 'several important texts of insular interest', among them the *Epistola*, introduced by a ten-line heading addressed to Alcuin which seems to prove that Alcuin was responsible for its transmission to the Continent. Ker holds that the text affords important evidence for the authority of the readings of the other versions and for the interpretation of some forms in the Northumbrian text of the Death Song. Notice should also be taken of Ker's review of Dobbie's work in the same volume (*Med. Æv.* 76 ff.). A text of the *Epistola* is given as it appears in the manuscript.

An Analogue to the Cædman Story by L. Whitebread (*R.E.S.*, July) draws attention to the similarities of the story of Valmiki's sudden acquisition of the divine gift of poetry in the Sanskrit epic poem *Ramayana*. One important difference between the accounts not mentioned, however, is that whereas Valmiki is a devout, scholarly Brahmin living in a hermitage with his disciples, Cædmon is an ignorant and unknown cowherd, not a philosopher.

In an article on Aldhelm's *Diocese of Sherborne bewestan wuda* (*Harvard Theological Review*, xxxii. 103 ff.) F. P. Magoun, Jr., interprets the phrase of the Chronicles (excepting B) as 'he was bishop to the west of the (Hampshire) Weald', an interpretation that 'does not imply a forest-condition running counter to

anything we know', and does not conflict with Ethelwerd's use of the term *Sealwudscire* as the central point (not boundary) of the diocese of Sherborne (Do). This identification is consistent with William of Malmesbury's statement of the case.

In a volume called *The Medieval Library* a chapter on *Libraries of the British Isles in the Anglo-Saxon Period* is contributed by Ramona Bressie. She gives a clear general, if derived, account of the state of learning in the British Isles during these early centuries, and begins by trying to assess the contribution of Irish men of letters and libraries to the preservation of culture before the arrival of the Roman missionaries to Britain. Is there any warrant, however, for the statement that 'Irish schools were too elementary for classical studies: indeed they were simply training schools for priests'? This is apparently an inference from the career of Wilfred, but his studies at Lindisfarne were but those of the young novice and naturally of an elementary grade.

Since there is no catalogue of any English library before the Conquest, the contents of libraries have to be deduced from references made to works by scholars of the period; therefore much of the evidence of this chapter derives from quotation from the writings of these scholars which by chance contain reference to authors or book-titles. In other places in the chapter the evidence is cut and it is stated categorically that Ælfric used A, B, C, &c., and Bede X, Y, Z, &c. The absence of Greek learning and Greek books is noted in a brief paragraph, but hardly anything is said of the existence of books in the vernacular. The inclusion of two OE. riddles would have varied the story somewhat and a few more quotations of library lists would have awakened more interest in the author's account.

The chapter is short and has to cover much ground, but the last hundred years of Anglo-Saxon history are passed over in too sketchy a fashion. Many aspects of the subject remain untouched to which the pages of Migne could give some answer; the size and scope of the average monastic library, questions of borrowing and the exchange of books, the activities of scribe and illuminator, the conflict between secular and patristic works, the relative popularity of various books, &c. This was a

difficult chapter to write since much remains uncertain, but the author provides a clear account which will prove of great value.

An interesting project is Alice M. Ryan's *A Map of Old English Monasteries and Related Ecclesiastical Foundations A.D. 400-1066*.⁶ Miss Ryan began her work in this field in 1933 by providing a map of Britain during the OE. period developed from the Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain (1931): the publication of the Map of Britain in the Dark Ages (1935) made her change her plans for making 'a standard map for the O.E. period' in favour of 'a special map dealing with ecclesiastical institutions and routes of communication between them'. The map therefore takes the Roman roads from the Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain and includes as institutions monasteries, nunneries, minsters, hermitages, cells, crosses, &c. To determine the sites of these from authorities, to distinguish monastery from minster, 'double' from 'single' monasteries is no easy task, and it is to be regretted that Miss Ryan's work has some surface irritations which preliminary thought and more careful proof-reading could have smoothed away. Place-names are sometimes given in early, sometimes in late OE. forms, sometimes in Latin: it would have been better, perhaps, to have given present-day forms on the map itself and to have reserved early forms for citation in the index. As it is the concordance of map and index is not always true, and the variations are pointless.

The booklet which serves the map begins with an Introduction setting out, all too briefly in view of the lengthy bibliography at the end, what are called 'Canons of Evidence': this includes a slight discussion of the meaning of some place-name elements. An index of place-names follows, with map and authority references: finally there is a list of abbreviations and books mentioned in the index.

Hilmer Ström has produced a scholarly and important work⁷

⁶ *A Map of Old English Monasteries and Related Ecclesiastical Foundations A.D. 400-1066*, by Alice M. Ryan. Ithaca N.Y. Cornell Studies in English xxviii. O.U.P. pp. vi+33. Map.

⁷ *Old English Personal Names in Bede's History*, by Hilmer Ström. Lund Studies in English. viii. Williams & Norgate. pp. xix+181.

on *Old English Personal Names in Bede's History*. The Introduction contains a short description of Bede's life and work, an account of the main manuscripts of the *H.E.*, and a survey of OE. personal names in general. Part I is devoted to an etymological analysis of the elements entering into the compound and uncompound names: analogous cases have been adduced from other sources of Old English as well as from other Germanic sources. Occasionally place-names have been given which seem to contain a certain personal name under discussion. In Part II the name-forms have been investigated from a grammatical point of view, various phonological peculiarities have been pointed out, discrepancies between the manuscripts have been noted, and questions about Latinization, orthography, and dialect have been treated. In this phonological survey the English place-names which occur in the *H.E.* have also been utilized, as an examination based exclusively on personal names might lead to false conclusions. Part III is a register of the names dealt with and of the forms in which they appear in *H.E.* This part also gives some short biographical notes on the bearers of the names. Finally, a list of the Continental Germanic personal names found in *H.E.* is contained in an Appendix.

IV

MIDDLE ENGLISH

I. CHAUCER

By DOROTHY EVERETT

As might have been expected, the number of Chaucer studies is smaller than usual this year, and among them there are a few which have proved unobtainable. The most important of these would seem to be *Der Weltwert Chaucers*¹ by W. Héraucourt and *La Novella del Chierico di Oxford*,² edited by J. Vallese.

The most comprehensive of the year's publications is the collection of essays to which its author, H. R. Patch, has given the title *On Rereading Chaucer*.³ Though he does not claim that his book is a unity, Patch notes that his remarks are 'in general . . . strung together on the theme of Chaucer's humor'. The first chapter develops this theme in a discussion of the nature of humour in general, and of the quality of Chaucer's humour in particular. Patch rightly insists that Chaucer's humour is 'less a flow of good spirits than an attitude of mind'. He proves his point that, to appreciate it truly, knowledge both of the poet and of his period is necessary, and he answers those who think that humour precluded Chaucer from reaching the heights of poetry.

Patch has two chapters on *Troilus*, the second of which (*Troilus on Determinism*) appeared some years ago as an article in *Speculum* (cf. *Y.W.* xii. 84). The criticism in both largely depends on the conviction that the Epilogue is an integral part of the poem and that any interpretation which ignores it is false or, at least, inadequate. Patch writes, 'As it stands, the *Troilus* indubitably means that the affairs of Venus belong to human frailty', and he insists that the 'emphasis of the poem falls more

¹ *Der Weltwert Chaucers*, by W. Héraucourt. Heidelberg: Winter. M. 15.

² *La Novella del Chierico di Oxford, da un codice inglese inedito del XV secolo*, ed. by J. Vallese. Naples: Amodio. L. 20.

³ *On Rereading Chaucer*, by Howard Rollin Patch. Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xiv+269. 10s. 6d.

on the failure of Courtly Love than it does on the benefits received from love itself'. The fact that the poem is conceived in the spirit of irony explains to Patch its variations of emotional tone, ranging from an almost exaggerated insistence on grief to jocularity.

In the chapters on Chaucer's love-visions the author attempts, by reference to contemporary events and fashions, to lay bare the impulses which gave rise to each poem and thus to recapture something of the flavour each had in Chaucer's day.

There are several chapters on various aspects of the *Canterbury Tales*, in one of which the author sketches his impressions of a number of the pilgrims. His shrewd comments throw a good deal of light both on them and on Chaucer's poetic methods.

As a whole this book is pleasant reading, and it provides a commentary on Chaucer which should interest both the general reader and the student.

In *Chaucer and the Visconti Libraries* (*E.L.H.*, Sept.) Robert A. Pratt attempts to ascertain precisely which books would have been available to Chaucer in the various Italian cities he visited. At the time when he went to Florence, during his first Italian journey (1373), Dante's *Divina Commedia* was being much discussed in the city. It is, therefore, not surprising that works which can be fairly certainly assigned to the period between his two journeys (1373-8)—for instance, the *Complaints to Pity* and *to his Lady*, and the *Hous of Fame*—are characterized by the influence of Dante's poem. There are no signs that at this early period Chaucer knew Dante's *Convivio* or the works of Boccaccio and Petrarch, and it would be reasonable to assume that they became known to him when, on his second journey, he visited Bernabo Visconti in Milan. We know that the two Visconti brothers who were sharing the rule of this city-state in 1378 both possessed fine libraries but, unfortunately, it has not been possible to discover whether either of them contained these Italian books.

Pratt's investigations have not, so far, given very definite results, but it is possible that further research along similar lines might produce evidence of some value on, for instance, the chronology of some of Chaucer's works.

Many of Chaucer's early poems are examined by Earle Birney in his article *The Beginnings of Chaucer's Irony* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.). Birney's purpose is to refute the common view that irony is a quality found only in Chaucer's mature work. He reminds critics that many of the devices employed to convey irony were recommended by the rhetoricians; Chaucer would have found them in the French literature he knew and, not unnaturally, he used them in his early works written in imitation of the French. In the *Complaint to Pity* and *A Complaint to his Lady* the theme of unrequited love is ironically treated, and the rhetorical device of oxymoron is used in addressing the lady (e.g. 'best beloved fo'). Even the elegy, *The Book of the Duchess*, is light-hearted in tone, and in it Chaucer has already assumed the attitude of ironical self-depreciation which is more fully developed in later poems. *The Monk's Tale* shows irony of a deeper sort, for Chaucer frequently stresses in it the common delusion of the man of power that his power is indestructible, and at least six of the 'tragedies' are concerned with men who are victims of their own pride.

In spite of some straining of evidence (for instance, in the attempt to bring *The Second Nun's Tale* within the scope of his article) Birney undoubtedly succeeds in proving that irony is present in most of the early poems. He fully recognizes that it appears in them only as an 'incidental grace' and that in none of them is it a spirit informing the whole, as it is in some later poems.

In *Chaucer and Graunson: The Valentine Tradition* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) Haldeen Braddy carries his investigations into the relations between Chaucer and Oton de Graunson a stage further (cf. *Y.W.* xix. 78-9). Graunson appears to have popularized the Valentine poem in England, and an examination of his sequence of Valentine poems throws light on some Chaucerian pieces which belong to the same tradition. Graunson's poems were apparently addressed to a real person, in all probability Isabel of Spain, later wife of Edmund, Duke of York. In view of this, and of Chaucer's knowledge of Graunson, Shirley's report (in MS. Trinity R.3.20) that *The Complaint of Mars* was written about Isabel, daughter of the king of Spain, and 'my lord of

Huntyngdoun' (John Holland) should not be lightly dismissed, especially as his other hint, that the *Complaint of Venus* was translated from French poems by Graunson, has proved to be true. Braddy thinks that passages in the *Complaint of Mars* tend to confirm Shirley. There is, for instance, a resemblance between Chaucer's description of Mars and the known character of John Holland, and ll. 66-7 may be a reference to Holland's disgrace after his murder of the Earl of Stafford's son (July 1385).

Braddy argues that, if Shirley's testimony is accepted, the indications are that the *Complaint of Mars* was written in 1385 (when Holland was in forced retirement), and that the *Complaint of Venus*, composed as a response to *Mars*, was written shortly after 1386. He suggests, too, that the interpretation of such pieces as *Anelida and Arcite*, and particularly the other Valentine poem, *The Parlement of Foules*, must take into account the practice of both Chaucer and Graunson of alluding in their poems to current events in their own circle.

Robert M. Estrich's article, *Chaucer's Prologue to the 'Legend of Good Women' and Machaut's 'Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre'* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.), has as its starting-point Professor Kittredge's opinion that the plan of the Prologue to the *Legend* was 'suggested or influenced by the *Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*'. Though many features of Chaucer's Prologue belong to the common traditions of medieval love allegory, Estrich believes that there is a departure from these traditions in the central situation—'the idea of the guilty poet brought before a court, condemned . . . and sentenced to write for penance'. Machaut's poem, he remarks, is motivated by the same fiction; Machaut, like Chaucer, is sentenced to write for penance and, like him, actually performed some part of his penance in the form of the poem *Le Lai de Plour*. Estrich comments upon the similarity of the words with which Machaut ends *Le Jugement* and Chaucer his Prologue, and he notes that *Le Jugement*, which is 'a document in the feminism debate', includes tales about 'good' women told from exactly the same point of view as Chaucer's legends.

In the course of his article Estrich considers in some detail various earlier studies of the sources of the Prologue to the *Legend*. He disagrees both with Lowes's view that Chaucer was

chiefly indebted to Deschamps's *Lay de Franchise* and Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour*, and with Sypherd's that the Prologue is to be explained merely by reference to the 'general tradition of the love-vision and not to any particular poem'.

There is no short cut to the interpretation of *Troilus and Criseyde*, and it is a good sign that scholars seem to have recognized this and to be tackling the problem from more than one direction. D. C. Boughner, in his article *Elements of Epic Grandeur in the 'Troilus' (E.L.H., Sept.)*, is concerned with those alterations by which Chaucer succeeded in turning Boccaccio's poem (a narrative that was 'a young man's vehicle of intense but personal appeal') into something more exalted in tone and of wider interest. Many of Chaucer's additions can be classified as rhetorical devices; he frequently introduces *descriptio*, digression (chiefly in the form of *sententiae* and proverbs), *exclamatio*, and apostrophe, and also makes extensive use of the kinds of ornament by which, the rhetoricians held, the 'high style' was to be achieved. As a result of these additions, Chaucer's poem becomes much more ornate than Boccaccio's.

These rhetorical additions do not by themselves explain the difference in the whole tone of the poem, however; for this, Boughner suggests, it is necessary to look to the theories and practice of the Italian poets. He refers to the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* in which Dante had defended the vernacular as 'nobler' than Latin and as fit for the tragic style and, at the same time, had recommended the poet to take the classic poets as his model. Boccaccio had expounded in his *De Genealogia Deorum* the qualities of poetry written in the 'high style', remarking that it differed from poetry which is merely ornate because it aimed to teach as well as to delight. He stressed the nobility of poetry, and placed the poet on an equality with the philosopher.

Boughner shows that a number of Chaucer's more important additions to the *Filostrato* are in keeping with these principles. In introducing mythological allusions he is following the advice of both Italians, and in his proems and invocations he is imitating, as they recommended, some of the devices of classical epic. His introduction and treatment of astrological influences is

again in accord with the views of both Italians and, more important still, after Dante's manner, 'he incorporates into his poem the philosophy of Boethius'. The discussions between Troilus and Pandarus about the nature of Fortune, Criseyde's complaint of false felicity, Troilus's hymn to Love as the bond which unites the universe, and his soliloquy on God's foreknowledge and man's free will are all examples of the way in which Chaucer 'philosophizes' his story and deepens its meaning. The cumulative effect of these additions is to transform the narrative poem of Boccaccio into a much more exalted work in which 'tragedy is interpreted in the light of moral values'.

James Lyndon Shanley's article, *The 'Troilus' and Christian Love* (*E.L.H.*, Dec.), is written to prove that the Epilogue to *Troilus* is 'no mere tacked-on moral but is implicit in the whole poem'—a view which, it has been noted, is the basis of Patch's interpretation of *Troilus*. The ultimate cause of Troilus's woe, Shanley holds, was not that he trusted in a woman but that he placed his hope of happiness in what was, by its very nature, temporary and imperfect. This would have been apparent to contemporary readers of the poem long before Troilus himself is made to recognize it, for the conviction of the insufficiency of earthly things was at the heart of all medieval philosophy and religion and, moreover, in this particular case, the end of the story was generally known. When Troilus gives himself over to love, the situation would, therefore, have appeared to be one marked by irony and demanding pity and, from time to time in the poem, Chaucer takes care to remind the reader of this by hinting that the happiness of the lovers is only transitory (cf. iii. 813 ff., 1636). He insists, too, that their final unhappiness is the result of their own choice. Criseyde, deliberately and knowing what she does, determines not to return to Troy (v. 1023 ff.), and Troilus argues himself into believing that he has no choice since 'forsight of divine purveyaunce Hath seyn alwey me to forgon Criseyde'. Yet Chaucer does not, like Boccaccio, depict Criseyde as unworthy of love, nor is Troilus ungentle or ignoble. His comment on the story is not that women are fickle and men foolish to love them, but that those who seek peace and happiness in things by nature unstable are doomed to disap-

pointment. The Epilogue, which contains this comment, is therefore consistent with the implications of the tale and, more than this, it 'completes and fulfills them'; without it the 'final emotional resolution' would not have been achieved.

The next article, *Character and Action in the Case of Criseyde* (*P.M.L.A.*, Mar.), is concerned solely with Chaucer's presentation of his heroine. Its author, Arthur Mizener, notes that interpretations of Criseyde have usually started from the assumption that her character and actions were meant to appear all of a piece and to be consistent with her final betrayal of Troilus. This means that Chaucer either intended her character to be throughout of such a kind that she would naturally be false, or that he intended it to change during the course of the story. Mizener questions the truth of the assumption that Chaucer was trying to create in Criseyde a 'unified character' in the sense in which we use the term to-day. He believes that Chaucer was interested rather in the action of *Troilus* than in the characters, and that his main purpose was to develop the 'dramatic possibilities of the action'. 'It is a question', he writes, 'of whether Chaucer does not, for the sake of the action, sometimes omit what is necessary for a complete explanation of events in terms of characters.' Chaucer's method of characterization is, in Mizener's view, 'essentially static'; a character is conceived as possessing certain qualities and these remain the same in whatever circumstances the character may be placed by the events of the story. Mizener finds no evidence in the poem that Chaucer took pains to motivate Criseyde's treachery; she does not, he thinks, betray Troilus because of anything in her own nature, but because 'she had to if the dramatic possibilities of the main action . . . were to be worked out completely'.

Primarily then, in Mizener's opinion, Criseyde is the instrument by means of which Chaucer develops a tragic action. Her character, which is a 'combination of subtly observed characteristics', gives the illusion of reality, not because every act is motivated, but because of the poet's vivid presentation of these characteristics in every scene in which she appears.

Willis Wager's note, '*Fleshly Love*' in Chaucer's '*Troilus*'

(*M.L.R.*, Jan.), deals rather with the fifteenth-century moral treatise *Disce Mori*, which refers to *Troilus*, than with *Troilus* itself. In his discussion of the tokens of fleshly love the author of this treatise quotes *Troilus*, i. 400 ff., and later he refers to the poem as a whole. For students of Chaucer the interest of Wager's note is that it witnesses to the early circulation of Chaucer's poem. *Troilus* must have been known fairly widely by the middle of the fifteenth century (the date of the earlier manuscript of *Disce Mori*), if a member of the clergy could use it as an intelligible illustration of his points.

Among the studies which have to do with *The Canterbury Tales* there are several which elucidate or illustrate details in Chaucer's descriptions in the General Prologue. In *Chaucer's Squire* (*E.L.H.*, Dec.) Ernest P. Kuhl and Henry J. Webb quote passages from various medieval works to show that, when Chaucer said that the Squire 'carf biforn his fader at the table', he meant not merely to emphasize the young man's humility and obedience, but also to indicate that his father was honouring him. It is clear from John Russel's *Boke of Nurture* and from the *Boke of Keruyng* that the art of carving was considered difficult and that the office of carver was held to be an honourable one. John of Gaunt is said to have 'claimed to cut and carve before the king' on a certain occasion, and other references to important persons who acted as carvers also point to the honour attached to the position.

In '*A Governour Wily and Wys*' (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) Ramona Bressie sketches the character and career of William de Cloune, abbot of Leicester, who is referred to by the abbey chronicler as 'the most famous and notable hunter of hares'. This historical figure undoubtedly does, as Miss Bressie suggests, throw some light on Chaucer's hunting monk, but it may be questioned whether some of the points of resemblance at which she hints would stand the test of further investigation. For instance, the statement that 'Leicester abbey "heeld after the newe world" in doctrine too; it was notoriously Lollard. Wyclif taught that life in the world is better than life in the cloister' seems to indicate a misunderstanding of the Lollard point of view and possibly of Chaucer's words also.

In her article *Chaucer's Shipman in Real Life* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.) Margaret Galway claims to have discovered the 'exact counterpart' of Chaucer's pilgrim in the person of the Basque shipmaster, John Piers. Chaucer's frequent references to Spain in his description of this pilgrim, and particularly the statement that the shipman knew every creek in Spain, suggest that the poet was not thinking of an Englishman, for 'no English shipmaster sailed . . . through the Straits of Gibraltar until more than fifty years' after the writing of the Prologue. John Piers, who settled in England and was living at Teignmouth in Devon from about 1384 to 1388 (that is, during the years to which, Miss Galway holds, the General Prologue can be assigned), fits well into the picture Chaucer has drawn. Not only was Piers 'wonyng fer by weste', but his most notorious act, for which he was well known in London, was the capture of the *Magdaleyn* of Bristol (cf. *Prol.* l. 410) and the slaughter of her crew (cf. l. 400).

Miss Galway's case is, on the face of it, a reasonably good one, and it was unnecessary to seek further support for it by straining the meaning of some of Chaucer's words. It is unlikely that the words '*If that he faught . . .*' (l. 399) are, as she suggests, a reference to John Piers's usual unwillingness to fight.

In an article on *Chaucer's Symbolic Plowman* (*Speculum*, Jan.) Joe Horrell remarks on and attempts to explain Chaucer's presentation of the Plowman as a type of the ideal Christian (the 'only perfect Christian among the lay pilgrims'). Horrell shows that though some fourteenth-century writers attack the labourer, describing him as lazy and avaricious, others (especially, of course, Langland) portray him with deep sympathy. Moreover, the medieval attitude towards poverty, seen, for instance, in Wyclif, who argues that all truly religious men should love poverty, tended towards the idealization of the labourer. Horrell thinks it was therefore natural that Chaucer 'surveying the mass of mankind for an ideal Christian layman' should choose the Plowman and should describe him as 'lyvyng in pees and parfit charitee' and as loving God 'best with al his hoole herte'.

A later article on the same pilgrim, entitled *Chaucer's Plowman*

and the Contemporary English Peasant (*E.L.H.*, Dec.), presents a rather different and perhaps better-founded view. In the opinion of its author, Gardiner Stillwell, the portrait of the Plowman is 'colourless, conventionalized, idealized', and he would explain this by the suggestion that the real ploughman of the time was 'revolting against everything that Chaucer stood for'. Since the Black Death the peasants had been clamouring for higher wages, and in 1381 they broke out in the rebellion to which Chaucer contemptuously refers in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* (cf. 'Jakke Straw and his meynee') and perhaps elsewhere too (cf. A. 2459-60). Stillwell shows that it would have been natural for Chaucer to side with the privileged classes against the poor. His patron, John of Gaunt, had had his mansion, the Savoy, destroyed by the peasants in 1381. It was Chaucer's business as justice of the peace for Kent to administer the law and, if he had any sympathy with legal institutions, he could hardly have been sympathetic to the labourer. It is certain that Chaucer must have known that his Plowman was not typical in his own day and that he was expressing in his portrait the 'conservative, medieval ideal of the proper order of society'. There is, therefore, some reason to think that, as Stillwell puts it, his 'evident affection for the ideal peasant suggests an antagonism towards the actual peasant'.

The most interesting of the studies concerned with the *Tales* themselves are two by Marie Padgett Hamilton. In *Echoes of Childermas in the Tale of the Prioress* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) she shows that the connexion between the *Prioress's Tale* and the Mass for 28 December (the Feast of the Holy Innocents) is much closer than has been previously thought. All the chief portions of the Mass are quoted or referred to by the Prioress, either in her Prologue or in her Tale. For instance, the first stanza of the Prologue is a translation of the Introit (cf. also B. 1797-8); the line 'O cursed folk of Herodes al newe' refers to the Gospel (Matthew ii. 13-18); ll. 1769-75 are inspired by Apocalypse xiv. 1-5 (the Epistle for the Innocents' Mass). Some details of the liturgy also seem to be reflected in the story.

Miss Hamilton thinks that the connexion between the Mass and the story probably existed before Chaucer wrote his *Tales*.

we know that the story of the schoolboy murdered by Jews was used as pulpit exemplum and, as Miss Hamilton says, it 'would make an ideal exemplum for a Childermas service'. Chaucer may first have heard the story in this setting, possibly from the lips of a boy bishop (*ex ore infantium*), and may ever after have connected the two.

In Miss Hamilton's other article, *Death and Old Age in 'The Pardoner's Tale'* (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.), she remarks that, in order to appreciate the full significance of the Old Man in the *Pardoner's Tale*, it is necessary to keep in mind the purport of the Pardoner's discourse as a whole. His aim is to 'make us for oure dede synnes wepe', and he attempts to move his hearers by reminders of the suddenness and imminence of death'. Writings with a similar purpose existed in large numbers in Chaucer's day and among them is a group of poems which employ the theme of the Three Messengers of Death. Miss Hamilton suggests that, in his *Tale*, Chaucer's Pardoner introduces, in some form or other, all these three messengers: Sickness, in the lines describing the effects of the plague; Disaster (or *Aventure*), in the account of the violent deaths of the riotours; Old Age (*Elde*), in the person of the Old Man. Though many details in the description of the Old Man can be traced to Maximian's First Elegy, there remain some important features which are not there. Maximian's character is not symbolic, nor is he the servant of Death; and the metaphor of a gate from which the suppliant is barred is not used in the Elegy. All these features do, however, appear in a Midland Messenger poem, *Of Thre Messengers of Death* (c. 1350). Miss Hamilton believes that the conception of an Old Man who acts as the spy of Death came to Chaucer after reading some English poem like this, and that he then proceeded to 'enrich his sketch' with details from Maximian's Elegy.

An apparent contradiction in the Wife of Bath's discussion of gentillesse is considered by John S. Kenyon in a note entitled *Wife of Bath's Tale 1159-62* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.). The Wife's statement, 'For gentillesse nys bot renomee Of thyne ancestres', runs contrary to the main argument of the passage and is directly contradicted by her following words, 'Thy gentillesse cometh fro

God allone'. Kenyon notes that if the words *For gentillesse* (l. 1159) and *Thy gentillesse* (l. 1162) are transposed, the argument becomes clear and consistent. The Wife is then referring in ll. 1159-60 to the Knight's own (false) *gentillesse*, and maintaining that true *gentillesse* is not of this kind, but comes from God alone.

Germaine Dempster in *A Further Note on Dorigen's 'Exempla'* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) mentions that the series of Latin glosses which appear in the Ellesmere MS. opposite F. 1455-64 (i.e. at the end of Dorigen's complaint as we have it) are placed in some other manuscripts opposite F. 1395. They appear, that is to say, at the very point at which, as Mrs. Dempster showed in an earlier article (cf. *Y.W.* xviii. 86), Chaucer seems to have shifted from using chap. 41 of *Adversus Jovinianum* to using chap. 43. This suggests that the complaint as we have it up to F. 1394 may represent a first draft. The lines immediately following (F. 1395-8) indicate that Chaucer is reverting to Dorigen's own case and may, therefore, have been intended to round off the complaint in its original form.

George Sanderlin in *Quotations from St. Bernard in 'The Parson's Tale'* (*M.L.N.*, June) traces two hitherto unidentified quotations in the *Parson's Tale*. He also suggests a possible source for the unidentified reference to St. Augustine in l. 921.

In *Das Hendiadyoin als Mittel zur Hervorhebung des Werthaften bei Chaucer* (*Eng. Stud.*, May) W. Héraucourt examines Chaucer's use of *hendiadys* in his translations and in his original works. In the translations, phrases like *strengthe and vigour*, *verray and sooth*, often represent single Latin words (*vigor* and *verum*). They are not all, even in the translations, purely interpretative, but are often used for emphasis. Among the examples Héraucourt has collected from the translations, *straunge or foreign goodness* (= *aliena probitas*) seems to be interpretative, but *the errorr and folly of yow men* (= *error*) is not.

The translations contain many instances of the combination of two words of Romance origin, but in Chaucer's original works combinations of two Germanic words are more frequently

found. Héraucourt's suggestion that the first of these two types has a more rhetorical character and the second a more poetic is not to be accepted without a closer examination than he has as yet attempted.

A considerable number of seventeenth-century allusions to Chaucer, not noted either in Miss Spurgeon's book or in supplementary lists, is recorded by Bruce Harris in *Some Seventeenth-Century Chaucer Allusions* (*P.Q.*, Oct.). In *A Chaucerian* (?) *Fisherman* (*M.L.N.*, June) H. F. Scott-Thomas suggests that *The Secrets of Angling* (1613) may not have been directly influenced by the *Canterbury Tales*, as McManaway thought (cf. *Y.W.* xix. 79); the influence may have come indirectly through Sackville's Induction to his part of *A Mirror for Magistrates*. Robert B. Heilman in *Three Modern Chaucer Allusions* (*N. and Q.*, Feb. 18) notes the use of phrases from Chaucer by some twentieth-century writers.

V

MIDDLE ENGLISH

II. BEFORE AND AFTER CHAUCER

By GLADYS DOIDGE WILLCOCK

WORK under this head seems, apart from some welcome achievement in literary history, scattered in direction and effect. This is largely due to an inevitable pause in major studies of such ordinarily prolific topics as *Piers Plowman* and *Gawain*. In some directions research has been very active, most notably in the by-ways of religious and devotional literature, where one writer scores five articles to his name. Last year's general order will be maintained and will lead from works of comprehensive scope and general interest, through cognate and comparative studies, to writings on the verse, prose, and drama, and will conclude with linguistic and bibliographical topics.

Historical synthesis of the early phases of this period has taken a notable step forward with the publication of R. M. Wilson's *Early Middle English Literature*.¹ This book fulfils a genuine need. In the ordinary historical view the dominant position of the fourteenth century has led to a cramping of the post-Conquest centuries before and the fifteenth century after. The chronological limitation to 'early Middle English' should never be forgotten in reading and assessing this book. It is a consequence of this limitation that some chapters (e.g. those on Drama, Romance, and Lyric) should resemble *Hamlet* with the Prince of Denmark left out. Wilson has chosen to err on the side of over-literal interpretation of the thirteenth century downward limit rather than to blur his purpose in framing this history. Works or collections in fourteenth-century manuscripts of which thirteenth-century origin is arguable in whole or in part are therefore omitted. Even with these exclusions, it has

¹ *Early Middle English Literature*, by R. M. Wilson. Methuen. pp. ix+309. 8s. 6d.

taken some ruthless condensation to organize the material within the limits of this book, and it is inevitable that specialists may wish to supplement or modify details or question the proportions. But it is, of course, the student and strenuous reader who will welcome this book. To these it will be of great service to find the Latin, Norman, and French backgrounds or parallels (which they have been accustomed to find as *disiecta membra* of 'sources' and 'analogues' in Introductions, Notes, and monographs) built into coherent chapters and taking their place as phases of the whole story. Perhaps the freshest single chapter is that on the *Owl and the Nightingale*; some very useful points are made in the chapter on Legal and Historical Survivals. Finally, it should be said that, if this work seems a little less pioneering than it would have done some years ago, that is, in considerable measure, due to the enterprise of Wilson himself in charting our transitional and 'lost' literature.

A different approach to literary history is offered by W. L. Renwick and Harold Orton's *Beginnings of English Literature*,¹ of which nearly two-thirds is relevant to this chapter. In an earlier chapter dealing with the old English sections of the volume² students have been made acquainted with the scheme according to which the (very) strenuous reader is first (by a long Introduction) initiated into the scope and significance of his period, then brought face-to-face with a classified and annotated Reading-list (occupying half the book, or more) and left to get on with it. The authors of *The Beginnings* have made a very happy interpretation of this double finger-posting. The medieval sections of the Introduction are necessarily condensed, but their effect is to supple rather than to harden the reader's mind. They are enlivened by several just and illuminating *aperçus* (e.g. on the 'normality of sentiment' in the Charlemagne romances) and neat comparisons (Welsh 'triads little more revealing than *Widsith*'). A reading-list seldom in itself constitutes good reading, yet the economical, often slightly pungent, comments give that quality to many pages of these bibliographies.

² See above, Chapter III, pp. 23-5.

Another students' guide has been compiled by R. S. Loomis.³ No one will suspect Loomis of an unduly simplified view of the medieval world; the simplification and selection in this list spring from a determination to chart for the American graduate student (in the first place) the essential minimum of first- and second-hand reading.

Two widely differing studies in the medieval background may now be mentioned. Etienne Gilson's *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages*⁴ makes less explicit connexion with literature than some of his earlier works, but the lecture-origin of this book has the result of opening up style and substance for the benefit of all serious readers who wish to gauge the scope of the purely intellectual workings of the medieval mind in theology and philosophy, of which so much has been made in *Piers Plowman* criticism and elsewhere in recent years. Part III, moreover, links up with recent literary demonstrations of continuity in 'Christian Humanism' between the fourteenth century and the sixteenth.

To the scholastic philosophy of the Middle Ages can be juxtaposed their 'clothes-philosophy'. The evolution traced in M. G. Houston's *Medieval Costume in England and France*⁵ suggests some interesting and amusing reflections on parallel developments, not only in art, but also in thought and literature. The author is not concerned to establish literary contacts except with Chaucer, yet the careful discrimination of terms, the discussion of heraldic influences, the illustrations of colour and design in fabrics and embroideries, should render more vivid and precise innumerable descriptions in the romances and in the more pictorial fifteenth-century writings. The glossary of sartorial terms (naturally, mainly of French origin) is a useful little contribution to linguistic studies.

The background of reading and teaching has been receiving increasing attention of late. James Westfall Thompson claims

³ *Introduction to Medieval Literature, chiefly in England*, by Roger Sherman Loomis. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. 25. 2s.

⁴ *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages*, by Etienne Gilson. Scribner's. pp. 90. 6s.

⁵ *Medieval Costume in England and France*, by Mary G. Houston. A. & C. Black. pp. xi+228. 12s. 6d.

(with justice) that the material he has put together on *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages*⁶ fills a gap in the history of medieval education. It is the thesis (following Rand) of Miriam Hélène Marshall's article, *Thirteenth Century Culture as represented by Matthew Paris* (*Speculum*, Oct.) that classical literature was not (as has been claimed) eclipsed or absorbed in the thirteenth century by scholasticism. The article contends that a study of Paris's quotations shows that he knew a great deal in the original.

H. G. Richardson in *An Oxford Teacher of the Fifteenth Century* (*John Rylands Lib. Bull.*, Oct.) places a certain 'Simon O.' in a long line of teachers going back to Bologna and the schools of Italy. This is the line associated with *ars dictaminis* and *ars notaria*. Recognition of the extent of this vocational—indeed, definitely business—preparation at the University should correct too naïve deductions from official *curricula*.

Anglo-Norman or French researches continue to be active. Mary Williams in her *Notes on Perlesvaus* (*Speculum*, Apr.) has some further light to shed on Glastonbury 'propaganda'. E. J. R. Arnould (*M.L.R.*, Apr.), in a brief article *On two Anglo-Norman Prologues*, in discussing the Introduction to William of Waddington's *Manuel des Péchés* deprecates Hope Emily Allen's efforts to find the heads of a scholastic prologue. Waddington's business is practical piety.

Alexander Bell has carried further his researches into Gaimar's life and writings. In his article *The Munich 'Brut' and the 'Estoire des Bretuns'* (*M.L.R.*, July) he first recalls that the extant *Estoire des Engleis* is only a portion of Gaimar's total achievement. He then examines the question whether the Old French fragment (published in 1877 and known as the Munich *Brut*) is to be connected with Gaimar's lost *Estoire des Bretuns*, and decides in the negative.

From this an easy transition to the main body of Arthurian romance can be made via Hélaine Newstead's *Bran the Blessed*

⁶ *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages*, by James Westfall Thompson. Univ. of California Press. pp. vi + 198. 12s.

in *Arthurian Romance*⁷ for the material used (when not Welsh), is mainly French. This is a thorough and well-documented study (following the in-weaving method familiar in the mythological studies of R. S. Loomis) of the analogues of the Bran story. This material is mapped as an object-lesson of the complexity of Arthurian problems resulting from oral transmission, scribal errors, and all the differing strains and pressures of varied aims and degrees of literary craftsmanship.

In *The Dates of the Arthurian Saints' Legends* (*Speculum*, July) J. S. P. Tatlock conducts a very cautious research into the dating of the handful of Latin lives of Welsh saints which have been canvassed as possibly illustrating pre-Geoffrey stages in the Arthur-saga. He finds reasonable certainty of earlier date only in the *Cadoc*, which he assigns to 1073-86. There is one good caveat: 'the Limbo of scholarship is overpopulated with purely imaginary "common sources".'

R. S. Loomis in *Malory's Beaumains* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) points out difficulties in Vinaver's hypothesis that certain features of Malory's Gareth story were inventions of the author, introduced to show deference to his 'patron', the Earl of Warwick (Beaumains-Beauchamp). All Loomis's objections seem cogent: the one to which he himself attaches most weight is the lack of clear or close correspondence between Gareth's exploits and any of Warwick's recorded doings. The elements in question of the Beaumains story are shown to be commonplaces of Arthurian romance. Loomis's ingenious explanation of the improbable-seeming name 'Beau (masc.)+mains (fem.)'—that, in brief, it is a corruption (due to scribal confusion of B and G) of 'Gauvains' and that the names Gawain and Gareth stand to each other in the relation of epithet to noun—can only be judged by those conversant with the tradition and phonology of Welsh romantic nomenclature. R. H. Wilson in *Malory, the Stanzaic Morte Arthur and the Mort Artu* (*Mod. Phil.*, Nov.) reviews bibliographical facts and opinions concerning the inter-relation of Malory, Bks. xviii, xx, and xxi to the *Morte Arthur* of Harleian

⁷ *Bran the Blessed in Arthurian Romance*, by Hélaine Newstead. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. 222. 18s. 6d.

2252 (M) and the *Mort Artu* (MA), and decides that Malory drew on M and that it, in turn, was an original treatment by an English poet of the MA substantially as we have it.

Margaret J. C. Reid's *The Arthurian Legend. Comparison of Treatment in Modern and Mediaeval Literature*⁸ attempts a singularly ambitious conspectus of Arthurian material. The method is to start each theme or figure of the Arthur-saga as near the beginning as erudition can penetrate, and follow it as far as one can get. It is not clear how the body of the book leads up to the summary, where what is claimed to be the work's main purpose—an evaluation of the significance of the poetic use of myths—is briefly discussed with the help of Plato and Wagner.

The most important edition of a single Middle English poem is *The Kingis Quair*⁹ by W. Mackay Mackenzie, editor of Dunbar. The major portion of the Introduction is inevitably devoted to the problem of authorship, that is, the validity of the attribution to James I of Scotland. The tradition of its composition by James during his imprisonment in England has proved so attractive that it has been maintained in defiance of the poem itself. The external evidence (the manuscript ascription, the colophon, and John Major's tradition ascribing to James an *artificiosum libellum* about the Queen, written during imprisonment) has apparent weight, but it is not contemporary, and composition during imprisonment is at plain variance with the clear statement of the poem. Mackenzie might indeed demolish tradition here even more roundly than he does. Critics follow nature in abhorring a vacuum; a traditional name (as against anonymity) shows extraordinary tenacity and is often given support by reading a poem biographically instead of poetically and, as in this case, reading it wrong. *The Kingis Quair*, if we must go on calling it that, is an anonymous love poem, related to highly wrought fifteenth-century work like *The Flower and the Leaf*, in

⁸ *The Arthurian Legend. Comparison of Treatment in Modern and Mediaeval Literature*, by Margaret J. C. Reid. Oliver and Boyd. pp. viii + 277. 15s.

⁹ *The Kingis Quair*, ed. from the manuscript by W. Mackay Mackenzie. Faber. pp. 163. 7s. 6d.

which the vision from the prison window is no more *literally* autobiographical than the *Pearl* poet's vision of the New Jerusalem.

The text of the same poem makes the subject of Angus Macdonald's *Notes on the 'Kingis Quair'* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.). Previous editions, their aims and shortcomings, are reviewed as preface to a series of notes on manuscript readings.

A pretty little problem from Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* is solved in M. W. Stearns's article *Robert Henryson and the Fulgentian Horse* (*M.L.N.*, Apr.). In the description of the horses of the sun, the fourth horse has the improbable name Philology. Editors as a rule emend by some form based on the Ovidian Phlegon. On this subject, however, there were two traditions current in the Middle Ages, the Ovidian and the Fulgentian. In the latter the horse's name was Philogeus. It is suggested that some slight modification of this by Henryson would satisfy rhyme and metre, and explain the scribal confusion.

Mabel Day in *R.E.S.* (Jan.) discusses, prints, and annotates a *Fragment of an Alliterative Political Prophecy*. The existence of this poem in MS. Camb. Univ. Ll.1.18 was pointed out by Hope Emily Allen. Some of its lines recur (scattered) in a rhyming poem, *The Cock of the North*. The inter-connexion of the two poems suggests that even prophecy in the Middle Ages could exist as 'stock'.

An approach to the specifically religious poetry can be made through a brief article by C. O. Chapman on *Numerical Symbolism in Dante and the 'Pearl'* (*M.L.N.*, Apr.), which traces a parallel, though not identical, use of number-symbols in the *Commedia* and the *Pearl*. Illustrations are given to show how the former is built up on the scheme of 3, 9, 10, and the latter on 3, 4, 12.

For *Piers Plowman* there is less to note than usual. Bernard F. Huppé in *The A-text of 'Piers Plowman' and the Norman Wars* (*P.M.L.A.*, Mar.) seeks by following up historical clues to contest Tyrwhitt's dating c. 1362 for the A-text, which Skeat

believed he could confirm from a reference in *Passus* iii. 182–201 to ‘Norman wars’. Huppé believes the historical conditions described in the A-text to be inconsistent with so early a date and to be better satisfied by composition between 1370 and 1376, most probably c. 1373.

A. G. Mitchell writes a brief note on *The Text of ‘Piers Plowman’*, *C. Prologue*, l. 215 (*Med. Æv.*, June) to support the reading *reik*, to which C. T. Onions first drew attention. The argument is mainly textual, but advantages of sense are also claimed. This part of the argument appears somewhat inconclusive.

The *Piers Plowman* field has been usefully mapped by M. W. Bloomfield in the *Present State of ‘Piers Plowman’ Studies* (*Speculum*, Apr.). Works are grouped under three heads: Authorship (i.e. ‘monism’ *versus* ‘pluralism’), Biography (the Langland problems and clues as to life, habits, &c., in the poem), and Influences and Background. Here it is pointed out that there is still much to be done. The attitude of the writer, where it is allowed to appear, is reserved *vis-à-vis* extremer speculations.

A fairly considerable body of work on very diverse expressions of medieval religious feeling may be fittingly introduced by Carleton Brown’s *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century*,¹⁰ a sequel to his earlier thirteenth- and fourteenth-century collections. This scholar’s distinguished work in the recovery, registering, printing, and annotating of Middle English religious poetry needs no advertisement here. The surprising quantity of available material for the fifteenth century made selection difficult and enforced omission of well-known authors. The aim has been to compile a fully representative collection, and this representative effect has been enhanced by grouping the poems under a variety of types or themes (instead of by manuscripts as before). The upshot of the brief but weighty Introduction is to stress, in spite of the changes and developments noted, the continuity of religious feeling and lyrical impulse from the fourteenth, through the fifteenth, to the sixteenth century. The editor still feels that the tendency among literary historians is to treat the middle one of these centuries as a period of ‘hiberna-

¹⁰ *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Carleton Brown. O.U.P. pp. xxxi+394. 10s. 6d.

tion'. The variety, energy, and charm of a very large number of the poems collected here will play their part in dispelling the 'hibernation' impression.

One of the pieces (No. 181) in this anthology makes the subject of a note, also by Carleton Brown, in *M.L.N.*, Feb., *See Myche, Say Lytell and Lerne to Soffer in Tyme*. These stanzas are given among hitherto unprinted poems in vol. ii of MacCracken's *Minor Poems* of Lydgate. They may have attached themselves to the prolix Monk by mere 'gravitation'. Brown notes a heading to this poem in MS. Corp. Chr. Coll. Oxf. 203: 'proverbium R. Stokys.' He explores the possibility of connecting the piece with the Richard Stokes who was associated with Chaucer in the abduction episode of 1387, but arrives at no finality in view of the number of R. Stokes's traceable in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century documents.

Rossell Hope Robbins has achieved a little spate of articles exploring by-ways of Middle English religious verse. First (*P.M.L.A.*, June), there is an account of the *Gurney Series of Religious Lyrics*. There are altogether fourteen of these lyrics to be found in the Gurney MS. containing the *Pricke of Conscience*. Ten of these are unique and are printed in this article for the first time. They are vernacular prayers, and Robbins calls attention to the diffusion of these and related types in manuscripts of *Horae* and *Manuals*. More illustration of the tradition of lyrical prayer can be found in *Popular Prayers in Middle English Verse* (*Mod. Phil.*, May). The popular nature of these devotional scraps (some are single quatrains) is attested by the habit of scribbling them on fly-leaves and odd spaces in various manuscripts. They are, as it were, units of prayer-commonplace and can be combined with other devotional tags or built into sustained verse-prayers. Complementary to these we have *Private Prayers in Middle English Verse* (*S. in Ph.*, July). Robbins believes that it is possible to detect a corpus of these prayers. He has traced seventeen, of which texts are preserved in four manuscripts. It is from such sources, rather than from the 'ageless' Missal and Breviary, that the quality of religious feeling and habit can be gauged. The qualities which Robbins finds in these poems are well supported by evidence

coming in from other studies—the history of religious thought and devotional practice (particularly ‘moderna devotio’), the character and scope of English mysticism, &c.—some of which have been referred to in this chapter.

A more specialized type of prayer is discussed by the same writer in *The ‘Arma Christi’ Rolls* (*M.L.R.*, July). Versions of the ‘Arma Christi’ prayer or poem are found in fifteen manuscripts; seven are inscribed on rolls and some are accompanied by coloured illustrations of the instruments of the Crucifixion (‘Arma Christi’). These were, apparently, intended to be displayed in churches as aids to devotion, perhaps during Holy Week. From prayers Robbins turns to doctrinal commonplace. *The ‘Speculum Misericordie’* (printed in *P.M.L.A.*, Dec.), an allegory of the Virtues comforting a dying sinner, is a fair example of how a piece of verse could be strung together by stock methods out of stock materials. A final article on a different fifteenth-century subject may be mentioned here simply to complete the Robbins catalogue. In *English Almanacks of the Fifteenth Century* (*P.Q.*, Oct.) he pursues, classifies, and illustrates stock prognostications of births, deaths, and weather, which, he believes, link the Middle Ages together and with the sixteenth century.

A traditional devotional exercise found in verse or prose is the Confession (*forma* or *modus confitendi*, *formula confessionis*, &c.). A specimen is printed by R. H. Bowers in *The Middle English St. Brendan’s Confession* (*Archiv*, Mar.) from a manuscript in Cambridge University Library. Not much explanatory material is provided. The text itself shows that such a *formula* was a pretty comprehensive liturgical exercise. One would like to know what process of amalgamation or ascription lies behind the title ‘a confession whiche is also a prayere þt seynt brandon made’.

Work on medieval sermons still shows the effects of Owst’s stimulus. This is explicit in two publications to be mentioned next. Sister Mary Aquinas Devlin’s article, *Bishop Thomas Brunton and his Sermons*, pertains to the background of biography and Latin tradition rather than to the study of

vernacular forms, though she believes that Brunton (Bishop of Rochester 1373-89) may have preached in English, from Latin notes. Owst considered Brunton as the possible original of the Angel in *Piers Plowman*, B Prologue, and this article stresses the importance of Brunton's sermon material for illuminating the religious background of *Piers Plowman*.

D. M. Grisdale publishes her *Three Middle English Sermons*¹¹ to render accessible further complete examples in illustration of Owst's theses. The Introduction brings forward some new biographical information (contributed by Richard Hunt) concerning one identifiable preacher—Hugo Legat—and illustrates the elaborate schematic structure of the 'full-dress' medieval sermon. There is more that could have been said on the range of legitimate rhetorical structure and device in these sermons, but Introduction, Text, and Notes (containing much additional illustrative material) perform a most useful service for the study of this subject.

Eric Colledge has made an important study of '*The Recluse*'; *A Lollard Interpolated Version of the 'Ancrene Riwe'* in *R.E.S.* (Jan. and Apr.). In the first article he illustrates in detail the methods by which the original was first abridged and then interpolated; in the second he passes to the doctrinal and controversial implications of the alterations. He finds that the unknown reviser was well acquainted with current mystical writings, and that his manipulations of the old text express the spirit of the earlier Lollard movement.

In *The Hours of the Planets: an obscure passage in 'The Recluse'* (*M.L.N.*, June) Colledge deals with a difficulty in this same text. The argument, though brief, is too intricate to be summarized in a line or two. With the help of a hint from Professor Grattaen, Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, the Seventh Letter to Polycarp, and (especially) of Julian of Norwich, an admittedly tough passage is ingeniously reconstructed and interpreted.

The same writer has an article on *The English Prose 'Benedictus': a second MS.* (*Med. Æv.*, Feb.). A modernized version

¹¹ *Three Middle English Sermons from the Worcester Chapter Manuscript F. 10*, ed. by D. M. Grisdale. (Leeds School of English Language Texts and Monographs, No. 5.) pp. xxx+111. 7s. 6d.

of this text was included in Dorothy Jones's *Minor Works of Walter Hilton*. Colledge is engaged on a collation of the Newcastle and Lambeth MSS.; in this article he claims superiority for the Newcastle MS., and quotes some evidence showing (surprisingly) that the author of the *Benedictus* tends to side with the Wycliffites against Rolle and Hilton.

Rolle himself is the subject of two articles. A. Niederstenbruch in *Die Geistige Haltung Richard Rolles* (*Archiv*, Mar.) reviews evidence in support of those who see in Rolle 'kein spekulativer Kopf'. There is much quotation from authorities to demonstrate the break-up of the Thomist harmony and the resulting divergent paths followed up in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Englishman by definition (Dean Inge's) being constitutionally averse from general ideas and abstract questions, Rolle is shown as the true-born English mystic. 'His material is not his thought but his experience.' There is much in this article which chimes with many recent studies of late medieval religious trends.

E. J. R. Arnould sets himself to reconsider the evidence dealing with *Richard Rolle and the Sorbonne* (*John Rylands Bull.*, Apr.). This strenuous article is based on protracted and very intricate investigations, the upshot of which is to declare Rolle's alleged residence at the Sorbonne a myth. He is thus left more English than ever.

There is not much to be recorded concerning drama. F. Wood in *Neophilologus* (Oct.) reviews *The Comic Elements in the English Mystery Plays*. This article is 'to be continued' and should perhaps be read as a preliminary organization of the main lines of the subject.

M. E. Wells discusses *The Age of Isaac at the Time of the Sacrifice* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.) and shows that while the Chester, Towneley, Dublin, and Brome plays gain added pathos by stressing the childhood of Isaac, the opposing tradition of a mature Isaac (followed by York and *Ludus Coventriae*) was well-grounded in older authority.

Henry W. Wells discusses *Style in the English Mystery Plays* (*J.E.G.P.*, July). He distinguishes three styles, 'the liturgical,

the rhetorical, and the colloquial', and finds traces of all three in each of the four chief cycles.

'The liturgical style is the most widely disseminated, appearing frequently in all the cycles; the rhetorical style is by far the best exhibited in the Passion and Mary pageants of the York cycle; while the colloquial manner flourishes chiefly in the pageants of the so-called Wakefield Master in the Towneley Play, in the Passion, and especially the chief Mary pageants of the Hegge Play [*Ludus Coventriae*], and in the Shepherds' pageant of the Chester Play.'

Wells discriminates between the characteristics of the three styles, especially in versification and vocabulary, and illustrates these in some detail from the chief cycles. The conclusion that he draws from his suggestive study is that 'it shows an aesthetic sensitivity to language and for its varied potentialities too seldom associated with these dramatists'.

The first of a series of three articles by F. M. Salter on *The Banns of the Chester Plays* appeared in *R.E.S.* (Oct.); the two later articles followed in the January and April, 1940, numbers of the same *Review*. Discussion of Salter's conclusions, which are based on detailed palaeographical investigation, is therefore deferred till the next volume of *The Year's Work*.

A line in the York plays (xi. 273) provides the subject for a brief note by Harold Whitehall—*The Etymology of 'myse'* (*P.Q.*, July). The 'myses', according to the context, 'bytis full bittirlye'. *Myse* is used in the *Metrical Old Testament* to render the Vulgate (*s*)*ciniphes*, translated in the A.V. as 'lice'. There are enough glosses to demonstrate that the normal meaning was 'gnats' or 'midges'. Whitehall points out that *my(s)* not only means 'midge', but is etymologically cognate. The York *myses* may be a double plural or derived from a stem with *s*-infix, of which examples are quoted from other Germanic languages. The same writer has an article in the same number on *A Most Ancient Petition* (*PRO. SC.* 8, 192/9580) in which he calls attention to the importance of the whole body of Ancient Petitions in the Public Record Office as sources of linguistic information. One of 1344 is printed as a specimen of the business vernacular antedating the formalization of Chancery English. It provides an earlier illustration of the dialect of a scantily represented SW. Midland area (St. Briavels, Glos.), for which the Middle

English Dialect Survey could find only two examples, and those fifteenth century.

In his fine book, *The Medieval Library*,¹² J. W. Thompson has put together what is likely to remain for many years the definitive description of the medieval book-world from Byzantium to Scandinavia. A fascinating final section on the scriptorium, paper, book-prices, library administration, and the wanderings of manuscripts will be found relevant to all European literatures. The John Rylands's *Descriptive Catalogue of Mediaeval MSS. and Jewelled Covers* (made by Henry Guppy) also offers some discussion of characteristic features of the manuscripts of the Middle Ages and of the processes of medieval book-making which is relevant to this chapter. There are a number of fine illustrations. Henry Thomas (*B.M. Quart.*, Feb.) gives an account of *The Book of Divers Ghostly Matters*, by the purchase of which from the Dysart Collection the British Museum acquired a new and rare Caxton. Eugène Vinaver's article (*John Rylands Bull.*, Apr.), *A Note on the Earliest Printed Text of Malory's Morte Darthur*, calls attention to a curious textual phenomenon revealed by a collation of the two extant copies of Caxton's edition (1485). One of these has four long passages full of variant readings (mostly spellings), and these variants begin and end with certain folios. The bibliographical evidence points to correction by Caxton himself while certain sheets were drying during the printing off.

A conspicuous feature of the work reviewed in this chapter has been the emergence of the once barren-seeming fifteenth century into increasing limelight. Fuller discussion than has here been possible would also serve to emphasize what has been touched on more than once above—the extent to which contemporary scholarship finds its satisfaction in establishing, if not unity, continuity. Indeed, this has become so marked that it has recently been dubbed the cult of Continuity. The speculation obtrudes itself as to whether, as a reaction, the Disintegrators will not be gathering to return us to the schematic framework of the centuries, to 'draw lines' and recognize 'gulfs'.

¹² *The Medieval Library*, by James Westfall Thompson. Univ. of Chicago Press and C.U.P. pp. viii + 682. £1. 10s.

VI

THE RENAISSANCE

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

THIS chapter deals as usual with publications bearing mainly on the period between the seventh decades of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though including a few outside these limits. Books and articles dealing with prose, poetry, and drama are noticed in that order. But the section on prose is shorter than it has been in recent years, not only owing to the war conditions in the latter part of 1939 but to the absence of the notable publications on the religious writers and translators in Henry VIII's reign—More, Tyndale, and Coverdale—which have of late been a marked feature in connexion with various quatercentenary anniversaries.

The survey may begin with a notice of an unexpected Caxton 'find'. K. Povey, in *The Library*, March, quotes the discovery at Queen's University, Belfast, of two manuscript versions of *The Caxton Indulgence of 1476*, identified in P.R.O. in 1928. They have been used in a binding and are not perfect, but between them they supply an almost complete text in a version somewhat different from that printed by Caxton and published by A. W. Pollard in *The Library*, June 1928. The manuscript is dated 6 Sixtus IV, 1477, and must be earlier than 25 August 1477 when the Pope's seventh regnal year began.

Hoyt H. Hudson draws attention in *H.L.Q.* ii. 3 to *John Leland's List of Early English Humanists* contained in a Latin epigram, 'Instauratio bonarum literarum', written before 1549. Leland praises as pioneers of the new-born learning in England John Free, Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Robert Widow, Robert Flemming, William Grocyn, William Celling, Thomas Linacre, William Latimer, Cuthbert Tunstall, John Stokesley, John Colet, William Lyly, and Robert Pace. Hudson gives further details about the least-known name in this list, Widow. Born at

Thaxted in Essex, he became master of the local school, canon and subdean of Wells, and wrote a number of Latin poems which Leland had seen in manuscript and admired.

Allan G. Chester discusses *The Date and Authorship of 'The Fraternity of Vacabondes'* (*M.L.N.*, May). In the Stationers' Register there is entered to John Awdeley in 1560-1 'a ballett called the Descriptions of Vakabondes'. Chester holds that this refers to a ballad now lost, and is not, as has been conjectured, an erroneous entry of the prose tract. The earliest extant copy of this tract is dated 1565, represented by a single leaf in the Bodleian, which also has the only copy of the second edition, 1575. Chester is sceptical as to a 1561 edition of *The Fraternity*, and also thinks that when Awdeley declares that he has 'set forth' the names and states of the 'Vacabondes brotherhood' he may merely be claiming to be the printer, not the author, of the book.

From the Rutgers University Press there has come a welcome reprint of Sir John Stradling's translation (1594) of the *De Constantia* (1584)¹ written by the Flemish humanist, Justus Lipsius. Stradling's version is extant in only a few copies and is now for the first time made more accessible. Rudolf Kirk, who contributes the introduction, begins with a biography of Lipsius (1547-1605), whose wandering life and varying professions of Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism were by no means in accord with his creed of neo-Stoicism set forth in the *De Constantia*. An account of 'Stoic Writings Anglicized' is followed by an interesting discussion of Lipsius's adaptation of Stoic philosophy to the Christian moral teaching in which he had been reared. The points of contact and disagreement are clearly set forth.

Kirk supplies a list of later English versions of *De Constantia* in 1653, 1654, and 1670, with a census of the extant copies. C. M. Hall, the co-editor, contributes notes in which he has traced the very large number of classical references in the treatise. It would have been well to give further particulars

¹ *Two Bookes of Constance Written in Latine by Justus Lipsius: Englished by Sir John Stradling*, ed. by Rudolf Kirk and C. M. Hall. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press. pp. ix + 223. \$4.50.

about the English translator of the present reprint instead of referring readers to the *D.N.B.* article. And the editors do not indicate whether Stradling has in all points been faithful to his original or has allowed himself something of the freedom of interpretation customary with Elizabethan translators.

Warren B. Austin contributes to *N. and Q.*, Sept. 30 and Oct. 7, an informative account of *Claudius Hollyband: An Elizabethan Schoolmaster*. This Huguenot refugee, Claude De Sainliens, born in Moulins, arrived in London in 1564, became a 'denizen' in 1566, and soon became established as a schoolmaster in Westminster with Jehan Henry as his 'usher'. From documents in P.R.O. concerning proceedings in the Court of Requests Austin shows that before November 1568 Hollyband married Elizabeth Williamson, a widow, sister and co-heiress of William March. After her death he took as his second wife in October 1578 Anne Smith.

In his discussion of Hollyband's writings Austin points out that he is the 'M. Claudius' to whom, together with 'M. Chaloner', John Baret acknowledges that he is indebted for the compilation of the French definitions for his *Alvearie* and the 'Tables' appended to this work. The refugee language teachers did much to promote the knowledge of contemporary French literature, and they also acted as political and ethical propagandists. Therefore Hollyband introduces into his otherwise lively dialogues a good deal of edifying material. Thus in his *French Littleton* he includes a section inveighing against dancing, and Austin draws attention to a hitherto unnoticed translation of this by Thomas Chinalls in Sloane MS. 964, ff. 135-54^v. These are some of the novel points in a valuable article.

Towards the close of 1938, too late for consideration in the last volume of *Y.W.*, appeared Louise I. Guiney's *Recusant Poets*.² Though the title-page, as a tribute to her labours cut short by death, has only her name, the book, as the preface tells, embodies also large contributions by Geoffrey Bliss and Edward O'Brien. It is the first of two projected volumes which are to

² *Recusant Poets*, by Louise Imogen Guiney. With a Selection from their Work. I. Saint Thomas More to Ben Jonson. Sheed & Ward. pp. xv + 419. 18s.

include 'English verse by Catholic writers . . . from about the middle of the sixteenth to about the middle of the eighteenth century'. The present volume falls mainly within the limits of this chapter of *Y.W.* Though Recusants in the technical sense were not created till the Act of 1559 commanding attendance at the reformed church services, the word was in use by 1552, and Miss Guiney goes somewhat farther back to include Sir Thomas More and his fellows who made the 'great refusal'. The selections 'bear in some way upon Christian verities, or Christian ideals in the right conduct of life', but widely enough interpreted to admit lines of personal compliment and even love poems.

The editor justly claims that the value of the collection is at least as much historical as literary, and she and her collaborators have drawn from a number of rare sources, both printed and manuscript. This gives the work special value and interest beyond the circles to which it is primarily addressed.

The collection, of course, includes pieces by a number of well-known poets, John and Jasper Heywood, Surrey and Grimald, Southwell and Constable, Lodge and Jonson, but the extracts quoted are those with a specially Catholic flavour, and the carefully documented introductions to each section throw new light at times on doubtful points. By students of sixteenth-century literature, however, the anthology will be chiefly valued for its selections from less familiar or even obscure writers or for its choice of poems bearing on some particular historical episode or personage. Though a good many of these have been printed elsewhere, it is a real service to have them collected and arranged with scholarly annotations. Others have hitherto been known only in manuscript.

Among the minor figures from whom noteworthy pieces are presented are Thomas Langdon, Myles Hagarde, William Forrest, Francis Tregian, and others of a slightly later date than falls within the limits of this chapter. Events which are celebrated in 'recusant' verse are the Pilgrimage of Grace and the martyrdom of Edmund Campion, the accession of Mary of England, and the untimely end of Mary of Scotland. Among the anonymous poems from a Catholic commonplace book, now among the British Museum MSS., is 'Hierusalem My Happy Home', of which the different versions are described.

Last year's volume of *Y.W.* contained a notice (pp. 107-8) of J. L. Lloyd's study of John Skelton's life and writings. This has been closely followed in 1939 by William Nelson's *John Skelton: Laureate*.³ Mention has been made in previous volumes of *Y.W.* of Nelson's contributions to Skelton's biography (see xvii. 113 and xix. 108). In the present work Nelson gathers together and amplifies his earlier studies and presents new material from documentary sources. But in contrast with Lloyd, whose chief interest was in Skelton's literary achievement as a poet and dramatist, Nelson is mainly occupied with the biographical problems of his career and deals with his writings primarily in their bearing upon these. Hence, as he acknowledges, he treats more fully some of the poet's minor works than others on which his reputation is largely based.

Nelson strikes out a new line of approach by relating Skelton to a group of foreign scholars who were employed at the court of Henry VII for the services that they could render by their linguistic qualifications in national affairs and who, as Nelson claims, preceded Colet, More, and their friends as the vanguard of humanism in England. Skelton belonged to the Henry VII circle of scholars. 'His training, his belief in the power of eloquence, his occupations, his literary matter, and his style all identify him' as their colleague, but with the all-important difference that while they wrote in Latin or French he confined himself almost entirely to English. His threefold laureation by Oxford, Louvain, and Cambridge testifies to his attainments as a humanist, exemplified in his Latin treatise, *Speculum Principis*, written in 1501 for his pupil, Prince Henry, but not printed till 1934.

Soon after the accession of the prince to the throne, Skelton returned from his parsonage at Diss to London, and Nelson brings forward various pieces of evidence that suggest a connexion with Westminster from 1512 till his death in 1529. It was in 1512 that Skelton first styled himself *orator regius*, which, in Nelson's view, included secretarial functions, and from a comparison between Skelton's poems on the Flodden campaign and the prose narrative in Harleian MS. 2252 Nelson argues that

³ *John Skelton: Laureate*, by William Nelson. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. ix+266. 15s.

King Henry's answer to the Scottish herald and his letter to James IV are probably from the royal orator's pen.

In the chapters on '*Speak, Parrot*', 'The quarrel with Wolsey', and 'The last years', Nelson sums up with modifications in details conclusions previously set forth by himself and H. L. R. Edwards (see *Y.W.* xix. 108). But in the chapter on 'the origin of Skeltonic rhyme' he turns aside from biography and finds the source of this distinctive metre not in Latin songs or hymns but in the Latin rhymed prose which was fashionable in the Middle Ages and which is exemplified in Skelton's own *Speculum Principis*.

As a footnote to Nelson's closing chapter on 'reputation and influence' Hibernicus contributes to *N. and Q.*, July 29, further particulars on *Skelton's Reputation*, especially in the nineteenth century, including notable tributes by Elizabeth Barrett and Isaac Disraeli.

In contrast with the general trend of recent criticism W. L. Renwick and H. Orton take a somewhat disparaging view of Skelton in the closing pages of their Introduction to *The Beginnings of English Literature*.⁴ 'There is nothing in Skelton that is new. . . . There is nothing . . . which we cannot find better done elsewhere.' On the other hand they admit that he 'is an original and that he is indispensable,' that he is a *person*, whom we can see and know as few before him, perhaps only Chaucer.

H. Sellers, writing on *Two Poems by Stephen Hawes* (*B.M.Q.*, Feb.), describes a copy of *The Pastime of Pleasure* (1509), the only example known of the first edition, except for fragments in the Cambridge University Library. This copy, formerly in Lord Dysart's library, lacks title-page, table of contents, and 911 of the 5,816 lines for which the 1517 edition has hitherto been the earliest authority.

The other poem is *The Comforte of Louers*, a dream and allegory in rhyme-royal, preserved in an almost perfect unique copy, also formerly in Lord Dysart's library and now acquired by the British Museum.

⁴ See above, pp. 23-5 and 55.

Sellers also describes *An Early Medical Tract*, of which a unique copy was obtained from the same source by the Museum. It is *The Querthrow of the Gout written in Latin Verse by Doctor Christopher Balista*, translated into English verse by B. G. (? Barnaby Googe), and published 1577. The translation in fourteeners is dedicated to Richard Master, physician to the Queen.

William R. Parker discusses *The Sonnets in 'Tottel's Miscellany'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.). He notes that of the 54 sonnets included Wyatt wrote 27, Surrey 15, Grimald 3, and 'uncertain authors' 9. Wyatt uses the rhyme-scheme *abba abba cddc ee* in 18 of his *Tottel* sonnets (as also in 4 others found in MS.). Surrey in 10 of his uses *abab cdcd efef gg* as does Grimald in his 3. Parker suggests that one of the sonnets by uncertain authors, beginning 'O Petrarke hed and prince of poets all', which is in Wyatt's favourite pattern, was from his pen, as also 2 sonnets with unique rhyme patterns, 'With petrarke to compare there may no wight' and 'For loue Appollo (his Godhead set aside)'.

S. Gorley Putt suggests *A Suppressed Hendiadys in a Poem by Surrey* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.). In the elegy on Wyatt as printed in *Tottel* two lines run:

Whose heauenly giftes increased by disdayn,
And virtue sank the deper in his brest.

In an earlier version which appeared soon after Wyatt's death there is no comma after 'disdayn', and Putt takes 'disdayn and virtue' to form an hendiadys, meaning 'disdainful virtue', parallel to examples quoted in *The Arte of English Poesy*.

Writing on *A Mirror for Magistrates* in *T.L.S.* (Apr. 15) A. L. Rowse deals mainly with Humphrey Cavell whom, following a suggestion by Miss L. B. Campbell, he identifies as the 'Master Cavyl', contributor of the tragedy of the blacksmith, Michael Joseph. Cavell was a Cornishman who became a member of the Middle Temple, lived at Acton, was a landowner, sat in Parliament, 1552-5, and died in 1557. He had a connexion with 'the Edwardian governing circle' with which many of the contributors to the *Mirror* were in contact.

The most comprehensive work published in 1939 dealing with the section of drama that falls almost entirely within the limits of this chapter is J. E. Bernard Jr.'s study of *The Prosody of the Tudor Interlude*.⁵ Herein he analyses the prosodic features of seventy-two pieces beginning with the *Interludium de Clerico et Puella* and ending with Nashe's *Summer's Last Will and Testament*. Apart from the *Interludium*, which he calls 'a Middle English introduction', Bernard's survey ranges over a century, between 1497 and 1593. He gives a detailed analysis of the metrical characteristics of each of the interludes, and discusses how far the variations within the individual pieces are due to the author's conscious intention. He finds that Medwall here set a precedent that was largely followed, and he sees in Lyndsay's *Satire of the Three Estates* 'the giant among interludes', the method carried almost to excess in the 'exquisite refinement' in its application of metres.

Students of prosody will find helpful material in Bernard's carefully tabulated statistics, and they will assent to such general conclusions as that the verse of the Tudor interlude was indigenous and not influenced by Continental prosodic systems. But they will probably question some of his attempts to decide the authorship of particular plays on purely metrical evidence. On this ground, in spite of the strong internal evidence in favour of John Rastell, he would assign *Gentleness and Nobility* to Heywood, to whom he would also allot *Jacob and Esau*. He finds support for Udall's authorship of *Respublica* and *Jack Juggeler* in their metrical features, but on similar grounds would not connect him with *Thersites*. Such conclusions can be only tentative.

In *John Heywood and Richard Stonley* (S.A.B., Jan.) K. W. Cameron draws attention to a copy of Heywood's *Works* (1562) in the Yale University Library, which has an inscription on the fly-leaf, 'liber Ric. Stonley, ex dono Iohis Hayw . . .' (margin trimmed). Heywood apparently presented the book to Stonley between 1562 and July 1564, when he escaped from England.

⁵ *The Prosody of the Tudor Interlude*, by J. E. Bernard Jr. (Yale Studies in English XC). Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xi+225. \$3.00.

Of three known contemporary Richard Stonleys, Heywood's friend was probably the one who was born in 1520 and became a Teller of the Exchequer in 1553. He held this important office for many years, but from 1580 became financially embarrassed and in 1597 had most of his property confiscated. He died in 1600.

An important article on John Bale's dramatic and other works by W. T. Davies in the *Oxford Bibliographical Society's Proceedings* is noticed below in Chapter XIV, pp. 199-200.

Fredson T. Bowers prints *A Sixteenth-Century Plough Monday Play Cast* (*R.E.S.*, Apr.) from a manuscript discovered in the church at Donington in Lincolnshire. Among the characters are a king, a steward, Holofernes, four knights, a soldier, a duke, and a herald. 'It apparently is a Plough Monday play associated with the St. George versions in an Oriental setting.' A comparison of the names of some of the actors with those in the churchwardens' accounts suggests that the performance fell within or near the years 1563-5.

Writing on *Nicholas Udall* in *T.L.S.*, July 22, Herbert Chitty gives an important clue to his parentage. The future dramatist was entered in the Winchester College Register in 1517 as 'Nicholas Owdall'. Chitty points out that College documents show that there was a Thomas Wodale or Owdale, a notary, resident in Kingsgate Street, Winchester, from 1510 to 1525. He is likely to have been the father of Nicholas, and, if so, must have moved to Winchester after the birth of the boy described in the College Register as a native of Holy Rood, Southampton.

Sara R. Watson discusses '*Gorboduc*' and *The theory of Tyrannicide* (*M.L.R.*, July). She stresses the point that, though Sackville and Norton were dramatic collaborators, they held very different political views, Sackville upholding the divine right of Kings, while the Puritan Norton believed in the participation of the people in government. Miss Watson aims at showing that Norton in the first three acts of the play was reproducing the views of the Calvinist Christopher Goodman

who, in *How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd* (1558), set forth arguments for tyrannicide. Sackville, on the other hand, in the last act urges the duty of subjects to obey even when Kings forget to govern as they ought.

Celesta Wine adds to our biographical knowledge of *Nathaniel Woodes: Author of the Morality Play 'The Conflict of Conscience'* (*R.E.S.*, Oct.). Matriculating at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1567, he became M.A. in 1574. He had already in June 1572 been instituted vicar of St. Mary's, South Walsham, Norfolk, and an examination of the manuscript register has disclosed the Christian name of his wife, Helen, and the birth of three children between November 1573 and November 1575. After Woodes's resignation of the South Walsham living early in 1580 the only mention of him hitherto found is his incorporation at Oxford on 9 July 1594 with thirty other M.A.s from Cambridge.

As a postscript to this and the preceding chapters, attention may be drawn to the study, from a novel angle, by C. S. Lewis in *Essays & Studies*, vol. xxiv, of *The Fifteenth Century Heroic Line*, in its development from *Beowulf* and the *Brut*, through Chaucer to Wyatt and Gascoigne.

VII

SHAKESPEARE

By ALLARDYCE NICOLL

DURING the year 1939 three general studies of Shakespeare's work made their appearance.

Mark Van Doren's *Shakespeare*¹ is a stimulating and arresting volume. 'I have imagined', says the author, 'the reader of this book to be a person already acquainted in one degree or another with the poems and plays of Shakespeare, and willing now for the first or hundredth time to consider them as human documents and as works of art.' Van Doren's criticism is sane and sound. He has no axe to grind; no one theory dominates his approach to the plays, but as occasion demands he concentrates on the qualities they seem most forcibly to exhibit—now structure, now character, now language. For a fairly well informed student of Shakespeare's work hardly a better guide could be imagined; and even the specialist scholar may find here much to stimulate him to fresh thought and to renewed appreciation of the poet's mastery.

Another very useful volume is Peter Alexander's *Shakespeare's Life and Art*,² wherein critical evaluation of the dramatist's achievements is set side by side with a general account of the known biographical facts and with short notes on the dating of the various plays.

Less ambitious, more useful for the layman but not entirely without interest for students, David Hardman's *What about Shakespeare?*³ presents a simple exposition of dramatic art, discusses the life summarily, gives facts concerning the Elizabethan theatres, examines Shakespeare's artistic development,

¹ *Shakespeare*, by Mark Van Doren. New York: Henry Holt. pp. viii + 344.

² *Shakespeare's Life and Art*, by Peter Alexander. Nisbet. pp. vi + 247. 8s. 6d.

³ *What about Shakespeare?* by David Hardman. T. Nelson. pp. 174. 2s.

and explores briefly such questions as 'Shakespeare, Tolstoy and Shaw'.

An analysis of E. J. Fripp's two-volume study (see *Y.W.* xix, 116) is contributed by B. Roland Lewis to *S.A.B.* (Jan.) under the title of *Shakespeare, Man and Artist*. A. L. Everett's *Shakespeare in 1596* (*S.A.B.*, July) essays to present a general picture of the poet's position and achievement at the age of 32. A survey of the known facts is contributed by Général Cartier in *Quelques précisions au sujet de l'acteur William Shakespeare* (*Mercure de France*, April). Based on a competent knowledge of modern scholarly investigation, *Gentleman of Stratford*, a novel by John Brophy,⁴ provides an imaginative picture of Shakespeare as husband, wit, actor, and playwright. The dramatist's political views are discussed by Hans H. Glunz in *Shakespeares Staat* (*Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 1939), and *L'Erudition de Shakespeare* (*Revue Bleue*, May) is examined by P. Messiaen. A parallel to the Shakespeare marriage records is noted by A. Barnett Langdale in *Phineas Fletcher's Marriage* (*N. and Q.*, Nov. 4); Langdale stresses the carelessness of parish clerks in the notation of names, dates, and kinds of entry.

'Amazing' is perhaps the *mot juste* for *This Shakespeare Industry*, by Ivor Brown and George Fearon.⁵ This ironic survey of Bardolatry from the time of Garrick's Jubilee to the present day forms excellent, though at times depressing, reading. From the Shakespeare bust on the petrol station just outside of Stratford and the Shakespeare labels on Stratford's beer to the omnivorous searching for relics (from mulberry-tree snuffboxes to original quartos) Brown and Fearon leave nothing unsaid concerning the cult of the Bard.

A subject which long awaited treatment is dealt with by W. Robertson Davies in *Shakespeare's Boy Actors*.⁶ This comprehensive investigation examines the position of the interpreters

⁴ *Gentleman of Stratford*, by John Brophy. Collins. pp. 348. 7s. 6d.

⁵ *This Shakespeare Industry: Amazing Monument*, by Ivor Brown and George Fearon. Heinemann. pp. xii + 332. 10s. 6d.

⁶ *Shakespeare's Boy Actors*, by W. Robertson Davies. Dent. pp. vii + 208. 10s. 6d.

of Elizabethan heroines on the stage and in social life, discusses various contemporary indications of their ability, and suggests the quality of their technique in comparison with the technique of present-day actresses.

Textual studies of the year were ushered in by R. B. McKerrow's *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare*.⁷ No such profound study exists of an editor's business; its detailed examination of text values and of the principles which should control an editor form an invaluable guide to future workers. Interesting is McKerrow's final judgement:

'When we sum up the whole matter, we shall, I think, find that the editing of an old text, however much it may call for literary appreciation and imagination, must in the first place be based upon the most careful research into surviving evidence, and that however much it may depend for its foundations upon that kind of common sense which some would dignify by the name of "science", it is also, and perhaps in all its finer achievements, of the nature of an art.'

W. W. Greg in his intensive study of *King Lear*⁸ points out that hitherto editors have done no real work on the text of this tragedy; the basis for a truly adequate edition is provided in the pages of this book.

Henrietta C. Bartlett has brought out a revised edition of the invaluable *Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto* which she originally prepared in collaboration with A. W. Pollard.⁹ 'Every known copy of each edition and issue is described, and its history . . . given as fully as possible', states Miss Bartlett in her preface. The detailed care that has gone to the making of this book makes it a work of permanent reference value. Miss Bartlett's bibliographical accuracy is unimpeachable.

⁷ *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare: A Study in Editorial Method*, by Ronald B. McKerrow. O.U.P. pp. xiv + 110. 6s.

⁸ *The Variants in the First Quarto of 'King Lear': A Bibliographical and Critical Inquiry*, by W. W. Greg. O.U.P. for Bibliographical Society. pp. 192.

⁹ *A Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto, 1594-1709*, by Henrietta C. Bartlett and Alfred W. Pollard; revised and extended by Henrietta C. Bartlett, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. v + 165, 56s. 6d.

H. W. Crundell in *Shakespeare and the Play of 'More'* (*T.L.S.*, May 20) argues for Shakespeare's authorship of 'Addition III' as well as of the '147 lines'. While recognizing that Crundell may be justified in this opinion, R. W. Chambers (*T.L.S.*, June 3) presents reasons for keeping the argument to the '147 lines'.

In *Shakespeare's Collaboration with Morley* (*P.M.L.A.*, March), Ernest Brennecke, Jr., argues that Shakespeare was personally acquainted with the musician Morley, that the song 'It was a lover and his lass' in *As You Like it* was 'a joint composition, a collaboration: poem by Shakespeare and music by Morley', and that the lyric 'O mistress mine' was written after Shakespeare's attention had been brought to the tune published by Morley. This theory John Robert Moore rebuts; he is answered by the writer of the article. *Shakespeare e le sue relazioni con la musica* (*Studi Inglesi*, April) is discussed by Federico Ghisi; an index of composers is given as appendix to this article.

T. W. Baldwin writes on the dangers of trusting to Shakespeare facsimiles (*T.L.S.*, May 6). The Folio text of *Hamlet*, in W. J. Lawrence's opinion (*T.L.S.*, Dec. 30), must be based on a cut version of the play for country acting. *Why a First Folio Shakespeare remained in England* (*R.E.S.*, July) is explained by Robert M. Smith. Using extracts from letters and cables between H. C. Folger and his agents, he shows how the Bodleian copy which came on the market in 1905 was preserved for its original home.

The only true source of *Romeo and Juliet*, according to N. B. Allen (*M.L.N.*, Feb.), is Q 2; he deplores the practice of editors who (following Pope) introduce individual Q 1 readings into their texts. In *Line-Division in 'Julius Caesar'* (*T.L.S.*, July 29) A. P. Rossiter draws attention to the numbers of 'splits' in that play. These, according to R. B. McKerrow (*T.L.S.*, Aug. 19), are due simply to the compositors' dislike of turn-overs. Enlarging on an earlier article, William T. Hastings¹⁰ continues his study of *Shakespeare's Part in 'Pericles'* (*S.A.B.*, April). The non-Shakespearian parts, he believes, were not written by

¹⁰ See *Y.W.*, xvii, 138.

Wilkins, and Shakespeare's contributions were made to an already existing play. *The Identity of George Wilkins* (S.B.A., Oct.) is discussed by George B. Dickson. Theodore Spencer examines the authorship of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Mod. Phil., Feb.). Paul H. Kocher thinks *Timon of Athens, Act V, Scene 3* (S.A.B., Oct.) was written by Shakespeare. 'Hamlet' and 'The Spanish Tragedy' Again (Mod. Phil., Nov.) is the theme of a paper by E. E. Stoll. In this he attacks the theory of their relation put forward by Sir Edmund Chambers. Stoll holds that Kyd wrote the old *Hamlet* and that it preceded *The Spanish Tragedy*. H. W. Crundell treats mainly of punctuation in *The Text of '1 Henry IV'* (N. and Q., Nov. 11).

In *La novella di Giulietta e Romeo e le sue fonti classiche* (Rassegna Nazionale, June) Loris Colucci deals with Luigi Da Porto's dependence on classical sources, particularly Ovid. That a passage in *Batman vppon Bartolome* (1582)—a translation with revisions and additions of *De Proprietatibus Rerum*—may be a source for a familiar passage in *As You Like It* is suggested by J. W. Draper in Jacques' 'Seven Ages' and Bartholomaeus Anglicus (M.L.N., April). W. B. Drayton Henderson writes a note on Montaigne's *Apologie of Raymond Sebond* and 'King Lear' (S.A.B., Oct.). Two Shakspeare Parallels in Studley's Translation of Seneca's 'Agamemnon' (S.A.B., Oct.) are noted by Cornall M. Dowlin.

The close approximation of Shakespeare's 'romantic' art to classical art 'in its simplicity, its intensity', is emphasized by E. E. Stoll in *Shakespeare Forbears* (M.L.N., May). The Catholic element in the plays is examined by Gerard M. Greenewald.¹¹ Noting the differing theories that have been put forward concerning this subject, Greenewald endeavours to take an historical approach. This leads him to the conclusion that

'in the light of the Elizabethan conception of supremacy, of the law of excommunication and of the doctrine of oaths, every speech and every episode in *King John*, which pertains to the present subject, was examined in detail and from all aspects. The close

¹¹ *Shakespeare's Attitude towards the Catholic Church in 'King John'*, by Gerard M. Greenewald. Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D.C. pp. x+195.

scrutiny of these speeches and episodes revealed not a single instance in which Shakespeare gives evidence of an inimical attitude towards the Catholic Church, or in which Shakespeare attempted in any way to vilify or ridicule the Catholic Church'.

The political troubles which led Shakespeare to make changes in *Richard III* are related to other changes made in *England's Heroicall Epistles* by Kathleen Tillotson in her *Drayton and Richard II: 1507-1600* (*R.E.S.*, April).

Recent Shakespeare Criticism (*Sh.-Jahr.*, lxxiv) is analysed by E. E. Stoll: this essay deals with works by Charlton, Spurgeon, Wilson, Granville-Barker, and Schücking.

Hamlet has received a fair amount of attention this year. Elaborating on Knight's theme of Death, A. Bonjour writes *On Artistic Unity in 'Hamlet'* (*English Studies*, Oct.). J. W. Draper's *Study of 'Hamlet'* (*S.A.B.*, April) is criticized by John Wilcox. Max Deutschbein analyses '*O that this too, too solid flesh would melt*' (*Sh.-Jahr.*, lxxiv). E. M. W. Tillyard, in *The Dumb Show* (*T.L.S.*, April 15), challenges Dover Wilson's theory that Claudius did not see the pantomimic action presented by the players. Similar, but more detailed, criticism is devoted to the Wilson hypothesis by W. W. Lawrence in *Hamlet and the Mouse-Trap* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.). Observing that 'absolute consistency in action and motivation is not to be expected' here and that 'Shakespeare occasionally sacrificed logic and probability to the authority of his source and to dramatic effect', he believes that the older, traditional interpretation of this scene is the correct one. Wilson's theory regarding *The Fencing Bout in 'Hamlet'* is attacked by Selma Guttman (*S.A.B.*, April). A critical analysis of structural values in the play is provided by Gustav Kunstler in *Der Dramatische Aufbau von Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'* (*Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, 1938, Heft 1). Bernard Groom in *Essays and Studies*, vol. xxiv discusses in a suggestive article addressed mainly to teachers, *The Varieties of Style in 'Hamlet'*. Two general studies have been written by Rudolf Huch (*Die Literatur*, May) and Roberto Levillier (*Nosotros*, Sept.-Oct.).

A study of Shakespearian conceptions of good and evil appears in J. M. Nosworthy's '*King Lear*'—*the Moral Aspect*

(*English Studies*, Dec.) Don Cameron Allen has an interesting note on *Shakspeare and the Doctrine of Cosmic Identities* (*S.A.B.*, July), in which he devotes special attention to the Shakespearian conception of the interrelations between microcosm and macrocosm. *Has Cassius been misinterpreted?* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.) asks David Klein, and proceeds to write in that character's defence. Eva Buck pens a study of *Cleopatra* (*Sh.-Jahr.*, lxxiv). Moses Hadas' *Clytemnestra in Elizabethan Dress* (*Classical Weekly*, April 24) traces a kinship between Lady Macbeth and Clytemnestra through Livy's Tullia and Hector Boece. J. W. Draper has a study of *Bastardy in Shakespeare's Plays* (*Sh.-Jahr.*, lxxiv). Rodney M. Baine endeavours to refute some recent interpretations in '*The Sagittary*': *A Note on 'Othello'* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.).

Not evil factions and chance, thinks J. W. Draper in *Shakespeare's 'Star-crossed Lovers'* (*R.E.S.*, Jan.), but 'the hopelessness of defying the heavens' will' is the keynote to *Romeo and Juliet*. Although it is difficult to believe that all the astrological minutiae had the dramatic significance he claims or that these give to the play 'the inevitable sequence of Hellenic tragedy', Draper has certainly drawn attention to many things in the drama that are commonly missed by critics and commentators. A study of *Titus Andronicus* is contributed by Wolfgang Keller to the *Sh.-Jahr.* (lxxiv).

Draper finds in *The Wooing of Olivia* (*Neophilologus*, xxiii, Aflevering 1) a study in female independence. In *Falstaff's Robin and other Pages* (*S. in Ph.*, July) he stresses the fact that it took Shakespeare some years to make his pages vital and real on the stage. A serious strain in Falstaff is examined by Samuel A. Small (*The Reflective Element in Falstaff*, *S.A.B.*, April and July). William Van O'Connor also writes of Falstaff in *When Elizabethans Laughed* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.). E. E. Stoll's *Jaques and the Antiquaries* (*M.L.N.*, February) is a discussion of the 'mal-content' type and of modern historical criticism. The same author writes on *Shakespeare's Jew* (*U.T.Q.*, Jan.). Praise of Shylock comes from P. Fijn van Draat in *Neophilologus* (xxiii, Aflevering 3), and a sketch of his character is given by John E.

Hannigan in *Shylock and Portia* (S.A.B., July). Writing as if of a living being, Christine White essays *A Biography of Autolycus* (S.A.B., July). An astrological element in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is traced by C. Cambillard in *Le Songe d'une nuit d'été, thème astrologique* (Ét.-ang., April-June). Émile Legouis wrote on *La psychologie dans Le Songe d'une nuit d'été* in the same journal.

The Shakespeare Association has now launched its series of Quarto facsimiles. The 'Pied Bull Quarto' (1608) of *King Lear*, the 'Hayes Quarto' (1600) of *The Merchant of Venice* and the 1602 Quarto of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* are the first volumes in this collection.¹²

W. W. Greg contributes a short factual introduction to each. These little volumes, with their excellent reproductions, are most welcome.

J. D. Wilson has added another volume to the Cambridge Shakespeare.¹³

His introduction shows again his able combination of detailed scholarship and keen critical appreciation. Particularly stimulating is his treatment of the dramatic values of this play. 'Richard II', he says, 'ought to be played throughout as ritual. As a work of art it stands far closer to the Catholic service of the Mass than to Ibsen's *Brand* or Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan*.'

Several single plays have lately been issued with interesting introductions and textual notes by G. L. Kittredge.¹⁴

P. Thorson contributes *A Note on 'Macbeth'* (*English Studies*, April), providing an interpretation of the Norwegian banners (I. ii. 59-62). Vincezo Perazzi's *Una nota al 'Macbeth'* (*Studi Inglesi*, Jan.) refers to IV. iii. 1-137. *Macbeth* V. iii. 55-6, is the subject of A. R. Dunlap's *What Purgative Drug?* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.); he suggests 'Tyme' for the Folio's 'Cyme' and the modern

¹² Shakespeare Association and Sidgwick and Jackson. 10s. 6d. each.

¹³ *King Richard II*, ed. by John Dover Wilson. C.U.P. pp. xcii + 250. 12s. 6d. and 8s. 6d.

¹⁴ *The Tempest . . . As You Like It . . . Julius Caesar . . . Macbeth*, ed. by George Lyman Kittredge, Boston: Ginn. pp. xi + 173.

'senna'. A *'Hamlet' Emendation* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) is examined by James G. McManaway and William B. Van Lennep. Interesting use is here made of 'players' texts' of the late seventeenth century. An emendation to *Othello* is suggested by Samuel A. Tannenbaum in *Cassio's Hopes* (*P.Q.*, July). The significance of the word 'Security' (i. ii. 39-55) is discussed in H. E. McCain's *A Note on the Second Part of 'King Henry the Fourth'* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.). Writing on *A Textual Dilemma in '1 Henry IV'* (*M.L.N.*, April), M. A. Shaaber thinks that Shakespeare wrote 'bulky' in v. v. 1-3 instead of Q 1 'bufky', even though Q 2 did print 'busky'. Mario Praz discusses *King Richard III*, i. iii. 241 (*T.L.S.*, Nov. 11), W. Alan Rook, *Merry Wives*, i. iv. 130, 'What the good-yere' (*T.L.S.*, June 17), and Daniel C. Boughner, *Merchant of Venice*. III. i. 35-7, 'Red Wine and Rennish' (*S.A.B.*, Jan.). T. Percy Armstrong, in *Patience on a Monument* (*N. and Q.*, Jan. 7), discusses the iconography of the allegorical Patience in Renaissance art. Other interpretative notes contributed to *N. and Q.* are H. Kendra Baker's 'The Lady of the Strachy' (Jan. 7) and D. E. Baughan's *A Compliment to Sidney in 'Hamlet'* (Aug. 19). The latter identifies Laertes' Norman friend 'Lamord' as a flattering portrait of the Elizabethan knight.

In *Macbeth and Satan* (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, July) E. E. Kellett speculates interestingly on Milton's possible treatment of a Macbeth theme.

George Winchester Stone, Jr., contributes an interesting article on *Garrick, and an Unknown Operatic Version of 'Love's Labour's Lost'* (*R.E.S.*, July). This version, preserved in the Folger Library, was one made by Captain Edward Thompson at Garrick's request. Also based on Folger Library material is the same writer's 'A *Midsummer Night's Dream* in the Hands of Garrick and Colman' (*P.M.L.A.*, June). Here four plays are examined—*The Fairies*, Colman's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Garrick's acting copy of the same, and Colman's *Fairy Tale*. *The Repute of Shakespeare's Sonnets in the Early Nineteenth Century* (*M.L.N.*, June) is discussed by George Sanderlin; he notes that widespread interest in these poems does not appear until 1830. *Shakespeare-Gestaltung auf dem englischen Theater im 19. Jahrhundert* (*Sh.-Jahr.*, lxxiv) is analysed by E. L. Stahl.

The phrase '*Without the Prince of Denmark*' (*T.L.S.*, May 27) is traced by John Hampden to an anecdote relating to an actor in 1775. Frederick Harker (*T.L.S.*, June 3) draws attention to a similar story recorded in 1830 which may, he thinks, refer to the same incident. W. T. Hastings contributes a 'minority' report on '*The Fourth Forger*' (*S.A.B.*, Oct.).

'Deep and sympathetic understanding' of Shakespeare is found evidenced by D. L. Clark in *Shelley and Shakespeare* (*P.M.L.A.*, March). The romantic poet's indebtedness to his predecessor is traced in thought, phrase, imagery, and symbolism. E. P. Vandiver, Jr., writes on *Stevenson and Shakspeare* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.). Possible influence on Ibsen of a passage in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* concerning Guildenstern and Rosencranz, is discussed in A. E. Zucker's *The Courtiers in 'Hamlet' and 'The Wild Duck'* (*M.L.N.*, March). *Was ist uns Shakespeare?* (*Sh.-Jahr.*, lxxiv) asks Joseph Wagner. Rainer Schlosser writes on *Der deutsche Shakespeare* and Paul Kluckhohn on *Die Dramatiker der deutschen Romantik als Shakespeare-Junger* in the *Sh.-Jahr.* (lxxiv).

Two very useful books have appeared on the subject of Shakespeare in America. Esther C. Dunn's study¹⁵ is general in scope. The reading of Shakespeare, parodies, productions of his plays, their influence on American thought, Shakespearian scholarship are all put under review. This book is companioned by an examination of American Shakespearian criticism, written by A. V. R. Westfall.¹⁶ He discusses (in considerable detail) the gradual importation of texts of the plays and their first performances; the work of Charlotte Ramsay Lennox, first American-born Shakespearian critic; the earliest American editions; the activities of the Boston editors and of later commentators; American criticism of the nineteenth century, with special attention given to Richard Grant White. The bibliography forms a serviceable appendix.

¹⁵ *Shakespeare in America*, by Esther Cloudman Dunn. New York: Macmillan. pp. xiv + 300.

¹⁶ *American Shakespearian Criticism, 1607-1865*, by Alfred Van Rensselaer Westfall. New York: H. W. Wilson. pp. xii + 305.

VIII

THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

THERE were few publications in 1939 dealing with Elizabethan Drama in its general aspects. The most comprehensive study came from America in a volume by Henry W. Wells of Columbia University on *Elizabethan and Jacobean Playwrights*.¹ The title is used by Wells to cover an analysis of major tendencies in the drama from 1576 to 1642. His treatment is critical, not chronological, but he draws a dividing line about 1611, when a new spirit appears in English drama. 'Plays begin to be less national and are addressed more narrowly to an aristocratic audience. They grow more sentimental and genteel, less realistic and poetic. The school of Beaumont and Fletcher succeeds to the tradition of Marlowe and Shakespeare.' Wells makes it one of his chief objects to show that 'the earlier group keeps a restless and exciting balance between medieval and Renaissance influences while the later group rapidly loses firm hold upon the medieval heritage, turns slowly from a Renaissance to an Augustan temper'.

When he proceeds farther to a detailed classification in successive chapters of the principal plays of the period, in accordance with what he considers the dominating quality of each series, he enters upon more debatable ground. Thus under the heading 'the tragedy of evil' he discusses *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Antonio and Mellida*, *The Atheist's Tragedy*, *The Revenger's Tragedy*, *The Changeling*, *Women Beware Women*, *The White Devil*, *The Duchess of Malfi*, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, *Catiline* and *Sejanus*. Contrasted with these examples of melodramatic and satirical tragedy are those illustrative of 'tragic irony', including *Othello*, *The Duke of Milan*, *Love's Sacrifice*, and *The Witch of Edmonton*. Similarly Wells classifies other tragedies under such headings as 'the Renaissance ideal', 'historical objectivity', 'sentimental tragedy', and 'tragic extravaganza'. The lighter plays are

¹ *Elizabethan and Jacobean Playwrights*, by Henry W. Wells. New York: Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xiv+327. \$ 2.75.

grouped under the titles of 'polite manners', 'satirical comedy', 'fantastic comedy', with a chapter on 'the rise and fall of comic prose'.

It is clear that Wells's experiment in classification is open to question, as are some of his estimates of the merits of individual plays, and his reiterated emphasis in his final chapter on the extent of the medieval influence in the pre-1611 group. But his book, taken as a whole, is to be welcomed as an independent and stimulating study of its subject. In its biographical and bibliographical appendix *The Year's Work* should have been mentioned among the annual surveys.

In *J.E.G.P.* (July) R. E. Saleski writes on *Supernatural Agents in Christian Imagery: Word Studies in Elizabethan Dramatists*. This somewhat ponderous title covers a study of groups of words in the plays of Shakespeare, Greene, Jonson, Kyd, and Marlowe dealing with 'persons and beings of supernatural powers which the Elizabethan audience may have accepted, whether historically Christian or not'. Instances given are *Belzebub*, *soul*, and *prophet*. Saleski arranges such words in ten classes, illustrated by inscribed charts and a diagram. Whatever we may think of the conclusions founded on such a basis, the verbal statistics may be of some use to students of the dramatists' vocabulary.

R. H. West's *The Invisible World: A Study of Pneumatology in Elizabethan Drama*, published by the University of Georgia Press, has not been available for further notice.

In an article on *Hill's List of Early Plays in Manuscript* (*Library*, June) Joseph Quincy Adams makes a substantial addition to the number of pre-Restoration plays that have been lost or unidentified. Abraham Hill (1635-1721) was a man of wealth with antiquarian and scientific interests who was a keen collector of books and coins. Ten of his note-books are preserved in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 2891-901). The third of these has among its contents a large sheet of paper containing the names of fifty-one manuscript plays, of which two are Latin. Below these are entered the titles of twenty-six printed plays, published in or before 1677, and these are duplicated, with six

omissions and in different order, on a scrap of paper that follows the sheet.

Adams conjectures that Hill may have seen both the printed plays and the manuscripts in the shop of a second-hand book-dealer. Hill attributes four of the manuscript plays to Dekker. Two of them are unknown, but he may have been the author of *Disguises* (acted 2 Oct. 1595), and probably of *A City Show* and *The Welsh Ambassador*. Hill gives Chapman with Brome as collaborator in the lost *Christianetta*, though Brome only is entered as author in *S.R.* on 4 August 1640. *A Challenge for Beauty*, also in print since 1636, is correctly attributed to Thomas Heywood, but nothing is known of the plays assigned, one each to Middleton, Glapthorne, Philip Lane, and to George Buck whose signature, as Adams suggests, probably appeared not as author but as licenser. *The Witch of Edmonton* is oddly attributed to Shakespeare, perhaps from a confusion with the apocryphal *Merry Devil of Edmonton*.

Of the remaining thirty-eight plays, as Adams points out in his helpful notes, nine have the titles of extant or recorded pieces, five may be more or less probably identified with plays with different titles, and twenty-four appear to be quite unknown.

It has been known that when James VI of Scotland was expecting the arrival of his bride, Anne of Denmark, in Scotland in the autumn of 1589, he was anxious to have the presence of Queen Elizabeth's players at his Court. But hitherto there has been no evidence of their visiting Scotland at this time. Now M. M. Gray calls attention in *Queen Elizabeth's Players* (*T.L.S.*, 14 Jan.) to a letter, dated 22 October 1589, from Asheby, the English envoy in Scotland to Lord Burghley, stating that 'Bothwell . . . sheweth great kindness to our nation, using Her Maiestie's players . . . honorable and with all courtesie'. This Earl of Bothwell was the nephew of Queen Mary's husband. Recently released from prison, he was taking an active part in the preparations for the royal marriage festivities, and was entertaining Queen Elizabeth's players. But though they reached Edinburgh, they probably did not perform there, for Anne was delayed by contrary winds, and James upset the projected programme by deciding to fetch her himself.

In an article on *Elizabethan Acting* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) Alfred Harbage seeks to define 'two alternate styles of acting—formal acting and natural acting; to attack the case for natural acting on the Elizabethan stage, and to defend the case for formal acting'. Harbage proceeds to elaborate his conception of the natural actor. 'He portrays where the formal actor symbolizes. He impersonates where the formal actor represents. He engages in real conversation where the formal actor recites. His acting is subjective and imaginative where that of the formal actor is objective and traditional.'

Harbage argues that Hamlet's speech to the players, with the injunction to hold the mirror up to nature, does no more than advocate moderation and good taste, and could be followed profitably by either the natural or the formal actor, and he quotes in illustration a passage from Heywood's *An Apology for Actors*. He also advances reasons for not putting trust in Richard Flecknoe's description in 1664 of Richard Burbage's acting as belonging to the natural type.

In support of his beliefs that Elizabethan acting was formal Harbage quotes a passage from the preface to a manuscript play, *The Cyprian Conqueror* (Sloane MS. 3,709). He also points to the enduring success of the boys' companies, and maintains that the open-air theatre was better suited to formal than to natural acting. One is left with the feeling that, though his article merits consideration, he has over-simplified the issue and put more weight on parts of his evidence, negative and positive, than they will bear.

In *He Also Was a Scene-Painter* (*Life and Letters*, Dec.) Richard Southern discusses William Lyzarde, whose name occurs in the Revels Accounts for 1572. He was the eldest son of Nicholas Lyzarde, serjeant-painter to Queens Mary and Elizabeth. In the accounts a sum of xxxviii^s vi^d is entered for money disbursed by him for size and a pot for the same, and xxij^d for nails to stretch the canvas. The other items are for a variety of payments. The expenditure was for work on 'howses of paynted Canvas', prepared in London and transported to Hampton Court.

Gustaf Fredén's new and comprehensive study² of the problems presented by the volumes of *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien*, anonymously published in 1620, has been occasioned by the discovery in 1921 by Professor Johan Nordström of a catalogue of his published and unpublished works appended by Friedrich Menius to his volume *Syntagma de origine Livinorum*, issued in 1635. Second in the list appears 'Englische Comoedien 2. Theil. Altenburg, in Verlegung Gotfrid Grossen Buchhändlers zu Leipzig. Anno 1620. in 8.' Owing to the fact that Nordström announced his discovery in a Swedish periodical, it did not till recently attract the attention that it deserved. Fredén begins his book with a detailed biography of Menius, who had a remarkable career. Born about 1593 in Woldegk, a small town in Mecklenburg, he had studied in the Universities of Rostock and Greifswald, had in 1617 become 'notarius publicus et caesareus', and in 1620, besides editing the *Engelische Comedien*, he had issued with the same publisher, Gross, a volume of Latin poems. In 1625 he married a sister of Georg Mancelius, a pastor in Dorpat in Livonia, and in 1632 was appointed professor of history in the newly founded University in that town. His ambition was to write a history of Livonia, but a series of misfortunes frustrated his scheme. His marriage in 1625 was pronounced bigamous, an earlier wife being then still alive, and he had to flee from Dorpat in 1637. He then engaged in a venture in working a copper mine, but this proved unsuccessful. In 1644 he again took up his pen and published a philosophic religious work, *Consensus Hermetico-Mosaicus*, which involved him in charges of heresy, followed by an imprisonment which lasted till after his recantation in 1646. But even after his release his circumstances seem to have been miserable till his death in 1659.

Though Menius's career was turbulent and his character not unblemished, the claims to authorship in his 1635 catalogue are supported by the fact that the details he gives of his published works tally with those in extant copies of them or in contemporary notices. Fredén proceeds to consider the bearing of

² *Friedrich Menius und das Repertoire der Englischen Komödianten in Deutschland*, by Gustaf Fredén. Stockholm: Boktryckeri A.-B. P. A. Palmers Eftr. pp. viii+527. 10 Kr.

the internal evidence on his claim to the editorship of the anonymously printed *Engelische Comedien* and what this involved. From an examination of the vocabulary in the plays he concludes, 'dass Wortschatz und Satzbau niederdeutsch gefärbt sind, und dass dies für die Sammlung als ein Ganzes zutrifft. Das Letztere deutet ja auf den Niederdeutschen Friedrich Menius als der Bearbeiter.' Similarly, in the elaborate stage-directions, Fredén finds numerous 'niederdeutsche Idiotismen'. Above all he sees conclusive evidence of a German editor's hand in a striking usage:

'Im englischen Drama dieser Zeit gehört es bekanntlich zu den festgelegten Gewohnheiten, die Bühne als einen Raum zu bezeichnen, auf den der Schauspieler *hereinkommt* (*enter*); verlässt er sie, so heisst das folglich *hinausgehen* (*exit* oder *abit*). In den Englischen Comedien 1620 sind aber auffallenderweise die Dinge gerade umgekehrt. Zu Anfang der Szene *kommt* der Schauspieler heraus; am Ende derselben *geht er hinein*. Die Bühne wird also als draussen, der Raum hinter der Bühne als drinnen bezeichnet.'

A detailed analysis of the individual plays leads Fredén to the conclusion that Menius based his texts on notes taken during performances, and that he allowed himself a freer hand in plays which had familiar biblical or popular subjects. Fredén's views on important points are doubtless open to discussion, but the association of Menius with the *Engelische Comedien* seems to be well established and the book marks a new phase in the treatment of its subject.

This survey now passes to publications dealing with the life and works of individual dramatists.

Warren B. Austin in *John Lyly and Queen Elizabeth* (*N. and Q.*, 4 Mar.) brings forward conclusive evidence that the dramatist never received from the royal mistress the reward for his services for which he had so urgently petitioned. Austin prints a letter from Toby Matthew, Bishop of Durham, to Sir Julius Caesar, one of the Masters of Requests. In this letter, dated 9 February 1604/5 (B.M. Add. MSS. 12,507, f. 140) Matthew reminds Sir Julius of the many promises made by Elizabeth to Lyly and the 'great hope' held out to him. But nothing had come of this, for the Bishop pleads with Caesar to further Lyly's case with King

James 'the rather in regarde of his yeres fast growing on & his insupportable charge of many children, all vnbestowed, besides the debt wherein he standeth'. If Bond is right in his conjecture that Lyly received a grant of Crown land in 1605, Matthew's petition may not have been in vain, and King James may have done something to atone for his predecessor's niggardly treatment of her servant.

G. Wilson Knight gives to an article in *R.E.S.* (May) the comprehensive title *Lyly*. But after a few introductory paragraphs on *Euphues* the article deals with the plays and with love as their 'whole theme'. Knight illustrates Lyly's conception of love especially from *Campaspe*, *Endimion*, and *Love's Metamorphosis*.

'Lyly's love-apprehension is new and striking. His faith in the naked impulse of sexual attraction is exceptionally pure and independent of all moralizings. . . . Love has become for the first time dramatic, challenging the religious consciousness which, through the centuries preceding, held a monopoly over drama. This forces the creation, or borrowing, of a new, non-Christian theology. Hellenic myth obviously fits his need. Cupid—variously projected—is his main god.'

Knight further finds in the design of the plays, after the fashion which he has made familiar in his previous studies, 'two sorts of *centrality*, both throwing forward to Shakespeare', central dominating figures and central symbols. Even if Knight's generalizations are not fully accepted, he throws fresh light on his subject.

In *The Background of Lyly's Tophas* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) D. C. Boughner illustrates in the Sir Tophas of *Endimion* a combination of elements from the *miles gloriosus* of Latin comedy, from the *capitano millantatore* and the *pedante* of the Italian stage, and from contemporary English life.

Harold Jenkins in *M.L.R.* (Apr.) elaborates the arguments for regarding the extant version of Peele's '*Old Wive's Tale*' as a mutilated text. In the Malone Society reprint of the play it contains the exceptionally small number of 1,170 lines,

which is presumptive evidence of abridgement. Jenkins gives instances of dialogue huddled beyond understanding, of passages apparently marked for deletion but retained by the printer, and of the unmotivated vanishing of some of the characters. He takes into account, more fully than is perhaps warranted, the fact that the 'inconsequentiality of the whole action as it would shape itself in Madge's imagination is one of the principal charms of the play, and is the result of conscious act'. But even so the text shows unmistakable signs of cutting and adaptation, and would appear 'to represent a playhouse revision of the comedy to make it capable of performance by a smaller company than that for which it was first written'. It was probably so adapted for a provincial production by the Queen's men on one of their tours between 1591 and 1594.

In *The Authorship of 'King Leir'* (*N. and Q.*, 16 Dec.) William Wells disputes H. Dugdale Sykes's attribution of the play to Peele on the basis of parallels in it with Peele's recognized works. Wells argues that on the evidence of parallel passages Kyd has a stronger claim than Peele. Some of the instances that he quotes from *The Spanish Tragedy* are notable, but he draws largely on *Soliman and Perseda* and on *Arden of Feversham* where Kyd's authorship is only conjectural. And he is still more venturesome when he finds in some lines in *King Leir* proof of Kyd's hand in some Shakespeare plays. The article helps to show that parallels alone are an untrustworthy guide to authorship.

Though it would not in any case come into Peele's dramatic canon mention may be here made of *A Latin Poem by George Peele* (?) to which Tucker Brooke calls attention in *H.L.Q.* (Oct.). Belonging to an Oxford University collection of Latin verse, 1585-6, the poem *Pareus* deals with the plot in 1585 of William Parry against the Queen. Brooke conjecturally attributes it to Peele because its author speaks of having previously sung of the episodes celebrated in Peele's poem *Tale of Troy* and partly in *The Arraignment of Paris*.

T. H. McNeal discusses *The Literary Origins of Robert Greene* (*S.A.B.*, July), but is mainly concerned with his prose works, and adds nothing to our knowledge of the sources of the plays.

For many years Elizabethan scholarship has been necessarily engaged upon the many problems furnished by Marlowe's life and work. But 1939 has seen a temporary lull of activities in this special field. Only two articles have to be noted, both concerned with *Doctor Faustus*.

In *Neophilologus*, xxv, no. 1, G. W. Wolthius discusses *The Rector in Marlowe's 'Doctor Faustus'*, whom the students in Act i. ii decide to inform that Faustus has given himself up to magic arts. As there is no mention of the Rector in Marlowe's source Wolthius thinks that the passage was a later addition, and makes the improbable suggestion that the dramatist had intended to identify the Rector with 'the old man' who in Act v. i seeks to win him over from his evil ways.

Beatrice Dawe Brown contributes to *P.M.L.A.* (Mar.) a notable article on *Marlowe, Faustus, and Simon Magus*. Miss Brown aims first at showing that the Faust tradition before Marlowe was considerably influenced by the legend of the Samaritan, Simon Magus, who in the first century A.D. expounded a version of the Gnostic heresy and was reputed an arch-blasphemer and charlatan. From an examination of the patristic writings concerning Simon, Miss Brown concludes that the sixteenth-century magician had him in mind when he called himself 'Faustus iunior, magus secundus'. And the writer of the German *Faustbuch* seems to have borrowed from the Simon Magus legend such features as the performance of wonders before the Pope and the Emperor, the association with Helen of Troy, and the discussions on demonology and cosmology.

Miss Brown further claims that Marlowe himself drew directly from the Simon Magus story. She quotes passages from the *Acts of Peter*, popularized in part of the *Legenda Aurea*, and from the Clementine *Recognitions* which, she states, are sources for parts of the dialogue in the play not directly based upon the English version of the *Faustbuch*. In spite of her argument, so passionate a classicist as Marlowe, when speaking of the melting of Faustus's waxen wings, is more likely to have been inspired by the fall of Icarus than that of Simon Magus, and various of her parallels are doubtful. She also underestimates the higher elements in Dr. Faustus as he appears in the English *Historie*. But she puts up an interesting case for her theory and her

article, which in any event throws helpful sidelights on the play, deserves attention.

George B. Dickson seeks to establish *The Identity of George Wilkins* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.), author of *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage* (1607), of the prose romance of *Pericles*, and other works. He cannot be the 'George Wilkins, the Poet', who was buried in St. Leonard's Churchyard, Shoreditch, on 19 August 1603, for most of the dramatist's work is of a later date. Nor is there anything to connect him with the George Wilkins of St. Sepulchre's parish, victualler, who gave evidence on 19 June 1612 in the Belott-Mountjoy case. As he disappears from view after 1608 he probably died about then, but Dickson's careful examination of evidence yields almost entirely negative results.

Nancy von Pogrell has made a notable contribution in the 'Britannica' series to the study of George Chapman.³ The main object of her thesis is to trace the development of Chapman's thought from a platonic to a stoic point of view. She bases her inquiry, except for a short final chapter on the poems, entirely on the plays. She deals first with the eight extant comedies, including the anonymously published *Sir Giles Goosecap*, though to meet her views of Chapman's development she arranges them in groups partly out of their chronological order. Similarly with the tragedies she places *Bussy d'Ambois* and the Byron plays in one section and *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* and *Caesar and Pompey* in another. She gives a specially detailed analysis of *The Revenge* in which she finds the climax of Chapman's ethical development.

The value of this monograph lies less in the presentation of its central theme, which involves some special pleading and over simplification, than in its scholarly interpretation of the individual plays in relation to their sources and to their historical background. Among the broader aspects of her study Miss von Pogrell succeeds in showing how Chapman, as compared with Marlowe, is both a man of the Renaissance age and yet in revolt against it.

³ *Die philosophisch-poetische Entwicklung George Chapmans*, by Nancy von Pogrell. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter. pp. 171.

In connexion with W. J. Lawrence's assignment of 1600 as the date of *Bussy D'Ambois* (see *Y.W.* xviii. 145), R. G. Howarth in *N. and Q.*, 5 July, tries to reconcile this with the preference of some other scholars for 1604. He suggests that *The Fatal Love*, a *French Tragedy*, by George Chapman, entered in the Stationers' Register, 29 June 1660, was an earlier version of *Bussy D'Ambois* which Chapman rewrote in 1604 and printed, after its stage success, with that title. The manuscript of the original version was not destroyed and came into Moseley's hands. The theory is not likely to win acceptance.

Don Cameron Allen in *Ben Jonson and the Hieroglyphics* (*P.Q.*, July) illustrates his use of symbols after the Egyptian fashion as known to him from the writings of Camerarius, Caussin, and Caesar Ripon. Jonson himself acknowledges his debt to Ripon's *Iconologia* (1593), and Allen shows how in some of his masques Ben takes over Ripon's description verbatim, or combines parts of two descriptions, or adds matter of his own.

Howard P. Vincent in *Ben Jonson Allusions* (*N. and Q.*, 8 July) draws attention to hitherto unnoticed references in *The Copie of a Letter sent from the Roaring Boyes in Elizium* (1641). When Bacchus visits Elizium Jonson struggles with Virgil for first place to greet him:

He did so rattle him with *Catiline*,
That had not *Horace* him appeas'd, 'tis said
He had thrown great *Sejanus* at his head.

Later 'great Ben Jonson' swears that 'salt gamon of West-phalia' is good.

C. B. Graham quotes sixteen hitherto unnoticed *Jonson Allusions in Restoration Comedy* (*R.E.S.*, Apr.). They are taken from the text of the comedies, and include five references to his name, three to his plays, and eight to individual characters in them, indicating that allusions to them would be readily recognized.

H. W. Crundell in *Drayton and 'Edward III'* (*N. and Q.*, 15 Apr.) suggests that Drayton was the author of the play. His chief argument is that the references in Act IV to the French

being panic-stricken at Poitiers by a flight of ravens are parallel to a passage in Drayton's poem, *The Battaile of Agincourt*. He finds other likenesses in the play to Drayton's work, but his claim is not convincing.

In a *Note* on Dekker's '*Old Fortunatus*' (*M.L.N.*, May) W. L. Halstead seeks to draw conclusions from Henslowe's payments to the dramatist for revising the play from 9 November to 12 December 1599, when Dekker was paid 40 shillings 'for the eande of fortewnatus for the corte'. Halstead suggests that Henslowe had hoped that a revival of the old play would find favour with London audiences, but when he was disappointed in this, he tried to recoup himself by setting Dekker to work upon a further revision for a court performance which took place on 27 December with a new prologue, epilogue, and sub-plot.

In *Dekker's Arrest by the Chamberlain's Men* (*N. and Q.*, 21 Jan.) Halstead seeks to connect Henslowe's payment of three pounds to Dekker on 20 January 1598/9 for the *First Introduction to the Civil Wars of France*, and his loan of three pounds ten shillings to Downton on 30 January to discharge Dekker from arrest of the Chamberlain's men.

Mark Eccles in *Thomas Dekker: Burial Place* (*N. and Q.*, 26 Aug.) points out that 'Thomas Decker, householder', buried at St. James's, Clerkenwell, on 5 August 1632, was in all probability the dramatist. He draws attention to the renunciation of administration by his widow, Elizabeth, on 4 September 1632, from which it may be inferred that he died in debt.

In a discussion of *Collaboration on 'The Patient Grissill'* (*P.Q.*, Oct.) W. L. Halstead attempts to assign the respective shares in the play to Dekker, Chettle, and Houghton. The article is specially concerned with Dekker's part, and Halstead questions the attribution to him of the Welsh scenes. He maintains that the dialect in *Patient Grissil* shows more mastery of the Welsh language than Dekker exhibits in the Welsh-English introduced into *Satiromastix* and *Westward Hoe*.

In *Hardy's Debt to Webster in 'The Return of the Native'* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) Marcia L. Anderson brings evidence to show

that in the quarrel between Clym and Eustacia the novelist was taking as his model the quarrel between Brachiano and Vittoria in Act iv of *The White Devil*. The verbal parallels quoted are convincing, though Miss Anderson is careful to lay stress on 'Hardy's expansion and complete transmutation of his material into a passage natural to his characters'. Hardy's set of Hazlitt's edition of Webster's plays (1857) is preserved in the Dorset County Museum, with some pencilled annotations by him.

On the other hand Webster himself is shown by Miss Anderson to be a borrower in *Webster's Debt to Guazzo* (*S. in Ph.*, Apr.). She quotes a number of passages from the first three books of *La Civile Converzatione* of Stephano Guazzo, translated by George Pettie (1881), which are echoed in Webster's plays, most unmistakably in *The White Devil*, Act v.

Margery Fisher's *Notes on the Sources of some of Middleton's Plays* (*R.E.S.*, July) supplements R. C. Bald's *The Sources of Middleton's City Comedies* (see *Y.W.* xv. 202). She develops further Bold's thesis that apparent printed sources must be regarded with suspicion, owing to the multiplicity of the forms in which they occur, and she argues that the dramatist was largely indebted to oral gossip 'about criminals and neighbours, law-suits and robberies'.

Frank Sullivan points out that *Swathic* (*T.L.S.*, 24 June) is a ghost-word in Middleton's *Witch*, i. i. 61, due to a misreading of Malone MS. 12, where the text has *froathic*. He also corrects two other misreadings.

T. Larson in *Swinburne on Middleton* (*T.L.S.*, 17 June) prints pencilled notes by the poet on seventeen of Middleton's plays in a copy of Bullen's edition, formerly belonging to him, now in the Vancouver Public Library. Frederick Page, *ibid.*, 8 July, points out that Swinburne had transcribed these in an article in *The Nineteenth Century*, January 1886.

Seldom has a single play outside the Shakespearian canon been responsible for so elaborate a study as R. H. Ball's *The Amazing Career of Sir Giles Overreach*,⁴ in which he gives a

⁴ *The Amazing Career of Sir Giles Overreach*, by Robert Hamilton Ball. Princeton Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xiii+467. 22s. 6d.

detailed account of the extraordinary stage fortunes of Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. After discussing the relation between Sir Giles Overreach and Sir Giles Mompesson, Ball gives reasons for the view that Richard Perkins of the Queen's company was the original impersonator of Overreach. After the Restoration there was no revival of the play till 1748, when Garrick produced it at Drury Lane, and again in 1769, though on neither occasion did he take a part himself. It was John Henderson who, in 1781 at Covent Garden, first showed what could be made of Overreach as a star part. Ball discusses the appearances of Kemble and Cooke in the part, eclipsed by the triumph of Edmund Kean as Sir Giles. Later impersonators were Charles Kean, Phelps, G. F. Brooke, Barry Sullivan, and others.

Nearly half of Ball's volume is devoted to American revivals of the play, beginning with a performance at a theatre in Philadelphia in 1795, and including the memorable presentations of the part of Overreach by J. B. Booth and his son Edwin. Ball ends his study, in which he gives generous space to the contemporary criticisms of the various revivals, by an attempt to account for the exceptional popularity of *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* in the theatre, and by an examination of some short versions of the play.

In two handsome volumes Geoffrey Bullough has reprinted with enlightening introductions and commentaries the *Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville*.⁵ The first volume contains the poems, *Coelica*, *A Treatie of Humane Learning, Fame and Honour*, and *A Treatie of Warres*. These are preceded by an introduction discussing the general influences on Greville, including Sidney, Bacon, and Machiavelli, Stoicism and Calvinism, of which the latter was predominant. But what is distinctive of him is the dualism of his attitude. 'Seen *sub specie æternitatis* our errors are vile; seen in the light of expediency and practical use, they may be valuable. . . . Fame and honour, learning, war, may be follies to the Absolute, but they may also be very useful to the State.'

⁵ *Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville First Lord Brooke*, ed. by Geoffrey Bullough. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. Vol. i, pp. xi + 323, vol. ii, pp. vii + 284. 30s.

As the basis of this edition Bullough has taken the 1633 folio of Greville's Works, but he has also collated the MS. texts preserved in six volumes at Warwick Castle. These are in four scribal hands but they all contain corrections by the poet himself. Facsimiles of the four hands with the author's corrections are included in Bullough's edition, which reprints in volume ii the plays *Mustapha* and *Alaham*, with which this Chapter of *Y.W.* is mainly concerned. Bullough describes the four texts of *Mustapha*, a Trinity College MS. closely related to the unauthorized quarto of 1609, and the Warwick MS. closely related to the folio text, which contain a much revised version. *Alaham*, of which there are only the folio and Warwick texts, presents a simpler problem.

Students must be referred to the edition itself for Bullough's detailed discussion of the sources, dates, and stylistic characteristics of the two tragedies, and for his striking assessment of Greville's place among his dramatic contemporaries, of which a few words may here be given:

'*Mustapha* shows the evils of government under a "strong Tyrant", *Alaham* shows its evils under a "weak Tyrant". . . . It was partly because these political interests were practical and topical that Greville was the only English Senecan to choose modern themes for his tragedies. . . . Hence we cannot read *Mustapha* and *Alaham* as we should read most Elizabethan dramas; their value must consist in weight and aptness of thought, in the working out of moral precepts through the story, in the light this throws on political habits and perils.'

In '*Wit in a Constable*': *Censorship and Revision* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) J. H. Walker suggests that Glapthorne extensively remodelled the last three acts of the play. He finds proof of this in inconsistencies of nomenclature and textual disturbances, and in references to certain events. The title-page of the play states that it was written in 1639, but some of the allusions in the earlier acts point to a date between 1636 and August 1638, while the mention in Act v of a sea-fight in the Downs must be later than 11 October 1639, and Walker believes that the scenes in which the constable appears did not receive their present form till after that date. He suggests that the Master of the

Revels had objected to the satirical representation of Alderman Covent in the latter part of the play and that revision had therefore been necessary.

Fletcher Henderson writes further on Camus' '*Iphigène*' (*T.L.S.*, 4 Feb.) which J. Keryzanowski pointed out as the source of Sir J. Suckling's *Brennoralt* (see *Y.W.* xix. 146). Henderson shows that Camus, in his novel, followed closely events in the civil war between Poland and Lithuania in 1569, which resembled the situation between England and Scotland seventy years later. Through the mouth of Colonel Brennoralt, Suckling expresses royalist anti-Scottish sentiments.

In continuation of his study of *Love Ethics in Platonic Court Drama* (see *Y.W.* xix. 147-8) G. F. Sensabaugh writes on *John Ford and Platonic Love in the Court* (*S. in Ph.*, Apr.). He discounts largely the Italian influence on Ford's moral attitude which he argues was mainly due to the platonic cult founded by Henrietta Maria. He enumerates these tenets as set forth in his 1938 article and illustrates their application in Ford's plays and the 'ethical casuistry' to which they lead him. In his plays, as compared with those of the court dramatists, the result is the more serious because he 'synthesized Platonic love and Burtonian psychology', and dealt not with Arcadian figures but flesh and blood people.

The influence of 'Burtonian psychology' on Ford is demonstrated by Sensabaugh in an article on *Ford's Tragedy of Love-Melancholy* (*Eng. Stud.*, May). The tragedy is *Love's Sacrifice*. From an analysis of the Duke's fatal jealousy of his beautiful wife Biancha, and Ferando's fatal passion for her, Sensabaugh shows that their symptoms correspond closely with Burton's description of different forms of love-melancholy. He suggests further that 'Ford based the structure of his plays upon a pseudo-medical foundation, upon the curability or incurability of his patients'.

S. B. Ewing, Jr., in a paper on *Burton, Ford, and 'Andromana'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) makes it clear that Ford in his relation to Burton had a follower in the author of the anonymous tragedy

Andromana, published 1660, but probably written soon after 1642. King Ephorbas, has a rival in his son Plangus for the love of his queen, and each exhibits symptoms of love-melancholy akin to those reproduced from Burton by figures in Ford's plays.

Alfred Harbage's important study of *Cavalier Drama* (1936) was noticed in *Y.W.* xvii. 192-3, but by an oversight his book in the previous year on the leading figure of this transition period, *Sir William Davenant: Poet Venturer 1606-1668*, was not dealt with in *Y.W.* Harbage did much to secure a juster appreciation of Davenant's complex personality, and of his significance in dramatic history. His volume may therefore here belatedly be put on record in noticing another, even more detailed, work on the same subject by A. H. Nethercot.⁶ This scholar justifies the publication of a second study by his desire to place more stress on the narrative and biographical features of the career of the man whom he calls D'avenant, the spelling which the poet-dramatist adopted for formal purposes. Nethercot can claim to have made some important documentary additions to our knowledge. He has made use of a neglected family genealogy of the Davenants registered in the College of Arms by a grandson of Sir William in 1727. He has unearthed in the Record Office a Chancery suit between Davenant and a merchant-tailor, John Urswick, at the end of 1632 which shows the dramatist at the outset of his London life, 1623-5, entering into engagements which he could not meet. From other Record Office documents Nethercot has thrown new light on a fatal affray early in 1633 when Davenant killed Thomas Warren, drawer, in a Braintree tavern. Hitherto this episode had been known only from a petition of the dramatist's wife, Mary, to the King, begging for his clemency, undated but probably written in 1633. The royal pardon was not, however, formally given till April 1638, and this was a necessary preliminary, as Nethercot emphasizes, to his recognition as poet-laureate in the following December.

⁶ *Sir William D'avenant: Poet Laureate and Playwright-Manager*, by Arthur H. Nethercot. Univ. of Chicago and C.U. Presses. pp. vii + 488. 20s.

While elaborating the details of the many phases of Davenant's life, in the army, on the sea, as a political plotter, a prisoner, and so forth, Nethercot stresses the fact that he was above all a man of the theatre, and that to 'raise his name and that of the English stage simultaneously to eminence' was his ruling passion. Harbage had devoted separate chapters to a critical analysis of Davenant's achievements in drama and 'opera'. Nethercot is more inclined to interweave his account of them with his biographical narrative. This narrative would have gained by some compression, and had the style been less florid in parts. But it achieves its main object of showing how, in spite of an astonishing series of difficulties and temptations, Davenant carried through the chief purposes that he had set before himself from his early days.

IX

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE

THE EARLIER STUART AGE AND THE COMMONWEALTH

By L. C. MARTIN

THE 1939 material to be considered here comprises one general study, a volume of biographies, a few items on the prose and more on the poetry outside the work of Milton, and as usual a preponderant mass of books and articles about Milton's life and writings. This is the order followed in the notices.

First, however, an omission from last year's account must be repaired. The work in question¹ is concerned with Puritanism, primarily in its early American manifestations but also in its essence and in its bearings upon the history of religious and social ideas in England; and it may be doubted whether the Puritan spirit, its form and pressure, has ever been at once so broadly and so discriminatingly portrayed. The substance of the volume is largely made up of extracts from the writings of American Puritans, arranged under nine chapter-headings covering the main cultural interests of the settlers, from contemporary and local history and the Puritan theory of the State to education, science, poetry, and religious doctrine; but there is also an introduction to each chapter and a general exordium in two parts on (a) 'The Puritan Way of Life' and (b) 'The Puritans as Literary Artists'.

In the first and longer of these, by Perry Miller, the way towards accurate delineation is cleared by emphasizing the large amount of intellectual ground which was common to Puritans and Anglicans alike, partly as inheritance from their medieval forebears; and the claim is made that taking Puritan culture as a whole 'we shall find that about ninety per cent. of the intellectual life, scientific knowledge, morality, manners and customs,

¹ *The Puritans*, by Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson. 1938. New York: American Book Company and Allen & Unwin. pp. xvi + 846. 16s.

notions and prejudices, was that of all Englishmen'. The salient differences were about the extent to which the authority of Scripture must be thought binding and the degree in which the human mind unenlightened by grace could be trusted to perceive and follow the dictates of right reason. The Puritans are commended for a realism and tough-mindedness which their successors have scarcely maintained, and Miller records his 'slight fear that much of what has taken the place of Puritanism in our philosophies is just so much failure of nerve'. Nothing is more to be admired in this discussion than the sympathy and insight displayed at every turn and the skill with which the reader is conducted through the complexities of Puritan thought. Neither of the two essays deserves attenuation, but the second, by Thomas H. Johnson, may be inadequately described as a defence of that studied plainness which is the strength of Puritan literature and which commonly implied no insensitive countenancing of the flat or the ungainly. Here, once more, we are reminded of the Puritans' share in the culture of their time.

'The Bible was the great font of Puritan inspiration, and the model for their style, yet behind the Bible was the common heritage of Renaissance learning and Elizabethan enthusiasm. The Puritans more than others shaped that learning and enthusiasm to the idiom of language with a clarity, directness, grace, and freedom from eccentricity that rendered incalculable service to English prose.'

But as in many respects the Puritans did not differ from their fellow-men, so in their writings they were frequently undistinguished; and inevitably a survey of American books published in the seventeenth century involves attention to a good deal which only indulgent readers will describe as literature. It will yet have value as showing what types of writing were considered necessary to a community much concerned with practical affairs, how far literature in the more complimentary sense was actually achieved, what was owed to the European traditions, and how the foundations were laid for a more gracious superstructure. These kinds of benefit are supplied in a volume by Josephine K. Piercy,² who has read and classified many early

² *Studies in Literary Types in Seventeenth-Century America (1607-1710)*, by Josephine K. Piercy. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xi+360. 21s. 6d.

American works, chiefly of 'applied' literature, including news-pamphlets, witchcraft papers, almanacs, scientific essays, personal records, satires, sermons, meditations, and biographies; and who adds an account of the 'influences' or models most clearly discernible.

'An eccentric poetess, choosing poverty for piety's sake and defying husband, family, and the law, in order to believe as she liked; a scholar, deserting his books in an attempt to make high principles count in politics and war; the most notorious rake of a dissolute court, following profligacy with all the thoughtfulness of a philosopher'—these being Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland, her son Lucius, and John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, are the subjects of balanced and discerning portrayal by Kenneth B. Murdock;³ and the link between them is their common aspiration to 'the sun at noon', which Donne had made a symbol for a full religious assurance. Murdock disclaims a scholarly or exhaustive intention for his 'biographical sketches', but this can be no slur on a work in which imaginative sympathy is so firmly rooted in historical knowledge. Unfailing insight into the minds of these figures is revealed and a no less consistent ability to make them live. There is no flavour of satire, but the method and tone, the union of sympathy with detachment, and the graceful and accomplished style, all go to show that the spirit of Lytton Strachey still walks abroad.

U.T.Q. (Jan.) contains an article by J. Max Patrick entitled *Puritanism and Poetry: Samuel Gott*, best known as the author of *Novae Solymae Libri Sex* (1648), once attributed to Milton. An account of Gott's life and character is provided, emphasizing the breadth and urbanity of his outlook, and is followed by an examination of his views on poetry as reflected in the *Nova Solyma* and elsewhere. It seems to be rightly claimed that he deserves a place of some importance in the history of English poetic theory in the seventeenth century, not least because of his attitude towards the poetic imagination and the vitality of the arguments he finds to justify its functioning.

³ *The Sun at Noon: Three Biographical Sketches*, by Kenneth B. Murdock. New York: The Macmillan Company. pp. xi+327. \$2.75 or 12s. 6d.

An article by Arthur M. Coon in *M.L.N.* (Dec.) headed *Izaak Walton, Prochain Amy* gives particulars of a lawsuit in which Walton was engaged from 1648 to 1650 and which appears not to have been previously reported; and the same writer contributes to *N. and Q.* (Feb. 18, Apr. 29, and June 17) the results of investigations concerning *Izaak Walton's Occupation and Residence*, the date of his second marriage, and the date of his birth.

In *P.M.L.A.* (June) Helen Phipps Houck describes and comments upon *Mabbe's Paganization of the 'Celestina'* and other differences between the original Spanish work and the English version published in 1631.

The *New Facts Regarding Owen Feltham* given in *M.L.N.* (Mar.) by Fred S. Tupper add but little to the material already presented in the longer article on *Owen Felltham of Great Billing* in *N. and Q.* (Nov. 27, 1937) by Jean Robertson (see *Y.W.* xviii. 180).

The *Universe of De Revolutionibus* is examined in *Isis* (Aug.) by Grant McColley with a view to correcting what is amiss in modern accounts of Copernicus' beliefs and theories. 'Specifically, it is necessary to call into question the traditional historical interpretations that Copernicus believed the stars were attached to a crystal or material shell, that he bounded the world with the Ptolemaic eighth sphere, and that either Thomas Digges or Giordano Bruno was the first to "shatter the walls" of the Ptolemaic cosmos and to make the idea of an infinite universe a corollary to the Copernican hypothesis.'

Since metaphysical poetry has been a special interest of the twentieth century an account of the rise and development of that interest as represented in the more outstanding publications of the last twenty-five years is much to be welcomed. The authors of this enterprise devote the greater part of this volume⁴ to a list of works under the heading of each year from 1912. There are two introductory papers, Theodore Spencer's on *Recent Scholarship in Metaphysical Poetry*, and Mark Van Doren's on *Seventeenth-Century Poets and Twentieth-Century Critics*.

⁴ *Studies in Metaphysical Poetry*, by Theodore Spencer and Mark Van Doren. New York: Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. 88. 7s. 6d.

The *Studi sul Concettismo*, by Mario Praz, which appeared in 1934 (see *Y.W.* xv. 230) have now been published in an alluring English version⁵ and a considerable wealth of learning and critical resource is thus made available to wider circles than before. The field is more restricted than the title suggests, as the writer's main preoccupation is with the taste for emblems and devices and the bearing of this upon the poetry of the period. There is an entirely new Appendix on 'Emblems and Devices in Literature', in which it is shown how some scholars have gone astray through disregard of this subject, and the original Italian work has been amplified in other ways too. The publishers have 'decided to issue a second volume, which will contain a full bibliography of emblem literature'.

Fresh information about both *John Donne* and *Everard Gilpin* is provided in *R.E.S.* (Jan.) by R. E. Bennett, who, following up Gosse's unsupported conjecture, cogently identifies Gilpin with the Mr. E. G. to whom Donne addressed his verse-letter 'Even as lame things thirst their perfection'. This is borne out by the proving of Gilpin's connexions with both Suffolk and Highgate and by apparent references to Donne in Gilpin's satires. It is suggested that Donne wrote the letter in the summer of 1593.

George Williamson in *Mod. Phil.* (Feb.) and Charles Bell in *T.L.S.* (July 1) agree that ll. 28-30 of Donne's *Farewell to Love*, for which emendations have been advanced, can be satisfactorily explained as they stand; but unfortunately the two critics give different explanations.

Evelyn Simpson in *Jonson and Donne* (*R.E.S.* July) examines the problem presented by the group of elegies printed as Jonson's in the Jonson Folio of 1640 and in later editions, but containing as the second in the group 'The Expostulation', printed as Donne's in the 1633 edition of his *Poems*. It is argued that the three other elegies may fairly be attributed to Jonson, their verbal affinities with Donne's poetry arising in a characteristic way from Jonson's admiration; that they have also peculiarly Jonsonian features; but that there is no reason to doubt Donne's authorship of 'The Expostulation'.

⁵ *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, Volume One*, by Mario Praz. Warburg Institute Studies, vol. iii. pp. 223. 10s. 6d.

An Interpretation of Donne's Tenth Elegy, by Fredson T. Bowers in *M.L.N.* (Apr.) turns upon the sense of 'Image' in l. 1, which is here understood to mean not a picture but the Platonic idea of comprehensive excellence as opposed to the merely physical beauty represented in the woman addressed.

In *R.E.S.* (July) R. W. Short gives his reasons for supposing that *Jonson's Sanguine Rival* (referred to in Epistle xii in *The Forest*) was not Daniel, as Jonson's editors have believed, but Drayton.

A note in *P.Q.* (Oct.) by Cornelia C. Coulter on *A Possible Source for the Blackamoor Maid* refers to the earlier discussion (*P.Q.*, Oct. 1938) by Gerard Previn Meyer of *The Blackamoor Maid and her Love* (see George Herbert, 'Aethiopissa ambit Cestum diversi coloris Virum'). Meyer, who traces the history of the theme in lyrical poetry of the seventeenth century, remarks that no author before George Herbert seems to have adopted it, but Miss Coulter adduces passages in Virgil's *Eclogues* by which Herbert may have been influenced.

Students of Richard Crashaw and his poetry have much reason for gratitude to his latest biographer and critic, Austin Warren, who in recent years has published articles giving some results of his investigations (see *Y.W.* xvii. 183, &c.) and whose labours have now taken final shape in the fullest extant account of Crashaw's life and writings.⁶ In this volume a commendable respect for accuracy in detail has not been allowed to obscure firmness of general outline or breadth of view, and Crashaw, both as man and as poet, is made the more intelligible by attention to 'background'. Thus the chapter of biography is preceded by a sketch of the Laudian movement and the counter-reformation, and the critical sections by an inter-chapter on 'Baroque art and emblem'. By such means the author skilfully furthers his main object, that of 'translating the twentieth-century reader of Crashaw into the position of one who, three centuries ago, was informed upon the principal

⁶ *Richard Crashaw: A Study in Baroque Sensibility*, by Austin Warren. Louisiana State Univ. Press. pp. xv+260. \$3.00.

movements in English and Continental religion and art, and conversant with Latin, Italian, and English poetry'. But certainly not the least attractive part of the study is the analysis of Crashaw's own poetic style in the sections on versification and on symbolism, the later containing a very thorough and illuminating discussion of the poet's most characteristic imaginative habits.

In *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) Philip H. Gray treats of 'Suckling's "A Session of the Poets"' as a Ballad' and explains his grounds for holding, against Brotanek, Spingarn, and others, that Suckling was probably not influenced by Boccacini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*.

The poems addressed *To Splendora* in MS. Harl. 6917 are given in *P.M.L.A.* (June) with an introductory note by Willa McClung Evans, who credibly assigns them to William Cartwright.

Three Unpublished Letters of Abraham Cowley are contributed to *M.L.N.* (June) by Howard P. Vincent. Two are addressed from Paris to Sir Robert Long in 1650 and the other, dated 1664, is to John Evelyn acknowledging the dedication to Cowley of *Kalendarium Hortense* (second edition).

The accretions to the knowledge of Milton's life and circumstances and to the criticism of his work have been so numerous and important since 1933, when Hanford's valuable summary appeared in its second edition, as to make the third⁷ considerably larger. The bibliography, in particular, has been expanded and in it special attention has been given to the work of the last ten years.

Much that has been hitherto unpublished about the legal affairs of Milton and his father may now be read in a substantial volume by J. Milton French⁸ whose unremitting labours in the Public Record Office surely deserve as much acknowledgement as the blend of 'sheer optimism with good fortune' which he himself allows. Milton senior was drawn into litigation through his calling of scrivener, which involved him in various money-lending transactions; and details are given respecting five court

⁷ *A Milton Handbook, Third Edition*, by James Holly Hanford. New York: Crofts. pp. xi+439. \$2.25.

⁸ *Milton in Chancery*, by J. Milton French. New York: M.L.A.A. and O.U.P. pp. x+428. 24s.

cases in which he appeared between 1624 and 1640. The poet appeared in four between 1646 and 1660, all of them, like his father's, of a financial kind, and he generally gained his objects. His character is unblemished by anything that emerges from these suits; and no fresh light of any great interest is shed upon it beyond the evidence of his great persistence in standing up for his legal rights. French has given not only as full an account of all the cases as the documents discovered permit but (in an Appendix of nearly 200 pages) a transcript of the documents themselves. The volume is also to be commended for the fullness of its biographical, explanatory, and illustrative material.

French is thus the latest of those who have added to what is known of Milton's life. For the greater part, however, of that knowledge we are indebted to the poet's self-revelation, in his disclosures to the early biographers or in his own writings; and it was a good notion conceived by another Milton scholar, John S. Diekhoff, to gather into one volume⁹ all, including the material of late made available in the Columbia edition of the works, that Milton has written about himself. As a strictly chronological presentation of the extracts would have been confusing they have been arranged under twelve headings, representing first Milton's plans, next the events of 1608 to 1654, and then such other topics as Love, Friendship, Morality, Blindness, Inspiration, the Secretaryship, with chronology generally observed within each section. There is naturally some cross-division. Milton may, for instance, speak of blindness and of his poetic aims in one passage; but the difficulty is overcome by a liberal measure of cross-reference. The notes show how well abreast the editor is of recent Milton scholarship; and there is an introductory essay in which the trustworthiness of Milton's autobiographical statements is defended against the imputations of some modern students.

Some particulars in Milton's account of his journey to Italy are still questioned by H. Mutschmann, who in *Beiblatt zur Anglia* (Dec.) tries to elucidate *Die Beweggründe zu Miltons*

⁹ *Milton on Himself*, ed. by John S. Diekhoff. New York: O.U.P. pp. xxxvi+307. \$3.50 or 15s.

Festlandreise (cf. also S. B. Liljegren, *ibid.*, Dec. 1938, on *Miltons italienische Reise*). Mutschmann suggests among other things that Milton's journey was undertaken partly because he was endangered by his attack upon the Church in *Lycidas*.

Grant McColley considers in *P.Q.* (Jan.) the dates at which *Milton's Lost Tragedy*, beginning, according to Aubrey and Edward Phillips, with Satan's address to the sun, might have been written, and concludes that the period 1648-52 is the most likely.

Milton's intentions respecting a prologue to his projected drama on the subject of *Paradise Lost* are shown by the Trinity MS. to have undergone several changes, and in *U.T.Q.* (July) under the heading *That Shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed* J. H. Hanford enlarges upon the various plans, and especially upon the extended account in the third one of the opening speech by Moses, and takes the bearing of this 'on Milton's conception of his own mission' as a poet and the theory which he built up regarding the character and authenticity of his inspiration; for Milton could believe that his own powers as poet-prophet were analogous to those imputed by him to Moses and thus could write his Biblical poems with a firm assurance that they were divinely inspired. Hanford adds to this substantial article some reflections on Sir Herbert Grierson's criticisms of *Paradise Lost*.

In *N. and Q.* (Mar. 25) E. H. Visiak tries to solve *A Miltonian Puzzle*, seeking to justify his belief that Milton and Marvell collaborated to produce the verses *Ad Christinam, Suecorum Reginam, nomine Cromwelli* printed in Toland's *Life of Milton*.

In an extensive and admirably documented article appearing in the *Harvard Theological Review* (July) Grant McColley lays stress upon the conservative or conventional elements in *Paradise Lost*, showing that features and ideas regarded as peculiar to Milton's epic represent notions of wide and well-established currency. Without claiming to have discussed all the themes touched upon in the poem, the author reaches the conclusion that the 'contemporary interpretation and criticism of *Paradise*

Lost contain much that is incomplete'; and he endeavours incidentally to modify recent delineations of Milton in which too much may be made of his affinities with modern thought and too little of his dependence upon theological and moral commonplaces of long persistence. The same writer shows in *N. and Q.* (Feb. 11) that *Milton's Golden Compasses* (*P.L.* vii. 225) represent a time-honoured convention included in the conception of the Divine Architect.

Under the heading *Milton's Use of the Vision of Er* Josephine Waters Bennett dwells in *Mod. Phil.* (May) upon the features of Satan's journey from Hell to the 'World', and of the cosmography there adopted, in which Milton may have been influenced by Plato.

In *N. and Q.* (July 15) Grant McColley goes into the question why *Milton's Ariel* is found among the supporters of Satan, and discovers a partial answer in comments by St. Basil and by Procopius upon Isaiah xv. 9.

Milton's reference to *A Double Janus* (*P.L.*, xi. 129) is annotated in *P.M.L.A.* (Dec.) by Allan H. Gilbert, who quotes earlier references to 'Ianus Geminus, vel Quadrifrons'.

Theodore H. Banks seeks in *M.L.N.* (June) to define *The Meaning of 'Gods' in Paradise Lost*, classifying the senses under the headings (1) angelic beings, (2) classic gods, and (3) gods other than classic gods or Jehovah.

The work of *Milton as Proof Reader* is considered in *M.L.N.* (May) with reference to the manuscript of *Paradise Lost*, i, by Donald G. Stillman, who offers his reasons for holding, in opposition to Helen Darbishire and Percy Simpson, that 'the printer did not follow the manuscript very closely in spelling and punctuation, and that Milton did not go over the proofs with anything like the care with which he supervised the corrections of the "fair copy"'.

The attention given for several years by Arthur Sewell to Milton's religious beliefs has now resulted in a volume¹⁰ which records his main findings hitherto. The title of the work does

¹⁰ *A Study in Milton's Christian Doctrine*, by Arthur Sewell. O.U.P. pp. xiii+214. 7s. 6d.

less than justice to its range and resource, for Milton's doctrine is examined not merely in the formal presentation to which it is subjected in the *De Doctrina* but as an expression of his spiritual needs and with reference not least to the implications of the poems, which are thought on the whole to give a more reliable because less purely intellectual account of his attitude towards some fundamental issues in theology and metaphysics. Not that his attitude can always be precisely determined; his mind was elastic enough to admit uncertainty; and it is a basic element in Sewell's thesis that some of Milton's ideas underwent palpable changes after 1659 and were still changing up to the last years of his life. Thus the later books of *Paradise Lost* are less Trinitarian than their predecessors; both *Paradise Lost* and the *De Doctrina* betray a conflict in Milton between his earlier Calvinistic conception of God as Absolute Will and his later inclination to stress God's essential goodness; and in the last poems the old faith in the enlightened Reason is giving place to a final position in which something like unquestioning obedience is the dominant factor.

It remains doubtful how far Milton was ultimately satisfied with the doctrinal system which he tried to elaborate, and especially with his efforts to reconcile Foreknowledge and Free-will and to justify the ways of God to men. But there can be no doubt about the care and sympathy with which his endeavours are here followed, or about the importance of such study for the full understanding of Milton's poetry.

Sewell makes no pretensions to exhaustiveness and invites criticism; and in *R.E.S.* (July), under heading *Two Notes on Milton*, he and D. Saurat continue to disagree (see *Y.W.* xvii. 191) over the question 'Did Milton change after *Paradise Lost* his views on the Trinity and on the death of Christ?' The two scholars also contend there about the interpretation of *P.L.* vii. 168.

E. M. W. Tillyard writes in *S. in Ph.* (Apr.) on *The Christ of 'Paradise Regained' and the Renaissance Heroic Tradition*, praising the article by Merritt Y. Hughes thus entitled in *S. in Ph.* (Apr., 1938) (see *Y.W.* xix. 178). Hughes has argued convincingly that the substance of *Paradise Regained* was much

more traditional and therefore much less of Milton's own conceiving than has been believed ; but Tillyard holds that none the less Milton's use of the traditional material reveals a phase in his development in which the balance he tried to maintain between action and contemplation is disturbed, and an unwonted emphasis is laid upon the passive virtues.

In *Milton: The Last Poems (Essays and Studies)*, xxiv, W. Menzies gives a penetrating interpretation of *Samson Agonistes* and *Paradise Regained*. He finds in them in different ways the true expression of the poet's inward life at the time. The *Samson* is Titanic, 'the lay of the chained Prometheus'. *Paradise Regained* is all resignation.' His study of this 'enigmatical' poem is highly suggestive.

In *P.Q.* (Apr.) under heading *Shook the Arsenal: A Note on 'Paradise Regained'* (iv. 270) Edward Chauncey Baldwin interprets 'shook' in the metaphorical sense of weakened or impaired, sc. by interrupting the construction of the building. The circumstances in which, at the advice of Demosthenes, this interruption occurred are described, it appears, by late Greek authors such as Philochorus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

As *A First Supplement to the Columbia Milton* T. O. Mabbott and J. Milton French offer in *N. and Q.* (Nov. 4) three items of information, of which the most important is concerned with a copy of Peter du Moulin's *Regii Sanguinis Clamor* initialed J. M. and possibly Milton's.

Under heading *Milton's Homer* Harris Fletcher is able to show in *J.E.G.P.* (Apr.), from references in the poet's extant copy of Pindar, that he was at least acquainted with the following: Eustathius' edition of 1560, that of Spondanus published in 1583, and probably the annotations of Hadrian Junius (1558).

X

THE RESTORATION

By F. E. BUDD

THE year's work in Restoration studies for 1939 is, as might be expected, less extensive than that for recent years. Its most important single item is Hugh Macdonald's *Dryden: A Bibliography*, which supplies a long-felt want. Two other welcome volumes, the one a history of provincial drama and the other an anthology of plays, may be described in this chapter, although their field embraces the greater part of the eighteenth century as well as the Restoration.

To glance first at studies of the drama, Sybil Rosenfeld's *Strolling Players and Drama in the Provinces, 1660-1765*,¹ provides a much needed history of a relatively neglected century of provincial theatrical activity. As she points out in her introduction, these hundred years are 'a unique and complete era in the long history of drama in the provinces', an era of strollers organized on a sharing basis, usually unlicensed and therefore liable to prohibition and arrest, playing (when they could obtain permission) in inn-yards, barns, booths, and town halls, and facing every sort of difficulty and hardship in their search for a livelihood. But at the close of this period salaries were replacing shares, the 'period of subterfuge and makeshift' was yielding to 'an era of recognition and acknowledgment', and 'everywhere during the decade 1755-1765 new and imposing theatres were being built'.

In an interesting first chapter Miss Rosenfeld creates, chiefly from the memoirs of the strollers themselves, a detailed picture of the strolling life in all its aspects. She then builds up from material found in early local newspapers, corporation records, &c., the theatrical history of four selected cities in widely separated parts of England, namely, Norwich, York, Bath, and Canterbury, and describes also the circuits of which these cities

¹ *Strolling Players and Drama in the Provinces, 1660-1765*, by Sybil Rosenfeld. C.U.P. pp. ix + 333. 15s.

were the centres. Thanks to the fact that the Norwich records are fuller than elsewhere, a whole chapter can be devoted to its players during the years 1669–1709, whereas the story of the York and the Bath companies cannot be begun before 1705, and that of the Kentish circuit not before 1723. Miss Rosenfeld faithfully records the achievements and vicissitudes of the successive companies in each city, the changes in their management, personnel, and theatres, their relations with their audiences, and the plays which they performed. Among the last no less than seventy-four otherwise unknown plays and afterpieces are to be found listed in the index. The organization of the companies is sometimes vividly illustrated from contemporary documents bearing on their finances, and of these by far the most important is the Account Book for the years 1741–8 of the Jacob's Wells Theatre at Bristol, to an analysis of which an enlightening chapter is given. Miss Rosenfeld supplements her story of the independently organized provincial theatres by accounts of two summer theatres at Greenwich (1709–11) and Richmond Hill (1715–68), which depended, however, on the services of companies from London theatres closed for the summer vacation.

Miss Rosenfeld's volume is the result of close investigation of a mass of widely scattered material, but she selects and co-ordinates her detail judiciously, underlines general developments, and retains throughout the lively interest inherent in the theme itself. If more neglected, the theatrical history of the provinces is scarcely less significant than that of London itself to one seeking a complete view of the part played by the drama in the life of Restoration and early eighteenth-century England. If further justification of Miss Rosenfeld's choice of theme were required, it might be found in her own contention that the strollers of this period 'continued to differ but little from the companies of Shakespeare's day, and can therefore throw light on the methods and manners of the Elizabethan theatre'.

G. H. Nettleton and A. E. Case's *British Dramatists from Dryden to Sheridan*² illustrates the dramatic tastes of the years 1660–1780 in an anthology of twenty-five plays. The period is

² *British Dramatists from Dryden to Sheridan*, ed. by George H. Nettleton and Arthur E. Case. Harrap. pp. vii+957. 15s.

covered in four stages, 1660–1700, 1700–30, 1730–70, and 1770–80, and the characteristic dramatic types of each are represented by one or more well-chosen pieces. Brief critical essays on the evolution, distinctive features, and principal exponents of the types precede the illustrative plays. In both the criticism and the choice of examples the editors are wisely conservative. Thus the significant activity of Restoration dramatists is found to lie in heroic drama, blank-verse tragedy, and the comedy of manners. The first is illustrated by *The Conquest of Granada, Part I*, the second by *All for Love* and *Venice Preserved*, and the third by the best-known plays of Etherege, Wycherley, Vanbrugh, Congreve, and Farquhar; and to these are added the contemporary strictures of *The Rehearsal* and selections from Collier's *Short View*. The student who makes his first acquaintance with Restoration drama in the four-hundred double-column pages here apportioned to it may be sure of finding adequate guidance on matters relating to its background and enough of its best examples on which to base his own judgement. The same is true of the three sections on eighteenth-century drama, where, according to their relative prevalence, sentimental comedy and laughing comedy, blank-verse tragedy and prose tragedy, ballad opera (represented by *The Beggar's Opera* complete with musical score), dramatic satire, and farce are discussed and exemplified. The sound critical judgement of the editors is constantly in evidence, and not least in their refusal to be intimidated by some modern critics into depreciation of Goldsmith and Sheridan.

The editorial apparatus includes two series of brief footnotes, one in explanation of difficulties or allusions (the latter proving particularly useful in the case of such a topical burlesque as *The Rehearsal*) and the other recording textual variations. The textual study is further developed in an appendix, where the textual history of each play is fully traced and the relative authority of different editions is established as the result of careful collation. Further reference to the value of this collection to students of eighteenth-century drama will be found in chapter XI (p. 134).

Thomas M. H. Blair has reproduced in facsimile the first

edition of Banks's *The Unhappy Favourite* (1682).³ The text of this representative specimen of the tearfully sentimental 'she-tragedy', of which Banks was an early and influential exponent, is accompanied by a very full introduction containing an account of Banks's life and works, a note on the stage history of the play, and an analysis of its relation to its source, supplemented by a long discussion of the earlier development of one episode in the plot. Ample explanatory notes and comments follow the text, and an appendix deals with eighteenth-century adaptations. Blair has omitted nothing that might be deemed necessary to a definitive edition, and the provision of a text completely free from editorial modification is to be welcomed.

A few articles on drama or dramatists call for mention here. In *Dr. James Drake and Restoration Theory of Comedy* (R.E.S., Apr.) Edwin E. Williams gives an interesting analysis of the pronouncements on comedy in *The Antient and Modern Stages survey'd* (1699), where Drake expresses clearly and completely the orthodox comic theory of his age. In *Two Restoration Comedies* (T.L.S., Jan. 28) William van Lennep suggests from the evidence of dates written in Luttrell's copies that the performance of Mrs. Behn's *The False Count* should be advanced from 1682 to the autumn of 1681 and that of her *The Revenge* from the late to the early summer of 1680. Her manner of adapting her French source is noted in Ernst G. Mathews's *Montfleury's 'École des Jaloux' and Aphra Behn's 'The False Count'* (M.L.N., June). In an important article on *Fresh Manuscript Sources for a Life of William Congreve* (P.M.L.A., June) John C. Hodges epitomizes a considerable body of scattered manuscript material (some of it previously neglected) bearing on such matters as the dramatist's parentage, life in Ireland from 1674 to 1689, government service, legal proceedings and financial affairs, and his association with Mrs. Bracegirdle and the Duchess of Marlborough. In *Congreve's Library* (Library, June) J. Isaacs, summarizing a paper read before the Bibliographical Society, lists thirteen books bearing Congreve's signa-

³ *The Unhappy Favourite, or The Earl of Essex*, by John Banks, ed. by Thomas M. H. Blair. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xiii + 143 + facsimile. 17s. 6d.

ture and eight to which he subscribed. William Jaggard's '*The Way of the World*': *Stage History* (*N. and Q.*, Aug. 12) gives a few well-known facts in reply to an inquiry of the same title (*ibid.*, July 29).

Dryden studies for the year are headed by Hugh Macdonald's important bibliography.⁴ Rather more than half the volume is devoted to detailed bibliographical descriptions of editions of authentic works published in the poet's lifetime, to which are added posthumous pieces and collected editions reaching down to 1767. The rest of the volume, apart from a small section dealing with erroneous attributions, is concerned with Drydeniana, among which is included 'every contemporary book or pamphlet . . . in which he is praised, attacked, or alluded to', as well as a selection of such books and pamphlets of the first half of the eighteenth century. Use of the bibliography is facilitated by appropriate classification of the works discussed and by a very full index. As a bibliography of an extensive body of material, Macdonald's work leaves nothing to be desired. But it is something more than a bibliography, for important items are prefaced by comment on their origin, occasion, or whatever other problem might be deemed most relevant, while numerous footnotes provide a great deal of information about Dryden himself and about matters arising from title-pages, and they also contain many references to recent studies. Macdonald's own claim that his book is 'an allusion book as well as a bibliography' is, indeed, fully vindicated. By executing his onerous task with meticulous care he has rendered a notable service to all students of Restoration literature.

As remarked above, Dryden's dramatic activity is discussed and illustrated in Nettleton and Case's volume. *The Conquest of Granada* there reprinted is also the subject of two articles; in the first of these, *Dryden's Use of Scudéry's 'Almahide'* (*M.L.N.*, Mar.), Jerome W. Schweitzer corrects some assertions regarding Dryden's borrowings from the French work, and in the second, *An Emendation of Dryden's 'Conquest of Granada', Part One*

⁴ *John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana*, by Hugh Macdonald. O.U.P. pp. xiv + 358. 30s.

(*E.L.H.*, Sept.), Alice D. Ball rectifies a speech heading. Charles E. Ward's *Dryden's 'Spanish Friar' and a Provincial Touring Company* (*N. and Q.*, Feb. 11) gives some particulars of the activities in Wales in 1741 of a small touring company, in whose repertoire *The Spanish Friar* was a favourite item.

Dryden's non-dramatic work receives but slight attention in articles. In *Dryden's Poetic Diction and Virgil* (*P.Q.*, Apr.) Reuben A. Brower traces to Virgil 'a considerable number of Dryden's Latinized vocables and idioms and especially of his circumlocutions', noting the occurrence of some before Dryden's translation of Virgil, the increased proportion in the translation itself, and their influence on the style of the later *Fables*. Hugh T. Cunningham, in *Sons of Belial* (*T.L.S.*, June 10), suggests a possible punning allusion by Dryden to Balliol College, Oxford, where the Whig peers, including the originals of both Absalom and Achitophel, had lodged during the Oxford Parliament of 1681. Hugh G. Dick's *The Dryden Almanac Story: A Further Analogue* (*P.Q.*, Apr.) records an instance of the comparison of women with almanacs in a tale in *The Thousand and One Nights*. In *A Note for the 'N.E.D.'* (*M.L.N.*, June) E. A. Hammett gives eleven words used by Dryden earlier than the first references given in the *Oxford Dictionary*. R. K. Gordon indicates Scott's admiration for, and borrowings from, Dryden's writings in *Dryden and the 'Waverley Novels'* (*M.L.R.*, Apr.). Attention may also be called to two essays on Dryden in collected studies, namely J. Bronowski's *John Dryden*, in *The Poet's Defence*, and C. S. Lewis's *Shelley, Dryden, and Mr. Eliot*, in *Rehabilitations and Other Essays*.

Of Restoration poets other than Dryden, Rochester alone receives serious attention. His relations with Dryden are discussed in two important articles. In *Rochester, Dryden, and the Rose-Street Affair* (*R.E.S.*, July) J. Harold Wilson discredits the evidence for Rochester's responsibility for the cudgelling of Dryden, showing, among other things, that the undated 'Black Will' letter—the principal piece of evidence—may well have been written in the spring of 1676, nearly four years before the assault was committed. The quarrel between the two poets is treated from a different point of view in Frank L. Huntley's

Dryden, Rochester, and the Eighth Satire of Juvenal (P.Q., July), an acute investigation of the genesis and significance of the Preface to *All for Love*, which was written when the quarrel was at its height. Huntley shows that Dryden, moved by Rochester's infidelity as poet, critic, and friend, adapts to the requirements of his Preface the framework of Juvenal's Eighth Satire on true and false members of the aristocracy, and therein censures the Earl for 'his habit of calling things by their wrong names'. In *Two Poems ascribed to Rochester* (M.L.N., June) J. Harold Wilson differs from Rochester's modern editors in rejecting the pieces beginning 'Since Death on all Lays his Impartial Hand' and 'Fruition was the Question in Debate'. In *The 1680 'Antwerp' Edition of Rochester's Poems* (Library, June) V. de S. Pinto and Donald Dale supplement Philip Gray's record of three copies of this rare edition (see Y.W. xix. 184) by descriptions of two more copies, one of which originally belonged to Pepys. Rochester is also the subject of Kenneth B. Murdoch's 'A Very Profane Wit': John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, 1647-1680, an essay in *The Sun at Noon*, a volume which was not available for notice.

In *A Roscommon Canon* (S. in Ph., Oct.) Carl Niemeyer examines the evidence for Roscommon's authorship of twenty-six items, all but four of which he is prepared to admit to the canon. W. Lee Ustick's *Tom D'Urfey and the Graveyard* (M.P., Feb.) gives an analysis of the romantic and melancholy elements in D'Urfey's Pindaric ode, *The Progress of Honesty* (1681).

Writings on Restoration prose include two interesting editions. Harriet Sampson has edited from a manuscript in the Rosenbach collection a new text of *The Life of Mrs. Godolphin*,⁵ prepared by Evelyn for presentation to the Earl of Godolphin in 1702, or a little later. This is apparently a revised and augmented version of the Harcourt Manuscript (circa 1686), from which all previous editions of the *Life* have been directly or indirectly derived. For her detailed collation of the two texts Miss Sampson has had to rely for the Harcourt version on the editions published by Wilberforce in 1847 and 1848, the manuscript being no longer available. The new Rosenbach version

⁵ *The Life of Mrs. Godolphin*, by John Evelyn, ed. by Harriet Sampson. O.U.P. pp. xxxiii+282. 10s. 6d.

eliminates many difficulties now seen to be due to Wilberforce's misreading of his original; it presents two fresh prefatory letters by Evelyn and a few additions to the body of the work; and certain portions of the Harcourt text have been rewritten. In a pleasant Introduction Miss Sampson discusses the other-worldliness and devotion of the young Margaret Blagge and her platonic friendship with the elderly Evelyn, which is learnedly related to the contemporary cult of ideal friendship pursued by a few fine spirits. The bulk of her voluminous editorial matter is, however, occupied by textual notes and commentary, and there are four appendixes and a useful 'Biographical Supplement'.

Geoffrey Nuttall has prepared from the papers of the Somersetshire Pinney family an edition of all the extant letters to and from John Pinney, together with a selection of the correspondence between his children.⁶ Seventy-three items are included, covering the years 1666–1706, although Pinney's own letters are confined to the years 1679–1699. In a brief introduction Nuttall deals with Pinney's career as a Nonconformist preacher, touching on his succession to Thomas Fuller as rector of Broadwindsor in 1649, his ejection at the Restoration and its attendant troubles, his ministry in Dublin in the sixteen-eighties, and his final labours in his own west-country area around Bettiscombe. On the later phases of his unhappy career his letters throw light, but their principal and ever-recurring theme is the melancholy one of the troubles occasioned by a large family of difficult children to a somewhat querulous and self-pitying father. Neither as preacher nor as author of a small work entitled *Twenty Lessons to be Learned from Londons Late Burning* has Pinney any particular claim to remembrance; but the publication of his correspondence is welcome for its vivid reflections of provincial life at this time. Linguists, moreover, may find evidence for late seventeenth-century dialectal pronunciation in the phonetic spelling of the more or less uneducated women correspondents.

Hobbes's *Leviathan* and Locke's essays on *Human Understand-*

⁶ *Letters of John Pinney, 1679–1699*, ed. by Geoffrey F. Nuttall with a Foreword by Hester Pinney. O.U.P. pp. xxii+136. 7s. 6d.

ing and *Civil Government* have been reprinted, with omissions.⁷ Some of Hobbes's views are related to a modern problem in Albert G. A. Balz's *The Indefensibility of Dictatorship—and the Doctrine of Hobbes* (*Journal of Philosophy*, Mar. 16).

Donald Dale has prepared the following short articles on Pepys from the papers of the late Edwin Chappell: *Likenesses of Elizabeth Pepys* (*Apollo*, Nov.), with four illustrations; *Hewer and the Prize-Goods* (*N. and Q.*, May 20), in which it is shown that it was from W. How, not W. Hewer, that Pepys borrowed £500 on 18 September 1665; *Pepys and the Sound, 1659* (*ibid.*, June 24), a discussion of the evidence for Pepys's visit to the fleet in the Sound in May 1659; *Mr. Pepys and Gardens* (*ibid.*, July 22) and *Pepys and his Barge* (*ibid.*, Sept. 30). Under the last title Arthur Bryant (*ibid.*, Oct. 21) and Dale (*ibid.*, Nov. 4) argue concerning the proper title of a pamphlet of 1679, in which Pepys and Hewer are attacked.

A few other articles on prose writers call for mention. In *Great-Heart's Map* (*T.L.S.*, Feb. 4) W. B. Crump suggests a source for Bunyan in Ogilby's road-book, *Britannia* (1675). Luella M. Wright's *John Bunyan and Steven Crisp* (*Journal of Religion*, Apr.) gives an interesting comparative study of the autobiographical and allegorical works of Bunyan and his contemporary, the Quaker Crisp. Frank Mott Harrison writes on *Two Johns: Bunyan (1628–1688)—Wesley (1703–1791)* (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, July). W. H. Haden writes generally on *Richard Baxter: The Man and his Work* (*ibid.*, Apr.), while *Richard Baxter and 'The Reformed Pastor'* (*Baptist Quarterly*, Apr.), by the late T. H. Martin, affords a sketch of Baxter's career as a Nonconformist and an analysis of the substance of his *Reformed Pastor*. In *Deviation toward Ideas of Natural Ethics in the Thought of William Penn* (*P.Q.*, Oct.) Irvin Goldman discusses the primitivistic tendencies in the Quaker leader's works and his indebtedness to current philosophical writings. In *Franklin and William Penn's 'No Cross, No Crown'* (*M.L.N.*, June) A. Stuart Pitt

⁷ In *The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill*, ed. by Edwin A. Burtt. New York: Modern Library. pp. xxiv + 1041.

notes a parody of Penn's work (1669) in Benjamin Franklin's *The New-England Courant* for 11-18 February 1723.

Among miscellaneous articles, the most interesting is John Butt's *The Facilities for Antiquarian Study in the Seventeenth Century* (*Essays and Studies*, xxiv). Butt surveys the libraries and repositories available to the seventeenth-century scholar, the nature of their contents, and the often formidable difficulties to be overcome in making use of them. In *Oxford in 1699* (*Oxoniensia*, iv) J. A. W. Bennett prints three letters to Thomas Tanner, probably from William Adams of Christ Church, which contain references to such people as Addison, Garth, Creech, Yalden, Charles Boyle, and John Wallis the mathematician. Replying to an inquiry by A. H. W. concerning *The Turkish Letters of Busbecq* (*N. and Q.*, June 3), Demetrius Caclamanos notes, under the same title (*ibid.*, June 24), a version of the Letters edited, though not translated, by N. Tate in 1694. E. S. de Beer, in *Whitehall Palace: Inigo Jones and Wren* (*ibid.*, Dec. 30), discusses a plan by Wren for the general rebuilding of the royal palace. In *Sir Christopher Wren and the Re-building of London* (*ibid.*, Feb. 11) T. F. Reddaway questions the claim made in *Parentalia* (1750), that Wren was 'Surveyor-General and principal Architect for rebuilding the whole city', by showing that it was not until 1669, when much of the city was already rebuilt, that he was appointed Surveyor-General, and then only of the Royal Works.

XI

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By EDITH J. MORLEY

A YEAR which sees the publication of the first volumes of definitive editions of the works of the two outstanding men of letters in the first half of the eighteenth century as well as of minor texts, and several books of first-rate critical and biographical importance may well be deemed exceptional. Thus, though the quantity of work published in 1939 is perhaps less than has sometimes been recorded in this chapter, the quality ranks it exceptionally high.

The new texts of Swift and of Pope naturally claim primary consideration.

In his Preface to this, the opening volume of a new complete edition of Swift's writings,¹ Herbert Davis explains his intention 'to attempt three things which still remain to be done'. First, he proposes to provide a text which shall give the final corrected and revised version which appeared during Swift's lifetime; secondly he attempts to arrange the prose works as far as possible in the order in which they were written; thirdly he endeavours to exclude from the canon of Swift's writings some papers which are now known not to be his and to separate from his authentic work 'all such pieces as we may consider at all doubtful'. The text is unencumbered by commentary, which is relegated to the Introduction, while textual variants are given in notes at the end of the volume.

There is no question of the need for a new edition of Swift's prose, that by Temple Scott being in various respects out of date, while, since its publication (1897-1908), much new work has been done and new manuscript material has been discovered which would, in any case, need incorporation in a complete edition. Davis intends his work to be issued in fourteen volumes and he does not attempt full documentation or annotation—an im-

¹ *A Tale of a Tub with Other Early Works, 1696-1707, of Jonathan Swift*, ed. by Herbert Davis. Blackwell. pp. xl+312. 10s. 6d.

possible task for a single editor. What we may hope to obtain, if this first volume is any criterion, is a sound text, upon which scholars can rely, presented in a form and with illustrations which will appeal to every intelligent reader. The Introduction to the present volume is a masterly survey of the texts presented, which include, besides *A Tale of a Tub*, *The Battle of the Books*, *The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, *The Contests and Dissensions in Athens and Rome*, *Meditation on a Broomstick*, *Thoughts on Various Subjects*, *A Trritical Essay upon the Faculties of the Mind*, and *Prefaces to Temple's Works*.

The first volume to appear in *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*² is, appropriately, that for which the general editor, John Butt, is responsible. It is the fourth volume of the series promised—six in all—and contains the *Imitations of Horace with an Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot and the Epilogue to the Satires*. In planning the edition it has been decided to use the typography and text of the first issue of each poem, printed variants being given in the critical apparatus. Alternative manuscript readings are not included. The chief attention of the editors has been given to the elucidation of Pope's poetry, which presents two main difficulties:—‘much of it is made out of echoes and imitations of earlier poets . . . much of his wit is to be understood only from knowledge of the secret history of his time’. In both forms of elucidation the editor has been extraordinarily successful, and his remarks on Pope's methods of ‘imitation’ and translation as well as evidence of the inspiration of specific passages are not likely to be overlooked by the student to whose enjoyment they will greatly contribute. The annotations—conveniently placed at the foot of the page—are full, concise, and all-embracing. It is very rarely that the editor has to confess, as on page 61, that an allusion ‘still awaits explanation’. These notes, combined with the general Introduction are the outstanding features of this new edition—the first adequate English edition of Pope's poetry. The description of the political situation (pp. xxxi seq.) provides present-day readers of the *Imitations* with the key by which contemporaries were able

² *Poems of Alexander Pope* in six volumes. Vol. iv. *Imitations of Horace*, ed. by John Butt. Methuen. pp. liv + 406. 16s. 6d.

without difficulty to unlock the store of allusions to current struggles and issues. The annotations explain detailed references. Together they provide accounts, not previously available to the ordinary reader, of political conditions during the decline of Walpole's power and of Pope's own position in regard to them.

The Introduction also draws attention to the original version of *The Second Satire of Dr. John Donne*, now printed for the first time. It differs considerably from the revised version which is, of course, given as well. The editor also prints *Sober Advice from Horace*, first published anonymously in 1734, then in 1738 with a new title, *A Sermon against Adultery, Being Sober Advice from Horace* and subsequently in the editions of 1740 and 1748. But it was not reprinted by Warburton nor by Elwin and Courthope, so that it is now for the first time made accessible to present-day readers.

Another notable feature of the volume is the Biographical Appendix, which not only 'relieve[s] the footnotes of certain subsidiary annotation' but also supplies accounts of many people whose names are not to be found in *D.N.B.* or any other ordinary source of information. This Appendix is all the more valuable in that the Index is somewhat meagre and unsatisfactory. The Notes in particular are there dealt with most inadequately since the information contained in them should be made as easily accessible as possible.

If we make one further criticism it is in the hope that it may not be too late to secure an alteration in the editors' general plan. The Preface promises the 'complete poetical works of Pope, excluding the translations of Homer'. This exclusion will be most regrettable on many grounds. In an edition in which each volume is entrusted to a different scholar, it should still be possible, even at the eleventh hour, to find a competent editor of that one of Pope's undertakings which was perhaps of most influence on the versification of his immediate successors.

Defoe's Review: Reproduced from the Original Editions by A. W. Secord (Columbia Univ. Press for the Facsimile Text Society) has not been received for notice.

William Matthews was fortunate in discovering and obtaining

permission to transcribe the shorthand diary³ of Dudley Ryder, the manuscript of which belongs to the Earl of Harrowby. The selection published amounts to somewhat less than half of the diary, the complete transcription of which has been presented to the library of Birkbeck College, University of London. In the published volume no indication is given of the places where the omissions occur, no doubt in order that the reader may be able to peruse the text without the tiresome interruption of asterisks. The diary is of extreme interest as the record of the life, pursuits, opinions, reading, and tastes of Dudley Ryder, a young Nonconformist law-student who was destined to become Chief Justice of the King's Bench and to die in 1756 on the very day when the King signed the warrant authorizing his elevation to the peerage. Ryder profits by the screen afforded by shorthand to unburden himself in his diary, and the editor claims with justice that 'here is the complete picture of a man, not only what he did, saw and thought, but all his contradictions, his meanness and virtue, his impudence and diffidence, his vanity and modesty, his harshness and generosity'. Few diaries are so revealing of the writer's personality and of the daily doings of himself and his circle—their talk in the coffee-houses, their amusements, their love-making and their serious interests, religious and political. London during the upheavals and excitements of 1715; respectable Hackney Nonconformity on the fringes of the metropolis; the junketings and studies of Temple students—these are interwoven and intermingle in Ryder's fascinating and unstudied record intended only for his own eye and now for the first time presented to a wider public.

Shenstone has waited long for an adequate edition of his letters^{4,5} and it seems a pity that two independent scholars should at last issue them in the same year. This is the more to be regretted that both are obviously competent people whose work to a large extent overlaps. It is only fair to add that Marjorie

³ *The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-1716*, ed. by William Matthews. Methuen. pp. xii + 408. 16s.

⁴ *The Letters of William Shenstone*, ed. by Marjorie Williams. Blackwell. pp. xxviii + 700. 32s. 6d.

⁵ *Letters of William Shenstone*, ed. by Duncan Mallam. Univ. of Minnesota and O.U.P. pp. xxxvi + 476. 34s.

Williams had already published various contributions to the Shenstone canon and had publicly announced her intention to edit the letters, so that Mallam might have discovered that she was engaged upon them. That being said, the choice between the two volumes is largely a matter for individual preference. Mallam prints 284 letters, Miss Williams 307. But he has included some which are not in her edition (e.g. that to William Lyttelton, 13 Nov. 1756, from the Hagley collection) and she prints many which he has not obtained (e.g. six letters to Mr. J. Prattinton, Appendix I). She also gives sundry variants 'to prove that W. S. did make copies of his letters'. Neither editor makes any claim to completeness, and Miss Williams has already announced the discovery of another letter (*M.L.R.*, July 1939). She also includes Shenstone's 'Billets'—i.e. lists of ballads sent by the poet to Percy, 'together with critical comments of considerable interest': these were originally a part of the Percy-Shenstone correspondence to which they form an interesting addendum. Both editors claim that their transcripts of the text are completely faithful, but, as they frequently differ from each other in minor points of typography and punctuation, this seems to be an instance of over-confidence. Without detailed checking with the manuscripts it is not possible to say whether either version is really immaculate in this respect, but one is inclined to assume that, short of facsimile reproduction, any printed text is unlikely to achieve absolute accuracy.

In one respect Miss Williams is certainly more successful than her rival. Mallam's notes are not, as he hopes, 'sufficient to clarify most of the obscure allusions' in the letters: indeed it would scarcely be unfair to say that he appears to have avoided the necessary labour involved in such an attempt. Miss Williams, on the other hand, annotates very fully and obviously with knowledge and enjoyment: it is a pleasure to read her commentary which proves her familiarity with the life and literature of Shenstone's day. Even conjectures which are admittedly tentative persuade the reader that they are advanced upon something more than mere guess-work.

The chronological sequence of Shenstone's letters is hard to determine, the one thing certain being that Dodsley's dating is often wrong. To this matter Mallam has given rather more

attention than Miss Williams, from whose order, however, he does not often differ very seriously. But he succeeds in dating more exactly than she certain letters to Lady Luxborough in 1749 and also in assigning to its proper place a postscript (to the letter of 4 June 1750) which she leaves after the letter dated 3 June 1749 (Mallam, p. 203 note). Naturally it is desirable to arrange the letters in proper order, and Mallam may take credit for his success, though it is true, as Miss Williams puts it, that 'sequence . . . matters curiously little in the letters Shenstone wrote' since in the words of Hull, their first editor, 'no Chain of Events is interrupted'.

*The Journal of David Garrick describing his visit to France and Italy in 1763*⁶ now first printed from the original manuscript in the Folger Shakespeare Library is edited by G. W. Stone and published in the Revolving Fund Series for the M.L.A.A. The actual letterpress of the journal occupies fifteen pages with wide margins and the pages reproduce the actual lines, erasures, spelling, and so forth of the original, the intrinsic value of which scarcely called for such careful facsimile presentation. The matter is not of particular interest though it merits printing, first because of the writer and secondly as a 'document in the travel literature of the eighteenth century'—albeit a very minor example of the genre. The book is amplified by the inclusion of lists of books—and the prices paid for them—purchased by Garrick during his tour. There are also eleven pages of notes not always very illuminating, an Appendix throwing further light on various subjects touched upon in the text, a Bibliography, and an Index. The Introduction covers five pages, one of which gives a description of the manuscript and its history: there are also a reproduction of Dance's portrait of Garrick and two colotype facsimiles. The editor's work is well done, but one is 'surprised to find it done at all' in such expensive fashion.

Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Madame du Deffand and

⁶ *The Journal of David Garrick describing his visit to France and Italy in 1763*, ed. by George Winchester Stone, Jr. New York: M.L.A.A. and O.U.P. pp. xvi+74. 12s. 6d.

Wuart, ed. W. S. Lewis and Warren Hunting Smith (Yale Univ. and O.U.P.), has not been sent for notice.

British Dramatists from Dryden to Sheridan has been noticed above⁷ but further reference is desirable to its value for students of the eighteenth-century stage. They will find it a most handy and useful compendium, since it includes not merely the more obvious plays but also such things as *Jane Shore*, *The Lying Valet*, and *The West Indian*, and Goldsmith's *Essay on the Theatre*. It should also be noted that the editors have been fortunate enough to discover and obtain permission to use as their basic text the unique Crewe copy of *The School for Scandal*, described as 'missing' even by Crompton Rhodes. As this manuscript copy of the play made in 1777 was revised by Sheridan and the stage directions and some two hundred corrections of the text are in his own handwriting, it is authoritative and supersedes the Dublin edition of 1799. This discovery results in the most important example of the bibliographical discussions (pp. 952-5) to be found in the Textual Notes, but it is representative of the method followed in considering each one of the twenty-four plays in the volume.

*Defoe in the Pillory and other Studies*⁸ by John Robert Moore is one of the most important contributions recently made to the knowledge of this most baffling author. Whether or not Moore is inclined to overrate Defoe's merits when he is called 'in many ways the foremost, as well as the most voluminous, writer of his age', this book cannot be read without a growing conviction of Moore's right to speak with authority on the subjects of his choice during fifteen years of research and appraisement. *Defoe in the Pillory* is a study of the satires on his judges which explain the severity of their sentence. Outstanding among the other sections are those on the authorship of *The Voyage of Don Manoel Gonzales*, of *Madagascar*, or *Robert Drury's Journal*, and of *A General History of the Pirates*, all of which must now be included in the canon of Defoe's writings, though *The Voyage of*

⁷ See Chapter X, pp. 119-20.

⁸ *Defoe in the Pillory and Other Studies*, by John Robert Moore. Indiana Univ. Press. pp. xii + 250. \$2.

Gonzales has been spoiled by irrelevant additions to the original fragment. The 'Two Sources for *Roxana*' is another absorbingly interesting essay, and the brief Epilogue on 'Defoe as Poetic Dreamer' emphasizes his 'power to sense the poetry of life' and his 'creative imagination' which are too often underestimated as compared with his use of realistic detail. Moore prints *in extenso* a translation of the Latin poem by Dibdin on *Defoe in the Pillory* and, as an Appendix, a possibly unique pamphlet in the British Museum entitled *A Letter from Scotland to a Friend in London* which is attributed for the first time to Defoe. Finally there are some 20 pp. of notes and a full index.

In McConnell's *John Wesley*⁹ we have yet another full-length portrait of 'the foremost Churchman of the English-speaking race'—as the blurb describes him. The author himself does not deal in superlatives. His method and manner are scholarly and judicial, and if it is difficult (with the memory of Piette's volume in our mind; see *Y.W.* xix. 198) to agree that 'he gives the most thorough considerations ever made to the social origins and sequences of the Methodist movement', it may yet be conceded that this latest life of Wesley is satisfactory both as biography and as a contribution to religious history. Perhaps the writer's chief virtue lies in the clearness of vision which refuses to be deflected by personal leanings. What he says is marked by good sense and knowledge of human nature, with the result that the reader is biased in favour of the conclusions reached. Thus the summary remark that 'the achievement of Wesley may be almost said to have been the discovery of a new world of human beings in the England of the eighteenth century' which appears startling when quoted out of its context, is led up to and explained in a fashion that convinces. Similarly with the stress laid upon Wesley's longevity as a measure of the importance of his ministrations: we are made to realize why McConnell insists that it is by 'the extraordinary stretch of Wesley's life we get the best testimony to his religious experience'. All through the book the impression is given of the writer's power to handle both his subject-matter and his audience. It is not difficult to

⁹ *John Wesley*, by Francis J. McConnell. Epworth Press. pp. 356. 10s. 6d.

imagine him in his pulpit illuminating his argument by the same judgement and humour which cast light on the dark places in Wesley's pilgrimage as here portrayed for us.

Aleyn Lyell Reade's latest volume of *Johnsonian Gleanings*¹⁰ is the final miscellany before the coming 'straightforward life down to 1740'. It contains further details concerning Johnson's kinsfolk and connexions, e.g. Mr. Hollyer of Coventry and his Connexion with the Johnsons; Charles Skrymsher and his Relationship to Johnson, and many similar items which do not admit of summary description. There are also twenty-five pages of Minor Additions and Corrections and a careful statement of various problems to which even Reade has been unable to find the solution. The 'record of failures', as he calls it, is in itself a proof of his untiring zeal in the search for minute details. Like the preceding parts, this volume is a monument of industry and devotion.

'Without any intention on the part of its authors, who were essentially political propagandists, [*The North Briton*] in the course of its short career of less than a year brought up such basic points of democratic policy as a free press, the liberty of the subject, and, ultimately, the responsibility of the ministers for the contents of the speech from the throne.' These, the opening words of his preface, summarize the subject and outline the treatment of George Nobbe's history of *The North Briton*¹¹ in which the emphasis is on the defence of British liberties by John Wilkes, the man who is so often contemptuously dismissed as a mere 'demagogue'. Whatever his personal character may have been, Wilkes rendered a lasting service to democracy and to constitutional government by his fearless insistence on ministerial responsibility and by his struggle for the liberty of the subject. It is for these things that he and his paper should be remembered by those who still enjoy the benefits for which he fought in an age when the greater part of the world has suffered

¹⁰ *Johnsonian Gleanings. Part IX: A Further Miscellany*, by Aleyn Lyell Reade. Lund, Humphries. pp. vi+282. 21s.

¹¹ *The North Briton: A Study in Political Propaganda*, by George Nobbe. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xii+274. 20s.

their loss. Wilkes himself boasted with justice that 'The two important decisions in the court of common-pleas and at Guild-hall have secured for ever an Englishman's liberty and property. They have grown out of my firmness, and the affair of the *North Briton*.' He deserved the epitaph he composed for himself: 'A friend of liberty', and he deserved also—at long last—Nobbe's detailed and scholarly examination of the claim.

In compiling his life of Burke,¹² Sir Philip Magnus has had the great advantage of access to the valuable papers at Wentworth Woodhouse and Milton which have not been available to earlier biographers. These throw light on Burke's character and on various of his political and personal actions, and consequently all future students must necessarily examine this book before reaching their conclusions on the subjects discussed. The impression left on the mind of the reader by the accumulation of detailed and fresh evidence differs very markedly from the enthusiasm inspired by Morley's masterly analysis. It is not that Magnus does not share that enthusiasm: on the contrary he is convinced that Burke 'was a seer', but, he is constrained to add, 'constitutionally unfitted for the responsibilities of office, or for the conduct of mundane affairs'. It is disturbing to realize in detail Burke's untrustworthiness in financial matters, his jobbery and his recklessness in providing for his family and friends out of public money. His 'sacrifice of political principle' in acquiescing in the Fox-North Coalition is the most flagrant example of inexcusable inconsistency of conduct, but it does not stand alone, and it must be conceded that in political action Burke was an opportunist whose mistakes of passion and of judgement it is often impossible to condone.

Yet while all this is incontrovertible, no amount of fresh evidence of detail destroys finally the conviction that somehow the man and his work are more significant than these faults and weaknesses which we deplore. In this conviction, which he shares, Magnus sums up the achievement of his subject and it is upon this note that every student of Burke would wish to conclude: 'In too many of his actions Burke's heart ruled his head,

¹² *Edmund Burke: A Prophet of the Eighteenth Century*, by Philip Magnus. Murray. pp. xiv + 368. 15s.

but in his writings he disclosed immense, luminous depths of penetration and judgement, and lent life to whatever he touched.' It is an enduring fact that for those who wish to acquire the art of statesmanship, a knowledge of Burke's writings 'is the beginning of wisdom'.

Dixon Wecter's study¹³ of Burke's financial integrity clears him of anything worse than profound ignorance of financial matters, extravagance, and probable gambling in East India stock. These, coupled with 'gullibility' about the characters of his associates and underlings, together with absolute belief in the reliability of his most unreliable kinsmen, are sufficiently dangerous qualities in a Paymaster of the Forces. Added to them are the mysterious purchase of the Beaconsfield property, debts, and borrowings which make the indictment heavy against him. But Wecter is convinced that nothing 'serves directly to impeach [Burke's] honesty'. Stress is laid on the long 'years of political adversity' he endured, and the snobbishness of aristocratic colleagues which relegated him to the office for which he was least fitted. The final verdict is that Burke's statement that 'private honour is the foundation of public trust' 'is not seriously belied, despite much evidence . . . concerning his naïve and nebulous ideas about money, his gullibility respecting human nature and his zeal to oblige kinsmen.'

D. C. Bryant's account of *Edmund Burke and his Literary Friends*¹⁴ is exactly what the title implies, i.e. a description of his intercourse with 'the more than a hundred writers, scholars and men and women of letters who were for longer or shorter periods his friends and acquaintances'. 'It is neither a literary biography of Burke nor a literary history of the age.' Consequently it is to be regarded as a specialized study of only one aspect, and that not the most important, of Burke's many-sided career, showing him as 'the friend and associate of scholars and men of letters because he was himself a writer and a scholar'

¹³ *Edmund Burke and his Kinsmen: A Study of the Statesman's financial Integrity and private Relationships*, by Dixon Wecter. Univ. of Colorado Press. pp. 114. \$1.00.

¹⁴ *Edmund Burke and his Literary Friends*, by Donald Cross Bryant. Washington Univ. Studies, No. 9. pp. xii+323. \$2.75.

who, even as a statesman and politician, 'whatever he was doing, . . . retained the instinct . . . of a philosopher, a scholar, and an imaginative artist'. It is pleasant to dwell upon this side of his character and to be allowed to relegate to the background the traits which raise doubts or demand explanation. For to meet Burke among his literary associates is to see him at the height of his powers and in his most humane and delightful aspect. 'He does not talk from a desire of distinction, but because his mind is full', or, in the less familiar words of Crabbe, 'Ready on all subjects, and willing: very friendly'. The miracle of that willing friendship to Crabbe has long been recognized. But in this, as in many other instances, Bryant does service by his consecutive and detailed account of their relationship. It is for the cumulative evidence here presented of Burke's intercourse with his many friends great and small, the Burneys, Hannah More, the lesser Johnsonians and playwrights, as well as Johnson, and Boswell, Reynolds and Garrick, that this study of Bryant is of value as a contribution to the final portrait of his protagonist.

Mary Clark's doctoral dissertation deals with Cobbett's life in Philadelphia,¹⁵ his influence on American politics and 'the connection of the writing he did here with the general course of historical events'. She attempts to recreate this part of his career from contemporary records, and as a result of her investigations concludes that he was 'one of the most potent forces moulding public opinion in the new republic', and one of the founders of its party press. She also believes that it was in America that Cobbett developed his skill as a writer and that his American career prepared him for the part he was to play in English politics.

The thesis is developed in great detail and it considers a part of Cobbett's life not before examined intensively. Miss Clark's bibliography covers eight pages, six of which deal with contemporary sources. This fact may be taken as a measure of her industry.

Kathryn G. Dapp has collected every possible scrap of infor-

¹⁵ *Peter Porcupine in America: the Career of William Cobbett, 1792-1800*, by Mary Elizabeth Clark. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press. pp.vi + 194.

mation for her doctoral dissertation on George Keate,¹⁶ whose merits whether as versifier or virtuoso she does not appear to over-estimate. She remarks honestly that 'as a writer Keate was not brilliant but "agreeable"' and that his chief merit was as an index to current taste. He was, she quotes from a contemporary criticism, in conclusion, a man "'of cultivated taste and amiable disposition" who "attained a respectable rank in the republic of letters".' There seems no special reason why he should have been disinterred, though the reproductions of some of the sketches he made on his Grand Tour, and the text of the letters he received, over years of acquaintanceship, from Voltaire, differentiate his career to some extent from that of countless contemporaries. The author has not proved her contention that he was an interesting figure, and her account of his intercourse with 'outstanding personalities' does not do anything to change this opinion or to prove that their estimate of him, in most of the instances cited, was any higher than that formed by the writer of this thesis and one, at any rate, of her readers.

'Master of the Picturesque' is the sub-title and leading *motif* in William D. Templeman's study of *The Life and Work of William Gilpin*,¹⁷ though the various incidents of the life are also treated in detail. Templeman illustrates the early use of the term 'picturesque' and is at pains to show that Gilpin 'does not consider *all beauty* to consist in *picturesque beauty*' which is that type of beauty 'suited to the pencil'. What that type may be is shown by a careful examination of Gilpin's various works on the subject and by the reproduction of some of his illustrations. His influence at home and abroad is also discussed at length so that Templeman's work, like the inscription on the tablet erected by Gilpin's admirers, may be considered as a 'monument to his memory'—somewhat laboured perhaps, but an 'impressive eulogy' none the less. Templeman conveys the opinion which he outlines in his Introduction: 'In a well-balanced variety of

¹⁶ *George Keate Esq., Eighteenth-Century English Gentleman*, by Kathryn Gilbert Dapp. Philadelphia. pp. vi+184.

¹⁷ *The Life and Work of William Gilpin*, by William D. Templeman. Univ. of Illinois Press. pp. 336. \$3.

worthy ways Gilpin achieved eminence to such a high degree that his eminence in all those ways has been reflected with praise in the world of life and of letters.' But however incontrovertible in matter, a book compiled in such a style is not inspiring reading.

The fact that the first ninety-five pages of Kenelm Foss's book about Sheridan¹⁸ are devoted to an account of this wooing and of his subsequent marriage with Elizabeth Linley is indicative of the general treatment of the subject-matter. Foss writes a lively account of Sheridan's biography in the present-day fashion of making it resemble as nearly as possible a work of fiction. The result is extremely readable and the facts are all there: we are introduced to The Playwright, The Theatre-Manager, The Politician, The Orator, and The Privy Councillor as well as to the man who was Richard Brinsley Sheridan himself. It is all very entertaining, and, if it does not add very much to our knowledge, it can hardly be criticized on that account, for a book must be judged by the author's attainment of his end. Foss has probably succeeded in the task he set himself, and at any rate he does not pursue a 'Ghost' or a 'Harlequin'—though his work has none of the solidity and scholarship of that of Crompton Rhodes.

De Lancey Ferguson's book¹⁹ is, he claims, no biography in the ordinary sense, but an attempt to discover 'what sort of a man was Robert Burns?', and what constituted his dynamic personality. Ferguson's answer may be found in his title—*Pride and Passion*, which Burns himself called his 'great constituent elements'. The study is therefore less dependent on chronological sequence than on the basic impression gathered from the poet's own words in his letters and poems and on the records of his immediate contemporaries and associates. The chapter headings—Scotland (an admirable survey of contemporary conditions), Education, Men, Women, Livelihood, Song,

¹⁸ *Here Lies Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, by Kenelm Foss. Secker. pp. 390. 16s.

¹⁹ *Pride and Passion: Robert Burns*, by De Lancey Ferguson. O.U.P. pp. xxii + 322. 12s. 6d.

The Scot—indicate in some measure Ferguson's method of treatment. But full comprehension can be gained only by examination of the book as a whole. The chapter on Song may serve as an illustration. It begins with the poet's account of the genesis of his interest in poetry and its connexion, in his own case, with love and with music. This Ferguson elaborates by pointing out that Burns was 'unique among modern poets' in that 'his mind . . . worked from emotion to music, and the music brought the words which expressed its mood'. Consequently to read the words apart from the tunes which inspired them and without knowledge of his models 'is like reading the libretto of an opera'. This leads up to a study of the poet's notes on his first efforts and more particularly of the *Commonplace Book* which reveals 'his steady growth in artistic competence', and understanding of what constitutes the true charm of folk-poetry. Next comes an account of 'the psychology of composition' in Burns, and the influence of Scots music is followed by a discussion of his Scottish vocabulary. Robert Ferguson's influence on the songs is the prelude to Allan Ramsay's more potent effect on the poems in which Burns found 'his genuine freedom and inspiration'—'the pure drama' of such examples as *The Auld Farmer*, *The Jolly Beggars* or *Holy Willie*. Again, this subject leads naturally to a discussion of Burns as a possible dramatist and to Mackenzie's suggestion that he should write pastoral drama, and its rejection. So we arrive at the *Scots Musical Museum* and Thomson's *Select Collection*. There is no need to pursue the analysis further. It suffices to say that the writer has managed to put new wine into old bottles and to produce a volume which definitely adds to our knowledge of the poet and his intrinsic qualities. At the same time, while the author's appreciation is manifest, he avoids the fulsome adulation which vitiates so much writing on the subject nor, happily, is there any superfluous apology for the qualities which helped to make Burns the man he was.

The chief items of interest in the current *Burns Chronicle*²⁰ are some letters of Burns, one, to John Richmond, also repro-

²⁰ *Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*. Kilmarnock. The Burns Federation. pp. viii + 216. 3s.

duced in a facsimile holograph. There is also a paper entitled *Burns's Literary Correspondents* by J. C. Ewing, which consists of an Introduction to the List of Letters printed in the *Burns Chronicle 1933*, with Notes. The same writer contributes an article on *The Eglintons' Patronage of Burns, 1786-1787*. Hans Hecht publishes the first part of an essay on *The Reception of Burns in German Literature* and the volume further contains Part V of the *Correspondence of John Syme and Alexander Cunningham, 1789-1811*, concerning Currie's proposed edition of the poet's works.

*Hell-Fire Francis*²¹ is described on its jacket as 'A history of the Friars of St. Francis of Wycombe—generally known as the Hell-Fire Club—together with an account of the most notorious Members, their Activities and their Excesses'. Ronald Fuller has devoted 284 pp. to his account of these perverts and his book is compiled from all the availing sources and put together in a scholarly fashion. One may doubt whether his attempt 'to sift fact from fiction' was in this instance worth the labour it has involved, and whether, if it was, a brief summary of his researches would not have sufficed. In any case there seems no reason why the general reader should follow his steps 'along this dark alluring alley', though it might attract the alienist or, possibly, the social historian. It is only right to add that Fuller's story is decently told: it is his subject, not his treatment, that is repulsive.

*English Scholars*²² is a fascinating study of medievalists in the period 1660-1730: in it Douglas breaks fresh ground and lays stress on the important work accomplished by the men who laid the foundations of our present knowledge of the Middle Ages. Douglas even goes so far as to assert that 'Anglo-Saxon studies have never, perhaps, advanced with greater rapidity than during these years' and that 'few epochs have been more fruitful of editions of medieval texts'. It is commoner to talk loosely of the beginnings of such scholarship as a sign of the so-called 'romantic

²¹ *Hell-Fire Francis*, by Ronald Fuller. Chatto & Windus. pp. 284, 10s. 6d.

²² *English Scholars*, by David C. Douglas. Cape. pp. 382. 15s.

revival' with its widening of interests in the latter part of the eighteenth century. This well-documented and learned volume should finally dispose of such unsubstantiated generalizations and establish the fact of the widespread interest in medieval scholarship after the Restoration. Moreover this was a period when politicians, lawyers, and churchmen alike 'went to the past for their arguments and it was from historical doctrine that they derived the impulse which ruled their vigorous lives'. Douglas gives detailed accounts of the work of Hickes, Wanley, Bradby, Wharton, students of the Chronicles, Hearne, Rymer, Madox, and others. He establishes his point that 'medieval scholarship in England underwent during the eighteenth century not a development but a reaction' and that between 1730 and 1800 these studies 'made no advance comparable to that which had been achieved in the previous seventy years'. 'Medieval English scholarship was...stified...by the deliberate neglect of an Age of Enlightenment' which prized 'taste' rather than learning.

Hoxie N. Fairchild's *Religious Trends in English Poetry, Vol. I*,²³ is the first instalment of what promises to be an exhaustive study that will occupy him for the remainder of his working life. For he sets out to examine in detail the writings of English poets from 1700 to the present day in order to discover the trends of religious thought and feeling as there exemplified. The present volume covers the years 1700-40 and deals with the complete work of 128 poets, though 21 additional versifiers 'are represented by one, two or three substantial pieces' and eight anonymous poems and seven miscellanies are also included in the survey. 'Whatever its shortcomings in other respects may be', says Fairchild modestly, this 'study does not exemplify the type of literary history which is all background and no literature.' On the contrary 'the emphasis has been placed squarely upon the thought of poets, not upon the thought of philosophers and divines' nor is there in the main part of his thesis any attempt to trace the sources of poetic ideas. In the last chapter, however, Fairchild endeavours to 'interpret [his] findings in terms

²³ *Religious Trends in English Poetry. Vol. 1: 1700-1740. Protestantism and the Cult of Sentiment*, by Hoxie Neale Fairchild. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xvi + 612. 33s. 6d.

of the history of religious thought'. In order to make his starting-point for this investigation clear, he states roundly that he is himself an Anglo-Catholic in theory and in practice.

It is obviously impossible to summarize the material of 577 pages in a brief notice. Succinctly stated, he finds that sentimentalism was the dominant note in the religious poetry of the forty years here considered and that this sentimentalism becomes even more prevalent as time goes on and the 'romantic' period approaches. Yet there is in fact 'a wide chasm between the orthodox Christian doctrine of the heart's essential sinfulness and the sentimental doctrine of the heart's essential goodness. . . . It is . . . a completely different religion from the religion which describes man as a naturally good part of the universal harmony.'

Fairchild holds that pre-romantic sentimentalism can be traced back to seventeenth-century Puritanism and the self-esteem which it encouraged. The belief in the inner light and the consequent claim to personal interpretation of the Bible was, as he sees it, akin to the 'sense of inward divinity' which was the mainspring of a sentimentalism that could be 'satisfied either by a retired contemplation of the works of Nature's God, or by expressing in the active life one's personal share of divine benevolence'. Fairchild claims that this creed of the 'sentimentalist' was normally that of 'a bourgeois and a Whig' and opposed to that of the Tory and High Churchman. 'The definite triumph of Whig civilization establishes the importance of the bourgeois ex-puritan both as a writer and as a member of the reading public.' His argument is developed at length and must be studied in detail. Probably there will be many who cannot accept the conclusion that 'the romanticism of the 1780-1830 period is simply Protestant Christianity in a more or less delightfully phosphorescent state of decay'. What is, however, certain is that Fairchild's examination of the religious trends of English poetry is of outstanding importance and not least because it establishes and gives proof of the close links between religion and poetry in this country.

Eighteenth-Century English Literature and its Cultural Background. A Bibliography, by James E. Tobin (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, \$2) has not been sent for notice.

'We habitually look at the past from a distance ; we can rarely feel that we are standing in the very middle of it, being jostled by the passers-by, splashed by cart wheels, drenched by the rain or warmed by the sun.' In *Background for Queen Anne*²⁴ James Sutherland endeavours to correct our false perspective and to place us as nearly as may be in the position of her contemporaries. His method of helping us to see through their eyes and hear with their ears is to preface each of his essays with a miscellaneous assortment of excerpts from the daily and weekly journals of the time, so that we may learn the kind of thing about which the ordinary man was thinking and talking—the notable birth or death, the runaway black boy, the latest quack medicine, or actor's benefit, or victory or trial. The essays are equally multifarious in subject-matter: one of them portrays a lurid picture of the unedifying career of 'Burridge the Blasphemer': another, 'John Lacy and the Modern Prophets' introduces a notorious set of quasi-religious 'enthusiasts'; in a third 'Young Matthews', the printer of *Vox Populi* is presented at his trial and execution for incitement to treason. The other papers deal with more familiar names—Dr. Swift in London ; The Last Years of Joseph Addison ; Miss Addison ; The Funeral of John, Duke of Marlborough—but the treatment of the material is always conceived with the same object in view: it is the author's endeavour throughout to be as readable as he is accurate. He invents neither events nor conversations; his sole aim is to interest by the lively presentation of what actually occurred. The result is a volume which could have been produced only by a scholar, but it is one that may be opened with pleasure by any intelligent reader.

Essays by Divers Hands, vol. xviii,²⁵ includes a paper by N. Hardy Wallis entitled *Fugitive Poetry: An Eighteenth Century Collection*, which is an account of a miscellany in six volumes edited by John Bell. The collection is classified under the main headings Epistles, Elegies, and Odes with various subdivisions, and consists in all of some 500 poems. All of them date from

²⁴ *Background for Queen Anne*, by James Sutherland. Methuen. pp. xii + 228. 10s. 6d.

²⁵ See above, p. 22.

the late eighteenth century and are typical of the effusions of the minor writers of the period.

Dougald MacMillan's *Catalogue of the Larpent Plays*²⁶ is a monument of scholarship and of industry which he modestly attempts to belittle by the statement that 'the principal task of the compilers of this Catalogue was to identify the plays' and then to compare manuscripts and printed texts. Since there are 2,399 identified plays and prologues and only 102 unidentified items, which are confined to Addresses, Epilogues, Prologues, and Songs, it is not difficult to deduce the amount of labour which has been devoted to the compilation. The result is an almost complete record of the 'plays and other entertainments' performed in British theatres between 1737, the date of the licensing act which required their submission to the Lord Chamberlain, and 1824, the date of Larpent's death. The official copies of these plays ought, no doubt, to have been deposited in the Record Office or some other national repository. In fact they were bought in 1832 by John Payne Collier and Thomas Arnyot for £400, and subsequently passed into the possession first of Lord Ellesmere (after the Trustees of the British Museum had declined to purchase them), and then in 1917, at the sale of the Bridgewater House Library, into the Huntington Library, California. Some of the plays had disappeared in the interim, but the collection may be regarded as very nearly, though not quite, intact. (Among the missing items are *The Clandestine Marriage* and *The School for Scandal*, neither of which was listed by Larpent, the inference being that they had disappeared before he took office in 1778.) 'The fact that these plays are official copies sent by the managers of the theatres, not the authors, to the office of the Examiner, places them in a different category from that of most literary texts. Their relation . . . to the acted version and . . . to the published work raises complicated problems that can be solved only individually.' These problems McMillan has for the most part successfully unravelled.

In each entry of the identified items the title of the play as it appears on the manuscript is first given; next the type of play

²⁶ *Catalogue of the Larpent Plays in the Huntington Library* compiled by Dougald MacMillan. San Marino, California. pp. xvi + 442.

and the name of the author, when known. Then come the date of application for licence, the name of the manager and theatre, the date of the first production and, finally, a statement whether the copy is a manuscript or printed. After 'the description of a manuscript there is a statement of the result of a comparison with the printed text', made whenever there is a printed copy of the play in the Huntington Library; the edition compared is indicated, 'and a phrase points out the nature or extent of the differences between the two texts'. This collation does not attempt to be exhaustive. 'Finally, relevant parts of Collier's notes in his copy of the *Biographia Dramatica* are printed.'

The unidentified items are arranged alphabetically, and the volume concludes with indexes of titles and authors—not quite so full as might be wished.

While British scholars may naturally regret that such valuable material as the Larpent plays has found a home abroad instead of at home, this volume is another instance of the way in which U.S.A. treasures are made accessible to all those who wish to consult them.

Anglia LXIII (Jan.) contains a *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des literarischen Geschmacks in England* by W. Ebisch and L. L. Schücking and an article on *Pope's Brutus* by Friedrich Brie. In the same periodical (Aug.) W. Fischer prints *Ein unbekannter Brief David Garricks an Samuel Richardson* written 4 September 1753 and now in the Landesbibliothek, Darmstadt.

Audley L. Smith has an article in *E.L.H.* (Mar.) in which he examines the significance of *Richard Hurd's 'Letters on Chivalry and Romance'* in the history of eighteenth-century criticism. He concludes that Hurd was a pioneer in both the revival of interest in the Middle Ages and in the substitution of new critical standards for old in his appreciation of Spenser. Notably he praises the *Faerie Queene* for the power of imagination shown by the poet and for the music of his verse, and it is for his emphasis on the value of these 'romantic' qualities that Hurd's work is most remarkable.

In *English*, vol. ii, No. 10 H. V. Somerset, in an article entitled

Edmund Burke's Workmanship, analyses his method of writing by an examination of an existing manuscript, the draft of a letter in the Fitzwilliam collection. The analysis establishes the care with which he wrote, at any rate in the last period of his life. In No. 11 under the title of *My Poor Friend Smart*, Mona Wilson gives an appreciative description of his recently published *Jubilate Agno* (*Rejoice in the Lamb, A Song from Bedlam*, ed. W. F. Stead, published Cape).

In *English Studies*, XXI. i, in an essay entitled *Platonism and Sir Joshua Reynolds* Hoyt Trowbridge alleges that Locke rather than Plato is the source of Reynolds's philosophy.

Études Anglaises, III. i contains an article by F. Delattre entitled *Auguste Angellier et le Génie Poétique de Robert Burns*; III. iii has a note by J. Bélanger *Sur 'Roderick Random' et l'Expédition de Carthagène*.

History (Mar.) has an article on *Gibbon and 'The Decline and Fall'* by J. J. Saunders.

In *J.E.G.P.* (Jan.) G. T. ten Hoor writes on *Akenside's 'The Pleasures of Imagination' in Germany*. In the same periodical (Apr.), Staring B. Wells in *An Eighteenth-Century Attribution* decides against Gildon's authorship of *A Comparison between the Two Stages* (1702).

The articles in *The Library* by M. Mack on *The First Printing of the Letters of Pope and Swift* (March); A. M. Arnold on *An Introduction to a Bibliography of William Cobbett* (June); L. M. Knapp on *Ralph Griffiths, Author and Publisher, 1746-1750* (Sept.); are noticed in Chapter XIV, pp. 196-8.

In *M.L.N.* (Feb.) Donald Cornu proves by an examination of hitherto overlooked material that Swift, during the years 1735-7, was interesting himself in the copyright controversy. *Swift, Motte and the Copyright Struggle: Two Unnoticed Documents* is important evidence for Cornu's assumption. In the same issue Dixon Wecter in a note entitled *Horace Walpole and Edmund Burke* publishes a hitherto unknown letter by Walpole. In May there are *Notes on Ambrose Philips* by S. F. Fogle (corrections and additions to Miss Segar's edition of that poet) and notes on *The Beginnings of Pope's Friendship with Spence* by Austin Wright; on *A Doubtful Poem in the Collins Canon* by Earl R.

Wasserman, and on *Defoe's Use of Personal Experience in 'Colonel Jack'* by John R. Moore. In the June number, Eugène Joliat, in an article entitled *Smollett, Editor of Voltaire* discusses the novelist's share in *The Works* nominally translated and annotated by himself 'and others'. He shows that Smollett was responsible for the notes on the prose works only. To the same number, E. R. Wasserman contributes a note on *The Walpole-Chatterton Controversy*, Richard Boys one on *David Malloch and the Edinburgh Miscellany*, and Alan D. McKillop (Dec.) writes on *The Authorship of A Poem to the Memory of Mr. Congreve*, giving evidence for its attribution to Mallet instead of Thomson to whom it is usually ascribed.

In *M.L.R.* (Apr.) there are notes by William White on *Richardson: Idealist or Realist?* and by C. B. Bradford on *The Edinburgh 'Ramblers'*. There is a note (Oct.) by Howard P. Vincent, entitled *Warton's Last Words on the Rowley Poems*.

In *N. and Q.* are the following eighteenth-century references: June 17, *Pope's 'Mr. Russel' of 1739* by Aleya Lyell Reade; *Goldsmith repeating himself at length* by 'Ignoto'; July 8, *Two Letters of Cowper to Greathed* by K. Povey; Aug. 19, *Notes on the Life of William Collins* by P. L. Carver and *Imitations of Gray's Elegy* by W. Jaggard; Oct. 7, *Thomas Dermody (1777-1802): Another Letter* by T. O. Mabbott; Oct. 14, *An Uncollected Poem by James Thomson* by W. H. Davenport.

P.M.L.A. (Mar.) contains articles by T. W. Copeland on *Burke and Dodsley's Annual Register* and by Wylie Sypher on *Chatterton's African Eclogues and the Deluge*; P. B. Anderson (Sept.) discusses Mandeville's authorship and revisions of *A Dissertation upon Drunkenness (1708)* under the title *Bernard Mandeville on Gin*; Dorothy L. Gilbert and Russell Pope (Dec.) write on *The Cowper translation of Mme Guyon's Poems* and J. P. Emery examines *Murphy's criticisms in the London Chronicle*.

In *P.Q.* (Jan.) J. R. Brown writes briefly on Hill's letter of Feb. 28, 1736; in April Eliz. Mann discusses *The Problem of Originality in English Literary Criticism, 1750-1800* and Mabel Cable, *The Idea of a Patriot King in the Propaganda of the Opposition to Walpole, 1735-1739*. In July, Dixon Wecter pub-

lishes a hitherto unprinted letter of Reynolds in *Sir Joshua Reynolds and the Burkes* while in *David Garrick and the Burkes* (Oct.) he also gives unpublished correspondence between them.

In *R.E.S.* (Jan.), P. L. Carver in an article on *Collins and Alexander Carlyle* attributes to the latter the poem commonly known by the first line 'Twas at the hour of dark midnight', partly on the ground that 'it forms a link of connection with two other poems, both found in the *British Magazine* for Feb. 1747'. The first of these, an *Ode to the Memory of Colonel Gardiner* is also attributed to Carlyle; the second is an *Ode to Evening*. The first is clearly indebted to Collins's 'How sleep the brave', the second to his *Ode to Evening*.

In the same number there are notes by A. A. Ettinger and by R. W. Chapman on *Johnson's Letters to Taylor* and by I. W. J. Machin on *Gibbon's Debt to Contemporary Scholarship*. R. H. Perkinson (Apr.) has a note on *Walpole and the Biographia Dramatica*. C. B. Bradford (July) deals with *Johnson's Revision of "The Rambler,"* giving the main results of a systematic collation of the various editions, which show that Johnson's revision was 'extensive and thorough', and that *The Rambler* was greatly improved by his additions and omissions. In the same number is a note by Harold Williams and Lord Rothschild entitled *The Grand Question Debated*. This is concerned with the text of the poem by Swift which is so entitled.

E. L. McAdam, Jr. (Oct.) has an article on *Dr. Johnson's Law Lectures for Chambers: An Addition to the Canon*, in which it is shown that Johnson assisted Robert Chambers, Vinerian Professor of Law at Oxford, in the composition of his lectures. In the same number Kenneth Povey writes on *The Banishment of Lady Austen*, describing her final breach with Cowper in June 1784.

T.L.S. contains the following: Jan. 7, *Tales of Terror* by M. Sadleir; Jan. 14, ditto by W. Beattie; *Letters of Hume* by Raymond Klibansky (see also F. H. Heinemann, Jan. 28), and *A Johnson Problem* by Dixon Wecter; Jan. 28, *The Book Johnson did not Write* by Frank R. Lewis; Feb. 11, *Punctuation of Gray's Elegy* by H. D. Watson; Feb. 25 and Mar. 4, *Dr. Johnson's*

Letters: Notes on Boswell's Text by R. W. Chapman; Mar. 11, *Percy and Malone* by A. Tillotson; Mar. 18, *Johnson's Letters* by D'Arcy Thompson; April 29, *Gibbon's Library* by R. Hart-Davis; June 17, *Poetical Miscellany* by Raymond D. Havens; July 1, Reply by Davidson Cook; July 29, *A Johnson Letter* by R. W. Chapman; Aug. 5, *Chatterton's Bristowe Charity* by E. H. W. Meyerstein; Aug. 12, *Pope's Horace* by Bonamy Dobrée; Aug. 26, *An American Edition of Burns* by R. T. Fitzhugh (Sept. 30, Reply by J. C. Ewing); Sept. 2, *A Couplet in the "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot"* by Maynard Mack; *Mrs. Garrick* by A. B. Stapleton and *The History of Sir George Warrington* by Janet C. Troxell; Sept. 16, *Hannah More* by Mary A. Hopkins; Dec. 30, *Dr. Johnson's Mrs. Thrale* by J. L. Clifford.

XII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

I

By DOROTHY MARGARET STUART

THE two events of major importance for students of this period in 1939 were the publication of H. W. Garrod's one-volume edition of the complete poetical work of Keats¹ and the conclusion of Ernest de Selincourt's immense labour upon the letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth.² As his latest editor reminds us, 'the textual criticism of Keats would be easy—perhaps indeed non-existent—if it began and ended with the printed texts'; but 'its embarrassments proceed from the astonishing wealth of MS. material'. This being so, the critic and bibliographer will probably continue to tinker with lines and phrases (as the *T.L.S.* began to do on 24 June), leaving it to the layman-lover of Keats to be properly grateful for this rich and compact volume. The *Later Years*³ of the Wordsworth correspondence may be a little less rewarding than the earlier and middle years—a decline largely owing to the *diminuendo* in Dorothy's mental powers after 1832—but de Selincourt claims with justice that new light is thrown upon the activities, opinions, and character of the poet during the last three decades of his long life and that by that light he is seen to be a man very different from the self-centred moral dictator of popular acceptance. It is a matter for thankfulness that these two enterprises should have been brought to a happy close before September 1939.

Three Keats reissues indicated the persistent vitality of this poet. Garrod's short study³ reached a second edition, and

¹ *The Poetical Works of John Keats*, ed. by H. W. Garrod. O.U.P. pp. lxxxix + 572. 30s.

² *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: the Later Years*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt. O.U.P. Vol. i, pp. xxxviii + 543; ii, pp. xiv + 1055; iii, pp. xii + 1408. 63s.

³ *Keats*, by H. W. Garrod. O.U.P. pp. 155. 5s.

appeared with some textual errors amended and a note on Keats's use of the sonnet revised in accordance with recent re-dating. About one-half reproduces lectures delivered from the Chair of Poetry at Oxford in the spring and summer of 1925. 'In deference to friendly criticism' the book has been divided into sections; but, do what he would, the author found himself 'unable to devise chapters and titles'. The second reissue places the *Letters of Fanny Brawne to Fanny Keats*⁴ on the Oxford Bookshelf, to which it forms a welcome accession. J. Middleton Murry's *Studies in Keats, New and Old*,⁵ is largely a reprint of his *Keats and Shakespeare* (1930) with some additional essays designed to fill certain gaps in the earlier work.

A disparaging remark upon Keats's grammar—or lack of it—in T. R. Glover's presidential address to the Classical Association, 1938, evoked a rejoinder from 'Ignoto' (*N. and Q.*, Feb. 4), who pointed out that the great *Odes* are grammatically faultless and protested that in twenty pages of the poet's familiar letters 'taken at random' he had found nothing to justify Glover's words. Walter E. Peck noted (Feb. 25) a poem, *Love and Folly*, published in the *New Monthly Magazine*, v. 19, signed 'S. Y.', and apparently the joint composition of Keats and his friend, Charles Armitage Brown, this identification being endorsed by T. O. Mabbott and Fred Edgcumbe.

In *T.L.S.* (Jan. 14) was a note from Garrod on *Morbid Broodings by Keats*, correcting a transcription by C. L. Finney (in *The Evolution of Keats's Poetry*) from the so-called Woodhouse Scrapbook in the Morgan Library, New York. F. E. L. Priestley wrote (Feb. 4) suggesting that the sentence 'unpoeted I write' in a letter from Keats to Woodhouse, 21 Sept., 1819, was an adaptation of 'unbonneted he runs' (*Lear*, III. i) and also that 'unposted' would be a more credible reading. P. Rogers defended (Feb. 25) the 'unpoeted' interpretation, and a letter from M. Buxton Forman closed the correspondence (June 24). George G. Soane's *A Reading in Keats* (July 1) was

⁴ *Letters of Fanny Brawne to Fanny Keats*, with a biographical introduction by Fred Edgcumbe. O.U.P. pp. xxvii+77. 5s. (First published in 1937.)

⁵ *Studies in Keats, New and Old*, by J. Middleton Murry. O.U.P. pp. viii+172. 8s. 6d.

a 'follow-through' from the review of Garrod's edition of the complete poetical works, and proposed yet another alternative to a difficult line in the last stanza of *In a drear-nighted December*. J. B. Baillie upheld Garrod's version (July 8) and in the same issue W. M. Parker also reverted to the review, with special reference to Keats's newly discovered sonnet on *The House of Mourning*, his relations with John Scott, and the identification of the lines by Scott which Wordsworth had commended in 1816 and which were not, apparently, *The House of Mourning*.

No book dealing with Wordsworth purely as a man of letters appeared in 1939, but Fredericka Beatty brought out a biographical study, *William Wordsworth of Rydal Mount* (Dent, 15s.), of which the avowed purpose was 'to dispel foolish and spiteful personal gossip' about the poet in the last decade of his life. This author agrees with de Selincourt that Wordsworth was a gentler, more tolerant, and more likeable old man than some of his professed admirers have represented him as being.

Writers in periodicals conceded a good deal of attention to his poetry, and the centenary of his agreeable nephew John did not pass unregarded (*N. and Q.*, Dec. 23). There was a query (Feb. 11) from W. Kenneth Spicer concerning *Scholae Academicæ*, which, though mentioned by several Wordsworth authorities, is not to be found in the British Museum.

V.K., in the first of four papers, *De Quincey: Some Objections and Corrections* (*N. and Q.*, June 17, July 1, July 15, Sept. 9), discussed de Quincey's suggestion that Gilman was the 'other man' of Wordsworth's *Castle of Indolence* sonnet, eliciting a rejoinder (July 8) from 'Hibernicus', advancing the view that there was 'a slight mixing of two characters', Coleridge and Calvert, 'with a detail from a third', Wordsworth himself. E.E.E. noted (Oct. 28) an echo of the Wordsworthian 'plain living and high thinking' in a poem by Teale. 'Senex' set forth (Nov. 18) his reasons for doubting whether Wordsworth was a Greek scholar, his incidental remark that the poet was 'notoriously a man of few books' being rebutted (Dec. 16) by W. Roberts. In *The Library* for March John Edwin Wells

noted a 'paste-in' in *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800, and *M.L.N.* contained (Feb. 4) an article by Elizabeth K. Holmes, *Some Sources of Wordsworth's Passages on Mythology*. T. E. Casson pointed out (*T.L.S.*, Apr. 29) that a passage in the works of St. Bernard affords a parallel to Wordsworth's 'impulse from a vernal wood', incidentally disproving John Morley's objection that 'a wood can teach nothing of moral good or evil'. A. J. Grant sought enlightenment on a line in the twenty-fourth sonnet of Wordsworth's Duddon series, with especial reference to the meaning of the phrase 'vagrant reed' (Sept. 16), and elicited four replies (Sept. 23). Nowell Smith upheld the view that this denotes 'the composition of these sonnets by a wandering poet'; David Holland boldly put forward the substitution of 'weed' for 'reed'; J. S. Martin favoured aimless movement among actual reeds; Mrs. Thomas Maitland plumped for Pascal's *roseau pensant*. Grant wrote again (Sept. 30) inclining to Nowell Smith's interpretation and remarking that the diversity of opinion among the correspondents proved the essential obscurity of the line.

After enjoying a blaze of attention in 1938 Coleridge slipped back into comparative obscurity, though he was honoured with at least one piece of excellent criticism.⁶ In *The Road to Tryermaine* A. H. Nethercot presents a study which he modestly hopes may 'furnish the background for a more intelligent and illuminating interpretation of *Christabel* than has hitherto been possible'. The *T.L.S.* reviewer called the book (Aug. 17) 'an exciting canter along the road', one made memorable by 'grisly encounters with vampires and other demons', but suggested that the dream-world of one of our most delightful poems might appear to some readers 'to grow fainter by this exegesis'. It is something more than a commentary on *Christabel*, for it traces in much detail Coleridge's reading in necromancy, occultism, and what Nethercot describes as 'medical demonology'.

N. and Q. brought forth its annual crop of Coleridgiana—not a heavy one this year. Charles Bell Burke contributed a

⁶ *The Road to Tryermaine*, by Arthur H. Nethercot. U.C.P. and C.U.P. pp. viii+230. 18s.

note (Jan. 21) upon Miltonic echoes in Coleridge's poetry, citing an analogy between the third irregular stanza of *Dejection: an Ode* and ll. 590–8 of *Samson Agonistes*. The same correspondent dealt (Feb. 11) with the question whether Shelley's poem beginning 'Oh, there are spirits of the air' was, as Mrs. Shelley assumed, addressed to Coleridge. Bell Burke thinks it probable that the person whom the poet had in mind was himself; but he points to affinities between the opening of *Alastor* and a passage in Coleridge's *France: an Ode*. T.C.C. replied (Mar. 4) suggesting that a common source may be found in Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, ll. 88–90. G. W. Wright answered (Sept. 2) a query in CLXXXIII concerning Coleridge's allusion to 'the great and excellent' (actually 'the excellent and pious') Dr. Hartley.

David Davies contributed notes on *Coleridge's Marginalia in Mather's 'Magnalia'* to *H.L.Q.* for January. *R.E.S.* (October) contained an article by Werner W. Beyer, *Coleridge, Wieland's 'Oberon' and 'The Ancient Mariner'*. Though the debt of Keats and Southey to Wieland has already been pointed out by Sidney Colvin and Theodor Zeiger respectively, Coleridge's familiarity with *Oberon* has been 'as yet little investigated'. Beyer investigates it with enthusiasm, and makes out a pretty good case, though, like all enthusiasts, he is inclined to push his analogies to their extreme limit. Dorothy Coldicutt's suggestion (*R.E.S.*, Jan.) that S.T.C. was the author of the first seventeen essays, signed 'Enquirer', which appeared in *The Monthly Magazine*, 1796–9, deserves attention.

Coleridge appeared twice in relation to Wordsworth. Clarence D. Thorpe wrote in *P.Q.* (Jan.) on *The Imagination: Coleridge versus Wordsworth*, and in *P.M.L.A.* (June) Thomas M. Rayson considered—in an unusually favourable light—*Coleridge's Criticism of Wordsworth*, which, he says, is, in any case, 'the richest theoretical discussion of poetic diction in English criticism'. N. Bøgholm had an article in *Anglia* (Jan.) on *The Ancient Mariner* and one in *Eng. Stud.* (May) *Über die Genesis des 'Kubla Khan'*. John Edwin Wells gave (*S. in Ph.*, July) the *Printers' Bills for Coleridge's 'Friend' and Wordsworth's 'Cintra'*; and the topography of one stage of Coleridge's career is

discussed by W. Sypter (*P.Q.*, Oct.) in an interesting essay on *Coleridge's Somerset*. Kenneth Curry in a *Note on Coleridge's copy of Malthus* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) corrects and elucidates statements in an earlier article by G. R. Potter (*P.M.L.A.* li) and maintains that many of the marginalia are by Southey.

The *Studies in Honour of G. M. Harper*,^{6a} published by the Princeton University Press were devoted entirely to Wordsworth and Coleridge, and their contemporaries. These thirteen essays are all in their several ways interesting. The Rev. J. H. B. Coleridge contributes some unpublished jottings made by S. T. C. during visits to the Lake District in 1799 and 1802; Émile Legouis offers *Some Remarks on the Composition of the 'Lyrical Ballads' of 1798*; Edith J. Morley writes on *Coleridge in Germany*; and Ernest de Selincourt, in an essay on *Wordsworth and His Daughter's Marriage*, shows that parental opposition to Dora's union with Quillinan endured not for thirteen years but for less than one.

Byron enjoyed less limelight than was focused upon him in the previous year, and the one book devoted to him was concerned solely with his perishable integument. In death as in life he was a cause of controversy. Sydney Race raised (*N. and Q.*, Aug. 26) the question as to the burial place of Byron's heart (claimed traditionally for Greece) and contended that, *pace* M. Demetrius Caclamanos, Canon Barber's book, *Lord Byron and Where He Is Buried*, settles it finally in favour of the family vault at Hucknall Torkard. On May 27, A. L. Strout dealt with Robert Mudie's 'healthy defence of Byron' in *Attic Fragments*, 1825.

In *M.L.N.* for May there was an article by Panos Morphopoulos on Byron's translation and use of modern Greek writings. George L. Phillips's paper (*R.E.S.*, Oct.) on Ebenezer Elliott's *The Giaour* and his imitation of 'The Byronian Snarl' in his satirical poems deserves the attention of all students of Byroniana. The 'Corn Law poet' makes two appearances in that number of *R.E.S.*, the second being in E. R. Seary's article, *Robert Southey and Ebenezer Elliott: some new Southey Letters*.

^{6a} *Wordsworth and Coleridge: Studies in Honour of George McLean Harper*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs. Princeton U.P. and O.U.P. pp. viii2 + 54.

Lord David Cecil's admirable study, *The Young Melbourne*,⁷ deserves to be recorded on account of the part played in the story by Lady Caroline Lamb and by Byron himself. 'Lady Caro' also figures—inevitably—in *To Lord Byron*,⁸ a selection of letters from thirteen of the women who were drawn into his amorous orbit. Three of the letters hitherto unpublished come from the hoard bequeathed to the House of Murray by John Cam Hobhouse's daughter; the running commentary begun by the late George Paston has been ably completed by Peter Quennell. Byron's influence upon Emily Brontë was discussed by Helen Brown (*M.L.R.*, July), with examples of parallel passages, more especially from *The Giaour* and *The Gondal Saga*. David V. Eidman in the *Byron's Stage Fright* (*E.L.H.*, Sept.) set himself to answer the question 'why did Byron write plays to reform the stage and then violently protest against their being staged?' and found the whole conclusion of the matter in his fear (as opposed to conviction) that they would be 'unactable'. The critics, says Eidman, have taken Byron's word for it that he did not wish to see *Marino Faliero* succeed, 'and have completely overlooked the fact . . . that Byron wrote the second and third of his regular classic tragedies . . . when he was under the mistaken impression that his first tragedy was having a successful run'.

Apropos of Emily Brontë an article on the film-version of *Wuthering Heights* should be noted in the second *Revue de Paris* for July. The author, Alexandre Amoux, claims that there is in France a small but discriminating public which appreciates *la grandeur farouche et indécise* of that novel. It was in France that the only book about the Brontës appeared during 1939: *La Famille Brontë* by Robert de Traz (Albin Michel, fr. 25).

W. H. Davenport contributed three interesting Shelley notes to *N. and Q.* The first (Jan. 14) dealt with the official correspondence over the seizure of the box of pamphlets at Holyhead in 1812, and gave the actual passage omitted by Forman,

⁷ *The Young Melbourne and the story of his Marriage with Caroline Lamb*, by Lord David Cecil. Constable. pp. viii+278. 10s.

⁸ *To Lord Byron: Feminine Profiles*, by George Paston and Peter Quennell. Murray. pp. xviii+275. 12s. 6d.

Prose Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley, vol. iii, as 'an unpleasant inaccuracy'. The second note (Apr. 8) was concerned with the list of forty-seven persons sent by Shelley to Ollier in March 1817 with the request that they should receive complimentary copies of the *Proposal for Putting Reform to the Vote*. Davenport regards this list as illustrative of Leigh Hunt's influence on Shelley, and also as evidence that 'Shelley himself would appear to have known more about reform and reformers . . . than some critics have given him credit for knowing'. The third note (Sept. 23) deals with Shelley's political prose, sources, bibliography, errors in print, and will be useful both to the student and the bibliographer. Milton Millhauser commented (Jan. 14) on supposed references to Ricardo and Malthus, and the pervading anti-Semitic bias, in *Swellfoot the Tyrant*. To *Eng. Studies* (Feb.) William White contributed an article, *Fifteen Years of Shelley Scholarship: A Bibliography, 1923-38*, to which, in collaboration with L. Verkoren, he subjoined some addenda in June. L. Verkoren was also responsible for the essay in *Neophilologus*, xxiv, upon *Shelley en Hölderlin*. James A. Notopoulos had a valuable article in *M.L.R.* (Apr.) on *The Dating of Shelley's Notes and Translations from Plato*, and another (July) on the errors in the text of Shelley's translation of Plato's *Symposium* due to mistakes made by Mary Shelley in transcription.

In *Shelley and Shakespeare* (see above, p. 87) David Lee Clark claims to give 'the first systematic statement of the facts' regarding Shelley's 'knowledge of Shakespeare and his indebtedness to him'. He deals in turn with contemporary evidence, allusions in correspondence, and references in prose and poetry, the result being an impressive piece of documentation. It must be admitted, however, that some of the analogies are stretched rather far; e.g. the 'faded violets' of *Adonais* and the violets that 'withered all' when Polonius died. Others are sufficiently clear to suggest either conscious borrowing—'Convey the wise it call'—or subconscious memory. Lee Clark had also an interesting article in the July *S. in Ph.* on *The Probable Dates of Composition of Shelley's 'Letter to Maria Gisborne' and 'Ode to a Skylark'*, which he fixes as 13 June and 22 June, 1820. His article on *The Date and Source of Shelley's 'A Vindi-*

cation of *Natural Diet*' (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.) showed incidentally that Shelley was more indebted to Ritson's *Essay on the Abstinence from Animal Food as a Moral Duty* than to J. F. Newton's *Return to Nature*.

John Harrington Smith wrote in *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.) on Shelley and Claire Clairmont, with special reference to the 'comet, beautiful and fierce' of *Epipsychidion*.

In *T.L.S.* (Jan. 28) Wilfred Partington gave some Shelley marginalia, with manuscript notes transcribed by C. G. M. Gaskell from conversations with Dean Milman, and shed some light on the authorship of the *Shelley Memorials*. Frederick L. Jones gave further reasons (*T.L.S.*, Apr. 22) for believing that Shelley's boat was called the *Don Juan* and not the *Ariel*. He also wrote (Dec. 16) concerning the phrase 'the illustrious obscure', used by Shelley in his Preface to *Adonais*, borrowed by him from Leigh Hunt, and quoted at least twice by Hazlitt.

To go back a little, it is agreeable to record that Miss Austen holds her own. In *Jane Austen and her Art*⁹ the aim of Mary Lascelles is to give some account of her subject's life, to inquire into the 'scope, the quality and the outcome of her reading', and finally to approach her art 'through her use of language', in relation to her peculiar problems. Fully documented and well indexed, this is an indispensable book for good Janeites, though its plan and its manner both tend to be a little oversubtilized and portentous, and the author has been influenced all through by Henry James, from whom a quotation winds up the final chapter.

Spottiswoode and Ballantyne published in the spring a pamphlet by Emma Austen-Leigh, *Jane Austen and Bath*. An interesting letter from Ernest Boll (*N. and Q.*, July 22) advanced the view that *Emma* was 'probably an example of that most civilized form of satire, satire upon self'. This view was combated by S.E.Y. (Aug. 12), who held that in *Emma* Miss Austen merely wanted to try a new sort of heroine whom no one would like very much.

⁹ *Jane Austen and her Art*, by Mary Lascelles. O.U.P. pp. vii + 220. 10s. 6d.

R. W. Chapman recorded (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 28) a corrigendum and some addenda to his 1932 edition of Jane Austen's letters. Under the heading, *Jane Austen: Poet*, a set of light-hearted verses (beginning 'I've a pain in my head'), in her writing and now in the possession of Elkin Mathews, was reproduced on June 17. On June 24 and Aug. 5 Edith Wilde wrote pointing out that there is a similar, though not identical, manuscript in the Winchester Museum. On Oct. 28 in *A Jane Austen* title Chapman wrote concerning the substitution of *Pride and Prejudice* for *First Impressions*.

Miss Edgeworth made a brief appearance in *N. and Q.* (Mar. 25) when Thomas R. Palfrey had a note on Mrs. Bertha Coolidge Slade's *Maria Edgeworth: a Bibliographical Tribute*, apropos of Miss Edgeworth's proposed translations of *Pretty Little Stories* from the French of Madame Belloc and Mademoiselle de Montgolfier. Anglo-Irish literature of the first half of the nineteenth century was represented by Charles Lever, of whom, under the title of *Dr. Quicksilver* Lionel Stevenson wrote a life (Chapman and Hall, 12s. 6d.).

Two years since J. G. Tait entered a vigorous plea for a new and more accurate edition of Sir Walter Scott's *Journal*. The manuscript is in America and is not out of copyright, but, working from a photostat in the National Library of Scotland and paying the royalties due on the section edited, he has now revised the years 1825-6 and published the true text,¹⁰ thereby demonstrating that he was well entitled to carp at the poor work of his predecessor. It is to be hoped that he will finish the undertaking thus happily begun—and that an index may later enhance its usefulness. *M.L.N.* (Jan.) had a note from A. L. Strout on an 'unpublished' ballad translation, *The Battle of Killiecrankie*, by Scott, but three months later J. C. Corson wrote pointing out that the text had been printed in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, Dec. 29, 1832.

To *Essays and Studies*, volume xxiv, collected by Laurence

¹⁰ *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, 1825-26*, revised by J. G. Tait. Oliver and Boyd. pp. xii+302. 5s.

Binyon, J. C. Smith contributed an essay on affinities between Walter Scott and Shakespeare.

Curiosity about obscure points in the Waverley Novels continued to manifest itself, more especially in *N. and Q.* On January 28 G. G. L. answered a query from *The Heart of Midlothian*, identifying a reference to Uvedale Price, author of the *Essay on the Picturesque* published in 1794. Another query from the same novel was answered by W. H. J., who pointed out that 'Campvere' is also mentioned in the *Fair Maid of Perth*, *The Doom of Devorgoil*, and *The Fortunes of Nigel*, always in association with a skipper. On April 22 'Philoscotus' showed that Sir Herbert Grierson was mistaken when in *Sir Walter Scott, Baronet* he remarked that all subsequent editions of *The Heart of Midlothian* had repeated the error made in the first over the lines by Prior heading chapter II. M. H. Dodds succeeded (Jan. 7) in answering five questions from *Rob Roy*, W. H. J. tackled eight (Feb. 4). Prebendary Phillips, to whose inquiring perseverance readers of Scott are increasingly indebted, put five questions from *The Legend of Montrose* (April 8), and was again in the field a week later with a further batch from *The Black Dwarf*. On June 3 nine knotty points exercised him in *The Abbot*; two of these were solved (June 24) by W. W. S.; but in the meantime (May 20) the Prebendary was busy with *The Monastery*, and had tabulated twelve questions, none of which was answered in the course of the year. Of seventeen *Ivanhoe* problems (Oct. 28) only two were solved—those concerning the authorship of *Count Basil* and *Orra, a Tragedy*, rightly ascribed to Joanna Baillie by J. Seton Anderson (Dec. 23).

'Philoscotus' contributed an interesting note (June 17) on the affinities between Scott's unsatisfactory younger brother, Daniel, and Young Connacher in *The Fair Maid of Perth*. An earlier query (clix. 65, 196) concerning poems inspired by Scott's death was very fully answered by J. C. Corson (Dec. 9). W. M. Parker established (Apr. 29) what he calls a 'remarkable linkage'—otherwise chain of contacts—between Burns, Scott, and the Russian historian, Alexander Turgenev, a kinsman of

the more widely known Ivan. S. H. L. sought (Jan. 7) the words of the epitaph written by J. G. Lockhart for W. C. Magiun, and these were supplied (Jan. 21) by William Jaggard. A particularly interesting note came from 'Philoscotus' (Aug. 5) concerning the slightly incorrect reproduction on the Abbotsford sundial of the Greek inscription, *Νύξ γὰρ ἔρχεται* on the dial-plate of Dr. Johnson's watch. Michael Sadleir wrote (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 7) correcting Montagu Summers's statement (in *Gothic Quest*) that both the *Tales of Terror* published at Kelso in 1799 and the book with the same title published in London two years later were the work of 'Monk' Lewis. Sadleir cited information given to the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society by George P. Johnston, and W. Beattie, the present honorary secretary of the Society, furnished (Jan. 14) a supplementary note from Johnston showing that not two but three of the nine ballads in the 1799 volume were by Walter Scott. From March 18 to April 22 there was an impassioned correspondence in *T.L.S.* upon Scott's alleged responsibility for 'the quasi-heraldic use' of Clan tartans in Scotland. This was set afoot by a letter from Erskine of Marr (March 4). In *M.L.R.* (Oct.) W. M. Parker discusses *The Origin of Scott's 'Nigel'*, with quotations from the 'mock antique letter' contributed by Lady Louisa Stuart to the equally spurious *Private Letters of the Seventeenth Century* out of which the novel grew.

The Nonesuch De Quincey¹¹ is an agreeable book both to the hand and the eye; its chief merit is that it brings together in one not-too-unwieldy volume a representative selection taken from the whole range of this writer's work. The introduction suffers inevitably by comparison with Saintsbury's in the 1927 Constable edition of the *English Opium Eater, English Mail-coach and Suspiria de Profundis*, and it might have been wisdom to abridge the footnotes appended by De Quincey's notoriously inaccurate hand in order to leave room for a little fresh editorial and textual comment. Few authors need such glosses more.

In the *N. and Q.* articles already noted under Wordsworth V. R. observed that De Quincey's 'inaccuracy in fact and in

¹¹ *Selected Writings of Thomas de Quincey*, ed. by Philip Van Doren Stern. Nonesuch Press. pp. vi+1167. 10s. 6d.

quotation exceeds the bad record in that way' of any author whom he had ever studied; and much still remains to be done. A stimulating article in the first August number of the *Mercure de France*, entitled *Vers la Contrée du Rêve*, shows Balzac, Gauthier, and Baudelaire as disciples of De Quincey. In *P.M.L.A.* (June) Kenneth Forward discussed *De Quincey's Cessio Bonorum*, and showed how that peculiar instrument of Scottish law (abolished in 1880) worked in the case of the English opium-eater.

The letters written by Anna Jameson to Goethe's daughter-in-law Ottilie¹² between 1833 and 1860 are peppered with famous names yet add little to our own knowledge of the bearers of those names. The most amusing letters are those written from Toronto, and even there it must be admitted that there is much dead wood. Mrs. Jameson was not a good letter-writer; for an Irishwoman she had a surprisingly sober pen; and her amiable interest in the family and fortunes of her German friend fills out many pages with such remarks as 'Your little Alma will be a comfort to you if you manage her well'. Readers who hope for fresh light on Byron and his lawful womenkind will be especially disappointed.

W. L. Bond's article in the summer number of *English on The Letters of Mary Russell Mitford* is a good counterpoise, showing a less accomplished woman writing far better letters.

The greater Victorian novelists—and the lesser—received comparatively little attention, though Dickens was subjected once more to that sort of scrutiny of his private life¹³ which admirers of his work could dispense with uncommonly well. Gladys Storey's is a shapeless, meandering book, written in order to fulfil the anxiety of Mrs. Perugini (*née* Kate Dickens) that posterity should not condemn Mrs. Charles Dickens unheard and lay upon her shoulders the undivided blame for the break-up of the Dickens household. No doubt it was with this aim in view that the story of Ellen Teman had to be dragged

¹² *Letters of Anna James to Ottilie von Goethe*, ed. G. H. Needler. O.U.P. pp. xxv + 247. 15s.

¹³ *Dickens and Daughter*, by Gladys Storey. Muller. pp. 236. 10s. 6d.

out again, and no doubt Mrs. Perugini wished the world to learn that, in her opinion, all the children of Charles Dickens were 'very wicked' not to take their mother's part against him. But it is less certain that Mrs. Dickens herself, who possessed the virtues of reticence and dignity, would have approved this sentimentalized resuscitation of an old, unedifying story. George Bernard Shaw repudiated in *Dickens and Mrs. Perugini* (*T.L.S.*, July 29) the suggestion that Mrs. Perugini's mind was giving way at the end of her long life, and revealed that he had had a serious conversation with her more than forty years ago upon the subject of her parents' relations with each other.

O. F. Christie entitles *Dickens and his Age*¹⁴ an 'Essay', but it is a sort of conspectus of the Dickensian dramatis personae and a panorama of the Victorian background against which their imaginary lives were led, copiously plastered with quotations. The author seems to regret that the most famous of these characters were 'far from serious; in fact', he adds, 'many of them were prone to habitual intoxication'. This is surely not the frame of mind in which to approach the subject?

Stephen Leacock in *Q.Q.* (spring) writes on *Charles Dickens and Canada*, which he visited in May 1842.

S. S. H. asked (*N. and Q.*, Apr. 22) for the titles of any modern novels besides *Pinkney's Garden* by Neil Bell in which Dickens's life and works are 'features of the *mise-en-scène*'; M. H. Dodds replied (Sept. 30) citing Sir Harry Johnson's sequels to *Dombey and Son* and *Our Mutual Friend*, mentioning a recent recension of *David Copperfield* (surely by Robert Graves, not Beverley Nichols?) and quoting G. B. Shaw's confession that he often took characters and situations from Dickens's novels for his plays, and 'nobody recognized them'. Edward J. Forse pointed out (Aug. 12) that the remark upon Mr. Squeers's one eye—'popular prejudice runs in favour of two'—was lifted bodily from *The Rivals*, III. 1. The contrast between the Christmas spirit as illustrated in Ibsen's *Doll's House* and Dickens's *Christmas Books* was the subject of a paper by V. R. (Dec. 30).

¹⁴ *Dickens and his Age, an Essay*, by O. F. Christie. Heath Cranton. pp. 240. 10s. 6d.

T.L.S. had a special article on the centenary of *The Old Curiosity Shop* (Apr. 6).

Marian: The Life of George Eliot, by Simon Dewes (Rich and Cowan, 15s.) hardly approaches the subject with that degree of seriousness which 'Marian' herself would have desired. The Oct. *Cornhill* contained an attractive essay by Isabella Bayne-Powell on Thackeray's Cousin Jane.

Thackeray himself shares with Meredith and Proust an interesting study (in English)¹⁵ by Margaret Moore Goodell, No. 17 of the *Britannica* series. The introduction outlines the history of the word 'snob' in England, France, and Germany, and the subject is handled with proper seriousness and elaborate documentation in every section. The classification of Thackeray's snobs is really ingenious: Snobs and Rogues; Parvenu Snobs; Shabby Genteel Snobs; Respectable Snobs. Examples in these categories are taken from his minor works, the major novels receiving separate treatment, so it is left for the reader to place Old Osborne among the parvenu snobs and Dr. Pendennis among the respectable.

G. M. Young's British Academy Warton lecture, *The Age of Tennyson*¹⁶ is a witty as well as a solid discourse, enlivened by characteristic 'asides' yet packed with ideas. Especially interesting is the suggestion that from the poet's grief for Hallam there had emerged a belief in 'a hierarchy of types, each realizing fresh possibilities only latent at a lower level', and this in its turn produced 'a philosophy of Somehow, wavering between hopeful doubt and a doubtful hope'. Young is concerned rather with Tennyson's philosophy than with his technique, and it is therefore interesting to turn straight to Bernard Groom's tract *On the diction of Tennyson, Arnold and Browning*.¹⁷ Of the three poets Browning obviously offers the most varied and exciting field, but he receives exactly the same amount of attention as Tennyson. Thirteen pages suffice for Matthew

¹⁵ *Three Satirists of Snobbery: Thackeray, Meredith, Proust*, by Margaret Moore Goodell. Hamburg: de Gruyter. pp. 218.

¹⁶ *The Age of Tennyson*, by G. M. Young. O.U.P. pp. 20. 1s. 6d.

¹⁷ *On the Diction of Tennyson, Browning and Arnold*, by Bernard Groom. S.P.E. Tract No. liii. O.U.P. pp. 149. 3s.

Arnold, five fewer than the others get, yet these are equal in interest if not in bulk to what has gone before. The tract opens with a quotation from Walter Bagehot, whose life has now been very well written by William Irvine, who agrees with Richard Holt Hutton that Bagehot's literary and biographical essays have never received the notice which they deserve. They receive it now, in a book¹⁸ which at last does for this stimulating writer what his first biographer (his sister-in-law, Mrs. Russell Barrington) was for various reasons unable to do.

Tennyson's early poem entitled *The Poet* was the subject of some interesting comments by G. G. L. (*N. and Q.*, July 22).

In *Browning and Modern Thought*¹⁹ Dallas Kenmare considers Browning 'specifically as the poet of human life, of love, of art and of nature, and finally of Christianity'. The book is serious, intelligent, and interesting, and it is perhaps time that someone should approach this poet from the Christian angle; but in America he has *not* suffered from that 'indifference and neglect' which did for a season dim his light in this country, and even here (as the files of *Y.W.* attest) the eclipse has never been total. *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) contained two good Browning articles. F. E. Faverty wrote on *The Absconded Abbot* in *'The Ring and the Book'*, noting the existence of new material in the Duke of Manchester's family papers in the Record Office which throws some light on the later history of Paolo Franceschini and includes four letters from the Abbot himself. J. M. Purcell discussed *The Dramatic Failure of 'Pippa Passes'*. He considers that in Part I Browning has not accomplished the dramatic purpose he had set himself in making Ottima the most important character, and that the Monsignor of Part IV is 'not portrayed as a character of evil intentions' as the poet's original dramatic purpose intended that he should be. Browning's lack of success in this field is ascribed by H. B. Charlton to his 'constitutional individualism', his 'temperamental blindness to the group as an organic unit'. *Browning as Dramatist*²⁰

¹⁸ *Walter Bagehot*, by William Irvine. Longmans. pp. 303. 12s. 6d.

¹⁹ *Browning and Modern Thought*, by Dallas Kenmare. Williams and Norgate. pp. 224. 6s.

²⁰ *Browning as Dramatist*, by H. B. Charlton. M.U.P. pp. 37. 1s. 6d.

is an elaboration in pamphlet form of a lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library and published in the library *Bulletin* for April 1939. Inevitably it touches upon the poet's relations with Macready, though in the process of 'elaborating' Charlton does not seem to have used the article by William Lyon Phelps (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 28) on the Browning-Macready quarrel which gave two hitherto unpublished letters from Browning to the actor. The analyses of *Pippa Passes* is fuller than that in Purcell's article.

German interest in Browning remained unabated up to the outbreak of war—a curious circumstance, if we consider of what small account individualism is held in the Reich. The careful *Bibliographie*²¹ prepared by Meta Förster and Winfried M. Zappe illustrates incidentally the sustained attention devoted to him in the United States. L. R. M. Strachan answered (*N. and Q.*, Jan. 14) three Browning queries; the first concerning the Wanderer's Song in *Paracelsus*; the second, the phrase 'Love's regal dalmatic'; the third, the identity of the patriot in the poem of that name. In reply to a query (Oct. 7) whether there were still any Browning Societies in existence T. O. M. suggested (Nov. 18) that the querist should consult the librarian of the Baylor University, Waco, Texas, 'where the great American collection of material about Browning is located'. K. L. Knickerbocker wrote (*P.M.L.A.*, June) on *Browning's Letters to Isabella Blagden*, which he thinks worthy of close attention even though 'they are Browning unadorned and prosy'. C. R. Tracy advanced the view (*M.L.R.*, July) that Bishop Blougram is a composite of Wiseman and Newman, and not, as is commonly supposed, a portrait of Wiseman only. Though inclined to doubt whether Browning had read any of Newman's works this writer points out analogies between the *Apologia*, the *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England*, and *Bishop Blougram's Apology* which might be explained on the hypothesis that the poet had come across the relevant passages in the newspapers or that they had reached him 'by hearsay'.

Mrs. Browning was not wholly neglected. In *N. and Q.*

²¹ *Robert Browning Bibliographie*, by Meta Förster and Winfried M. Zappe. Niemeyer. pp. 35. *R.M.* 4.

(Oct. 28) Harry Rudman published, with helpful notes, a letter written by her in March 1859 which reveals at once her faith in the Italian *Risorgimento* and her lack of faith in Napoleon III. In *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.) F. M. Smith in *Mrs. Browning's Rhyme* valiantly defends these from critical attacks, going so far as to declare that they should be 'attributed not to her weakness but to her strength as a poet'. It seems that instead of having a defective ear she had a prophetic mind, and anticipated the extension of the gamut of rhyme, 'through dissonance and consonance to half-rhymes, rhymed consonants and unrhyming vowels', for which certain modern innovators are praised. T. O. Mabbott gave (*N. and Q.*, Oct. 21) a hitherto unpublished letter from Thomas Dermody, and suggested a possible reminiscence of some phrases of his in ll. 377-9 of *Lady Geraldine's Courtship*.

Matthew Arnold is a writer whose lucidity of thought and detachment of temper seem to appeal increasingly to the modern mind. Allen and Unwin published a biography by Lionel Trilling and the *Quarterly Review* (Oct.) contained an interesting article on C. E. Lawrence's lectures upon him. John Dover Wilson's Leslie Stephen lecture²² for 1939 gives an admirable analysis of the divergent views held by Stephen himself and 'the ineffable Mat' upon the value of Wordsworth as a thinker, incidentally contributing some of the best recent criticism of Wordsworth to the store which waxes every year. The terms of reference are agreeably elastic, and are stretched so as to permit the introduction of less remote critics, G. K. Chesterton, for example, and Aldous Huxley.

The topographical background of *Thyrsis* and *The Scholar Gipsy* continued to exercise the minds—and the pens—of the ingenious. W. W. Gill had a query (*N. and Q.*, Dec. 9) concerning the sixth line of the eighth stanza of *The Scholar Gipsy* and received a detailed reply from L. R. M. Strachan (Dec. 30) showing that 'the better-sounding line' occurs in the first edition as well as in many others.

²² *Leslie Stephen and Matthew Arnold as Critics of Wordsworth*, by John Dover Wilson. C.U.P. pp. 59. 2s. 6d.

A somewhat heated correspondence raged in *T.L.S.* between March 18 and April 22 as to the identity of 'Matthew Arnold's tree', pointed out to William Bliss at Fyfield in 1876. A. F. Pollard remarked that the Fyfield tree could not have been 'the signal elm' of *Thyrsis* because, among other reasons cited, it proved on inspection to be an oak. A. W. Lidderdale also combated the view that the 'signal elm' and the Fyfield tree were identical, and put forward another candidate. Meanwhile Bliss had defended his original identification in detail and at some length. Pollard then returned to the charge, suggesting that two poems, as well as two trees, had been confounded with each other, and Sir E. B. Poulton closed the correspondence in a long letter, concluding with a plea for yet another elm, this time one on Boar's Hill, as the authentic signal tree.

Louise M. Young's thesis²³ gives an excellent account of Carlyle's development as a historian in addition to a careful analysis of sources and influences. Chapters IV and V—'The Art of History in Theory' and 'The Art of History in Practice'—are particularly good, and while in the earlier section due predominance is given to the German element in his historical philosophy, this is not overstressed, and English Romanticism, personified in Scott, Burke, and Coleridge, receives the attention it deserves. The idea that Carlyle in his views on the French Revolution 'stands in the line of succession from Burke through Coleridge', and represents 'majority opinion', as opposed to 'minority opinion' voiced by Shelley, is not a new one, but it is here propounded with considerable freshness.

Carlyle's Marginalia (full of 'slogans, personalities, prejudices, blasts and counterblasts') to a *Copy of John Sterling's 'Essays and Tales'* now in the Harvard College Library, are dealt with in an interesting way by Anne K. Tuell (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.), and George Paine had a good article on *The Literary Relations of Walt Whitman and Carlyle* in the *July S. in Ph.* The two men were, says Paine, 'bound to hurl ink at each other', but as Whitman's idealist view of democracy 'softened', his enmity

²³ *Thomas Carlyle and the Art of History*, by Louise Merwin Young. Univ. of Pennsylvania and O.U. Presses. pp. x+219. 8s. 6d.

towards Carlyle softened with it, and Carlyle in his old age found himself able to praise Whitman 'somewhat'.

W. L. Werner answered (*T.L.S.*, Aug. 26) a query from James Verity concerning the date of Bret Harte's birth and gave reasons for fixing 1836 as the year.

The publication of a six-volume edition of *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*²⁴ must be noted. These have been well edited by R. L. Rusk, and may form an indispensable reference book for the literary biographer or historian of the period.

V. R. answered (*N. and Q.*, Jan. 28) a query in CLXXV concerning Emerson's use of the epithet 'blinding', and T. Percy Armstrong replied (Feb. 11) to other points raised, including the use of the word 'manure' in poetry. 'Senex' asked (June 29) the origin of Emerson's statement in *The Conduct of Life* that the Turk believes that his doom is written on an iron leaf at his birth, and was curious as to whether the 'old French verse' on imagined evils quoted as a translation was really Emerson's own. R. S. Forsythe discussed (Dec. 23) Emerson's interest in 'the bellicose whale' which gave Herman Melville the idea of *Moby Dick*.

Frank Lee had a query (Mar. 25) as to the provenance of the passage in P. M. Irving's life of his uncle, Washington Irving, describing the mail-coaches arriving at Liverpool with the news of Waterloo. Newly identified verses by Edgar Allan Poe formed the subject of an article (July 29) by T. O. Mabbott, who also contributed a note (Aug. 26) replying to editorial comment on his allusion to William Canynge of Bristol, and another (Dec. 2) on Poe's use of the word 'porphyrogene'.

Bertha Faust's thesis²⁵ is a careful study of Hawthorne's contemporaneous reputation in his own country and in England, divided into two sections, before and after *The Scarlet Letter*.

²⁴ *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. by R. L. Rusk. 6 vols. Columbia and O.U. Presses. 7 guineas.

²⁵ *Hawthorne's Contemporaneous Reputation*, by Bertha Faust. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press. pp. 163.

The second is inevitably the more stimulating, and links up in an interesting way with Neal Frank Doubleday's essay in *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.) on *Hawthorne's Hester and Feminism*. Doubleday sets out 'not to discuss any moral question, but to present one argument against seizing upon the consecration of Hester's love as the theme and moral of *The Scarlet Letter*'; and he argues that Hester embodies Hawthorne's criticism of the contemporary feminine movement, not his advocacy of its principles. Carl J. Weber in *Hawthorne, Margaret Fuller and Nemesis* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) referring back to a previous article by Professor Cargill (lii) held that Cargill had both 'overstated and over-simplified' Hawthorne's relations with Margaret Fuller, but endorsed the identification of her with Zenobia in the *Blithedale Romance*.

The Yale University Press sponsors Janet Camp Troxell's sumptuous textual study of Rossetti's *Sister Helen*, a worthy successor to her *Three Rossettis*. It traces the text of the poem from its first appearance in the *Düsseldorf Artist's Album* of 1854 to the *Poems* of 1881. The illustrations from title-pages and proof-sheets are of considerable interest.

The mind and art of that 'enslaver of youth', Captain Marryat, were so entirely shaped and coloured by his life as a sailor that Christopher Lloyd's book²⁶ cannot fail to add to our understanding of both, even though it is a naval and not a literary biography. It gives a vivid account of the ships in which he served, the officers and men with whom he came in contact, and the ports he visited, and without being a pretentious work is a very agreeable one.

Writers of literary biography are beating the bushes rather anxiously in these days, and the resulting birds tend to be somewhat small. Derek Hudson's 'bag' is Praed, and the title of his book *A Poet in Parliament*²⁷ shows that, considered as

²⁶ *Captain Marryat and the Old Navy*, by Christopher Lloyd. Longmans. pp. xiii+286. 6s.

²⁷ *A Poet in Parliament: The Life of Winthrop Mackworth Praed*, by Derek Hudson. Murray. pp. x+268. 12s. 6d.

a poet merely, this pleasing writer would not have provided sufficient meat. Full justice is done to the wit and grace of Praed's verse, and the high regard in which he was held by his contemporaries at Cambridge is well brought out. This 'young man of whom', in Bulwer Lytton's words, 'the highest expectations were formed', did not live long enough either to justify or to disappoint them. His political promise was greater than his poetical, but it can hardly be doubted that he would have done well in both fields. When a half-forgotten writer is 'put up' we are often assured that a life of him 'has been long overdue'; but Praed is not yet so much as half-forgotten—many people quote from *The Red Fisherman*, *The Vicar*, and *The Fancy Ball* who know not from whom they quote—and it may therefore be conceded that a book about him is 'due', if not 'overdue'. There was a note on Praed's centenary in *N. and Q.*, July 15.

Under the title of *The Gypsy Gentleman* Seton Dearden wrote and Arthur Barker published a study of George Borrow.

By his excellent synopsis of the first volume of Miss Weeton's *Journal* the editor has at one and the same time added to the value of the second²⁸ and emphasized its slight inferiority to the first. Both throw light of an almost painful intensity upon educational standards and social conditions in English *bourgeois* circles during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

'Poor Nellie Weeton' figures, with many other preceptresses, in Alicia C. Percival's entertaining book *The English Miss*.²⁹ As 'a study of ideals, methods, and personalities in the education and upbringing of girls during the last hundred years' it is of interest to all educationalists; and though one reviewer upbraided the author for doing less than justice to the part played by Cambridge in the academic enfranchisement of women, she has produced a piece of work that is none the less useful for being lively.

Few more attractive studies have appeared lately than *The*

²⁸ *Miss Weeton: The Journal of a Governess 1811-1825*, ed. Edward Hall. O.U.P. pp. xvii+422. 15s.

²⁹ *The English Miss To-day and Yesterday*, by Alicia C. Percival. Harrap. pp. 336. 10s. 6d.

*Taylors of Ongar*³⁰ in which the great-niece of Ann and Jane Taylor draws a portrait of their family with the aid of their own records. It is a tranquil book, of the type that it is now the mode to call 'escape literature', and the selections from the verse of Ann and Jane at the end is welcome at a time when copies of the *Original Poems for Infant Minds* are not easy to come by and a fresh edition is unlikely to appear.

F. S. Boas contributed to *Q.Q.* (Spring) an article on *Literature in Queen Victoria's Accession and Coronation Years*.

N. and Q. brought forth an interesting though hardly a heavy crop of miscellanea. Montague Summers answered (Feb. 11) a suggestion that Robert Huish may have been a Roman Catholic, and gave a list of his plays and romances. A. L. Strout contributed papers on *John Wilson as Professor* (Mar. 11, Apr. 1) with copious quotations from various sources, and a selection from the testimonials written by Wordsworth, Southey, and Scott in support of 'Christopher North's' candidature for the Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. V. Rendall commented (Jan. 28) on a note from 'Olybrius' in CLXXV concerning a letter from Charles Lamb to H. C. Robinson. The centenary of John Bethune, younger brother of Alexander, and, like him, a minor Scottish poet, was noted (Aug. 26). William Jaggard replied (Aug. 12) to a query from 'Ignoramus' suggesting Hood's *Ode to Rae Wilson* as a possible source of some lines on toleration rather imperfectly remembered by the querist.

An article on *Macaulay: the Study of an Historian* by David Munroe appeared in *Q.Q.* (Spring). Macaulay as a poet was the subject of a query (Aug. 5) from M.U.H.R., who wished to trace favourable 'contemporary' (*qy*, modern?) estimates of his verse. 'Hibernicus' and F. T. Wood (both on Aug. 19) gave examples of such estimates, interpreting 'contemporary' in both senses and citing admirers as far apart in time as 'Christopher North' and Hilaire Belloc. Apropos of Macaulay there was an interesting letter from Sir F. D. Mackinnon in *T.L.S.*

³⁰ *The Taylors of Ongar*, by Doris May Armitage. Heffer. pp. xi+252. 10s. 6d.

(Dec. 23) giving reasons for doubting the accuracy of an anecdote (in chapter iii. of Trevelyan's life) which sets Macaulay's behaviour when on circuit in an unamiable light.

There were notes (*N. and Q.*, June 24) by H.G.L.K., *Edward and John Fitzgerald, Fading Memories*, and by E. Heron Allen (May 20 and July 8) on 'an almost unrecorded edition' of *Salaman and Absal*.

The Dorsetshire dialect-poet, William Barnes, in tracing whose work J. V. Ruffell sought aid (*T.L.S.*, May 27), is almost as little known as the Ulster doctor-novelist-poet-dramatist, James McHenry. Robert E. Blanc's thesis³¹ consists of a study of McHenry, compiled laboriously from the very scanty data available. It does not evoke any intense wish to become better acquainted with his works, but it gives an interesting sidelight upon the disciplinary methods of the Third Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia in 1827. In that year McHenry was suspended from the communion of the Church because he had written a play and, with his family, attended its representation at the Chestnut Street Theatre; baptism was denied for six years to his infant daughters; and all this as a result of the considered opinion of the Church Session that the Stage 'from its first existence' had been ruinous to (among other virtues) 'Industry and Frugality', 'Usefulness and Zeal', 'Circumspection and Piety'.

In 1838 Johann Heinrich Künzel, critic, historian, and author, came from his native Darmstadt to England, where he remained for three years, making friends with well-known people, studying English literature, translating the poems of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Mrs. Hemans, and Tom Moore, and acting as the London correspondent of certain serious German periodicals. Walther Fischer has written an excellent account³² of Künzel's relations with this country, and gives several letters

³¹ *James McHenry (1785-1845), Playwright and Novelist*, by Robert E. Blanc. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.

³² *Des Darmstädter Schriftstellers Johann Heinrich Künzel Beziehungen zu England*, by Walther Fischer. Munich Univ. Press.

from Carlyle, Dickens, and Macaulay, hitherto unpublished or *wenig bekannt*. Künzel's twenty contributions to the *Conversations-Lexikon der Gegenwart* published by Brockhaus at Leipzig consisted chiefly of biographical sketches of contemporary English writers, and the letters from Dickens and Carlyle show amusingly their respective reactions to his request for information. Dickens is 'all on', in spite of an assumption of bashfulness; Carlyle answers gruffly, but he gives in his laconic way quite as much material as Boz. Macaulay, in acknowledging the gift of Künzel's book on Peel, characteristically reminds the donor that the recipient was during his 'whole public life an opponent of Sir Robert Peel', but adds condescendingly that he will read with much interest 'the remarks of an enlightened foreigner'. Künzel was also a convinced Anglophil, and it is with mixed feelings that we read his apostrophe to England in German blank verse, hailing her as 'noble' and 'happy-souled' and reprinted in Munich as lately as 1939.

XIII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

II

By H. V. ROUTH

As this chapter of *The Year's Work* represents not so much a period of time as the emergence of a certain spirit, it may start with Howe's book on O. W. Holmes.¹ The style and treatment of the monograph justify the inclusion. It is ostensibly a biography but really the story of the man's life, lightly and picturesquely told, so as to illustrate and explain *The Breakfast Table* series. The biographer adds very little to our critical judgement, but much to our knowledge of the 'autocrat's' and 'professor's' personality and of the atmosphere in which he lived, especially of the academic, social, and lettered circles of Boston; for instance that the series 'gave him a pulpit from which his protestant voice could carry in many directions'. But the real contribution to the study of these very personal essays in prose and verse is the new portrait of the Yankee Montaigne. Some readers, even if they know that he was an 'epicure in words', are not aware that Holmes was a practising doctor of a high order, that he opposed homoeopathy, introduced the term *anaesthesia*, invented a stereoscope, became Professor and Dean of the Harvard Medical School; that he could liken a sweat gland to a fairy's intestine and describe the pelvic bones as 'the tuberosities of the ischia on which man was designed to sit and survey the works of creation'.

If we include Holmes in this section we must also include Stevenson;² all the more because Gwynn's impartial and non-committal study in the 'English Men of Letters' series will be welcomed by all readers. After Steuart's highly coloured por-

¹ *Holmes of the Breakfast Table*, by M. A. De Wolfe Howe. pp. viii + 171. O.U.P. 10s. 6d.

² *Robert Louis Stevenson*, by Stephen Gwynn. pp. x + 267. Macmillan. 6s.

trait of a wild and wilful adventurer, and Chesterton's homily on the moralist who turned his horror of sin into a series of boyish romances, only one course remained open to the Stevensonian: to depict a man crippled by disease who cultivated the writer's art as his one purpose in life—his contribution to mankind. So Gwynn traces the course of his literary career, each stage marked by the publication of a book, and round every such event the relevant *personalia* and *memorabilia* are grouped, with now and then a few significant excerpts from his letters, or comments on his artistic self-fulfilment. Thus biography and criticism are blended, and the story unwinds itself smoothly, thanks to unobtrusive reminders of what each novel is about.

It was not to be expected that this biography should contain much which was new, but some interesting points are made. For instance, Gwynn claims that *The Pavilion on the Links* is the first piece in which his author really found himself; and *Thrawn Janet* the next stage in his development. He agrees with *The Saturday Review* that John Silver is the real hero of *Treasure Island* and adds that every utterance and mannerism of that fantastic rascal is part of his essential self—so different from the character of Prince Otto. In the chapter on 'The Technique of Writing' we learn little of use to the ordinary practitioner, but much about Stevenson's own aptitudes and ideas; especially his unremitting study of alliterations and assonances, till he came to write *Weir of Hermiston* in which his writing is as 'naked as the Saga of Burnt Njal'.

Should there be any doubt as to the inclusion of Stevenson, there can be none as to Meredith. Though his best novels and poems were produced while Tennyson and Trollope lived, he was never a child of that age, never wholly reconciled to its conventions and ideals, far more in sympathy with post-Victorian morals and sentiments, in some of his opinions so advanced that we have hardly yet come quite abreast. Such seems to be G. B. Petter's³ conclusion, or at any rate such the impression left by his volume. He has undertaken to interpret and explain what Germany thinks of our novelist, and as these foreign

³ *George Meredith and his German Critics*, by G. B. Petter. pp. xvi+319. Witherby. 10s. 6d.

criticisms did not begin to appear till the twentieth century (some of the best and fullest being written after the end of the Four Years' War) he feels that they would appeal less to the contemporaries of Meredith than to ourselves.

There can be no two opinions about Part II. It is a translation of Greta Grimsell's *Das Verhältniß der Geschlechter in den Romanen Merediths*, an admirably lucid and well-constructed piece of exposition, classifying the novelist's ideas on Primitive and Polished Egoists, Unhappy Marriages, Marriages of Convenience, One-sided Morality. It also includes an analysis of Meredith's vision of feminine education and economic independence, and his conception of a new morality in which the claims of love and marriage are balanced. Some of his wisest and most satirical scenes are very conveniently systematized.

Part I is less satisfying. It is not always clear when Petter is speaking for himself and when for his German commentators; and though he rightly pleads lack of space, his chapters need not have been so fragmentary and fugitive. For instance, though we are promised in more than one place an inquiry into Meredith's attitude to science, we are told only that he was much influenced by Comte, and by no means a whole-hearted Darwinian, being more of a creative than selective evolutionist, and hence an optimist. On the other hand, Petter's reminder of Goethe's influence is welcome, and his excursions into yet older foreign literature are helpful and appropriate. Many students will be grateful for his note on the Hippogriff and for his discussion of the relations between *The Ordeal* and *Orlando Furioso*. But on the whole the volume is less a contribution to knowledge than to the method and style of exposition. Petter succeeds in imposing the impression that his real theme is the idea of social progress in the twentieth century. So Meredith becomes, in his pages, merely one of the earliest and most significant voices, and for his purpose one of the most worth listening to.

It is interesting to note that Meredith was heartily condemned by that idol of the following generation, the man of letters who knew how to conjure with the public taste of the Edwardian readers, and who earned a financier's income without consenting to sacrifice his artistic ideals—Arnold Bennett. Had this success-

ful author the right to pass judgement on Meredith? Georges Lafourcade,⁴ by implication, offers to answer the question.

It is an eminently readable book; a model of bright, well-informed writing; more cosmopolitan in tone and outlook than we could expect from most English critics. With commendable lucidity he states the problem which perplexes us all: how did Bennett manage to produce so large a body of such unequal work? Is he first class, second class, or nowhere? In reply Lafourcade examines his principal and minor works with remarkable acumen and exhaustive, sometimes exhausting, thoroughness, and ends by persuading us that the worst were partially good and the best partially bad.

We shall come to this conclusion (adds the critic) if we avoid the common mistake of not taking this author seriously; dismissing him as middle class, lacking in finesse, journalistic, mercenary. He should be judged by the highest standards as if he were a master. *Riceyman Steps*, for instance, is created with more economy and simplification than a drama by Racine. He 'stands nearer Gustave Flaubert than any other English novelist'. When viewed in this fierce white light, Bennett stands out as the most complete or nearly the most complete realist that our nation has produced. All his earlier experiments, of course, culminate in the novels of the Five Towns. These masterpieces have revealed the eternal theme of youth's slow decay (the *motif* of *La Vieille Heaulmière* is to be felt in *Old Wives' Tale*); the illusion of Time creeping imperceptibly but surely onward; the discontinuity or two-sidedness of a mind half unreconciled to itself (especially in *Clayhanger*); the almost passionately scrupulous intentness on questions of credibility and verisimilitude; the originality of his backgrounds, especially their expert interest in money.

Even before the 1914-18 war Bennett showed signs of exhaustion, but Lafourcade does not agree with Geoffrey West in *The Problem of Arnold Bennett* that the decline continued to his end. Dorothy Cheston revived his spirit and stimulated his intelligence; witness *The Pretty Lady*, *Riceyman*, *Lord Raino*, *The Imperial Palace*, all produced between 1918 and 1930 and

⁴ *Arnold Bennett: A Study*, by G. Lafourcade. pp. 300. Muller. 12s. 6d.

each entitled to the rank of masterpiece. The critic does not deny their technical defects and comparative superficiality, but he writes a penetrating and eloquent passage to show how brilliantly they reflect the wild, eccentric, glittering post-war period. He holds that Bennett varies from the Victorians in that he secured for the novel more moral and religious freedom. His method is selective realism proceeding from a controlled and mild strain of romantic inspiration.

E. A. Baker,⁵ of course, fully discusses Bennett in the tenth and last volume of his 'enormous task'. He dwells on his 'hypnotising semblance of originality', his sense of responsibility as a social historian, the extent and minuteness of his observation, his craving for intimacy with any human being whatsoever, his disregard for the graces of style, and finer elegances, but adds that this defect did not impair his mastery of dialogue. He recognizes that the novels of the Five Towns celebrate 'the tragedy of advancing and remorseless time' and he analyses the best works with insight and perspicacity, often illustrating by quotations. In fact he covers the whole field with a scholar's conscientious thoroughness.

Some of his other chapters are more original. He writes with genuine enthusiasm on Conrad as the greatest of all realistic observers of action and explains how he poured out visual impressions as if pell-mell, but so that we could put them together and interpret them to ourselves, as we followed the narrative; how in his earlier romances he strove laboriously after his effects, heaping up colourful epithets, but in his mature masterpieces relied on irony and restrained *innuendo*. He points out that Kipling could be as lucid and precise as any writer in the vital points of a story and yet none knew better how to leave certain characters impenetrable. He also draws our attention to his gradual evolution from human portraiture to the glorification of machinery. His study of Katherine Mansfield is one of the most sympathetically penetrating which has yet appeared; and he sums up Mary Webb by saying that her moulds were sound (if sometimes borrowed), but the material poured in is too thin

⁵ *The History of the English Novel. Vol. X. Yesterday*, by E. A. Baker. pp. 420. Witherby. 12s. 6d.

to set. He shows how successfully Galsworthy used the *indirect method*, that is to say, the portraiture of character through the impression made on others, and we cannot be too often reminded that the love of order and beauty, no less than the sense of pity and justice, lay at the root of his social philosophy and inspired his novels. Of D. H. Lawrence we learn that he despised the form and formality of art, and wrote his novels and poems as so much 'pure passionate experience', a means of directing 'the flow of our sympathetic consciousness'.

So ends this ten-volume history (originally to have been comprised in three), 'the result of more than half a lifetime of reading, thought, and research'; and the final instalment is written with more eloquence, energy, and youthfulness than the first. The whole work, especially the later volumes, will long remain a source of entertainment to the general reader and of authoritative information to the serious student. It is a compendium of the scholarship as well as the artistry of the novel. If anything, it is too much of a compendium. Baker leads us slowly and conscientiously through his maze of accumulated knowledge, establishing each trait and stroke of the portrait on a mass of evidence; letting the outlines grow out of this elaborate synthesis. Such, no doubt, should be the scholar's way. But there are many pronouncements and criticisms which we would gladly take on faith. Baker's word would be enough.

If the historian of the Edwardian and Georgian novel is overthorough, the latest historian of that whole literary period is not thorough enough. It was explained last year (see *Y.W.* xix. 104, 236-7) how Bonamy Dobrée was editing a series of 'Introductions to English Literature' divided into periods not according to centuries, nor outstanding figures, but according to the interpenetration of literature by certain modes of life which change from age to age, dominated by the progress of civilization and culture—periods during which certain ideas about philosophy, religion, and especially economics prevailed, afterwards to lose their hold. In one sense the idea is not new. It was launched fifteen or more years ago by Eileen Power and A. W. Reed in their series of *English Life in English Letters*. But Dobrée's avenue of approach is new. His object is apparently to

inaugurate a series which should direct and inspire the student's reading, instead of providing him (or her) with ready-made appreciations in tabloid form, after the fashion of the older manuals. So qualified contributors have been invited to compile each a reasoned bibliography of his special period, elucidated by comments and criticisms, and preface their list with a general introduction explaining the background or rather the atmosphere in which the works were produced. Thus literature and life should illustrate each other. If such be the justification of these publications, the fifth and last volume⁶ leaves much to be desired. Edwin Muir's bibliography is too incomplete and in some points incorrect to be a satisfactory guide. Thus he does not mention E. M. Forster among the novelists, Oliver Elton among the scholars, Hogben among the writers on science, nor, among the dramatists, the author of *Musical Chairs* and *The Maitlands*.

Is the volume redeemed by the introductory matter, which is much longer than usual? It was obviously difficult to be conclusive, since our age is not yet concluded, but has Muir given us a standpoint from which we can see the landscape as it is? He has certainly tried to examine the difficulties under which present-day authors labour, and he finds that the malady of our age as compared, for instance, with the Victorian or Elizabethan eras, results from the dissolution of society, the disintegration and transformation of the classes, so that there is no core or centre, no spiritual unity to which the artist can appeal. Human beings are departmentalized, not only in their occupations, but in their sentiments. Even the poet or painter does not belong to a social group, that is, to a group possessed by its own conception of life; so he can no longer express himself in a style and phraseology which strike straight to the heart. He can achieve only an artificial excellence. For instance, Yeats relies on the archaisms of his theme, Pound on the technique of imagism, T. S. Eliot on the recognition and suggestion of the past with all its influences and traditions—including history and history's ruins—blended with disillusioned and pessimistic descriptions of the contemporary world. As Muir approaches the verse-writers of his own generation we gather that they were all

⁶ *The Present Age from 1914*, by Edwin Muir. pp. 309. The Cresset Press. 6s.

very susceptible to experience (except, perhaps, Sir John Squire) and, to judge from the specimens quoted, unnecessarily obscure.

His review of the novelists is less comprehensive, in fact hardly more than detached comments, though not without flashes of wisdom. For instance, he perceives that D. H. Lawrence's chief virtue was his direct insight into nature and human experience when closest to nature, and that Joyce's *Ulysses* is a stream of illuminating talk but 'without a vestige of the "flow" between one human being and another, which mattered so much to Lawrence'. On the whole the reader may be inclined to welcome the volume as a specimen or example of the modern spirit; not a guide to a period, but one topic out of many to be criticized, explained, and labelled.

If so, he may find some confirmation in E. J. O'Brien's⁷ introduction to his latest collection of stories. O'Brien disclaims formulae and organized criticism, he is interested only in the way a story-teller can collect his actual incidents from observation and experience, and can then reconstruct and describe them so imaginatively that they are transformed into living truth. It is to be noticed that the editor gives no hint of a disharmony due to religious, political, or humanistic disintegration. The plight of the Church, State, or Universities does not matter. It is a question of sheer intelligence, imagination, and craftsmanship. Certainly the best tales of this or of any of the previous volumes are unusually good, stamped with a quality of directness and finality, only possible if the writer knows that his readers will understand him. Possibly also one may remember that this rift in culture is no new thing. Heine noticed it more than a hundred years ago, so did a host of humanists and humorists at the Renaissance, so in fact did Sophocles and Plato. So perhaps we must look elsewhere if we are to explain the phase through which literature is passing.

Whatever that phase may be, it does not seem to have diminished the interest in standard works. There have been several notable revivals during 1939. One of the most interest-

⁷ *The Best Short Stories. 1939. English and American*, ed. by E. J. O'Brien. pp. 412. Cape. 7s. 6d.

ing is the Oxford edition of Francis Thompson.⁸ Another is A. M. Weygandt's⁹ research into Kipling's reading. Kipling's place in literature has not yet been settled. For many he is the high-class journalist with a passion for jingoism, machinery, and partisan politics, and a talent if not genius for effective and informal verse. Miss Weygandt may have done much towards assuring his position. She has collected about every shred of internal and external evidence to prove that he was a very well-read author, with a catholic though discriminating grasp of our classics. Apparently his favourites were to be found in Old English (especially *The Ruin* and *Widsith*), Chaucer, The Bible, Ben Jonson, and Donne as well as Shakespeare, Defoe even more than Swift, Dr. Johnson, Miss Austen, Shelley, and especially Keats and Browning more than Tennyson, Rossetti, and Swinburne. Thereafter he does not seem to have cared for anyone. The reader will be even more interested to learn that Kipling not only enjoyed the best poets but reproduced their metres, rhythms, assonances, and even phraseology. In fact he was so expert a student of their prosody that he can be reckoned as one of the last exponents of the established tradition.

So far, all the authors who have been discussed in 1939 are household names. So it is most welcome that the University of Pennsylvania has sent us three publications which, being doctor's theses, deal with authors who are little known. That is as it should be, since capacity for research can best be practised on unbroken ground. M. A. Bennett's study of E. S. Phelps¹⁰ is a good example of historical investigation directed by literary tact, and, as a result, one feels that her authoress, a humanitarian as well as novelist (b. 1842), is well worth reviving. C. M. Griffin¹¹ had a more difficult task in H. B. Fuller (b. 1857) because of the variety of his writings and the elusiveness of his adventures. Yet she has succeeded in recreating the personality

⁸ *The Poems of Francis Thompson*. pp. xi+368. O.U.P. 3s. 6d.

⁹ *Kipling's Reading and its Influence on his Poetry*, by A. M. Weygandt. pp. xiii+200. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press and O.U.P. \$2.00.

¹⁰ *Elizabeth Stuart Phelps*, by M. A. Bennett. pp. vii+172. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.

¹¹ *Henry Blake Fuller*, by C. M. Griffin. pp. vii+116. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.

of 'one of the most finished writers' of Chicago. M. I. J. Griffin¹² has recalled to our memory the author of *Rudder Grange* and *The Casting Away of Mrs. Lecks and Mrs. Aleshine* over which our fathers and mothers used to laugh. Stockton (b. 1834) lived and worked during the most intensive period of American literary history, the contemporary of Howells, Mark Twain, Bret Harte, and James, without feeling a touch of their influence. He had no sense of reality unless wedded to fancy; yet his style and method could be summed up in the word simplicity.

A. D. Estell's study of Synge¹³ has a different purpose. It is in the nature of a rehabilitation. Synge has been accused of decadence, of deriving his plots from France, of traducing the Irish. So the critic examines the sources of each of his plays and shows that in every case the plot may indeed have been borrowed, in the sense that Shakespeare's were, but borrowed from the Irish, and reincarnated through Synge's artistic personality; and so far from being satires or caricatures, they spring from the deepest roots of Irish folk-lore and humour. Estell has caught the spirit of the Celtic revival, and his concise renderings of the plays will serve as useful reminders.

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

Leon Edel in *T.S.L.*, July 29, announces two *Henry James Discoveries*. He has found in the *New York Tribune*, August 4, 1889, the text of a letter addressed by Henry James to the Summer School of Dearfield which was discussing 'the novel'. In it he states: 'Any point of view is interesting that is a direct impression of life. You each have an impression coloured by your individual conditions; make that into a picture, a picture framed by your own personal wisdom, your glimpse of the American world. . . . I have only two little words for the matter remotely approaching to rule or doctrine; one is life, and the other freedom.'

Edel has also identified, through a reference in an unpublished letter of James, an unsigned article in *Scribner's Magazine*—

¹² *Frank R. Stockton*, by M. I. J. Griffin. vii+178. pp. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.

¹³ *The Sources of Synge*, by A. D. Estell. pp. iii+51. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.

zine, January 1881, on 'The London Theatres' as his work. He may have wished to remain anonymous when asserting that 'there is no such thing in existence as the London stage' and that 'the art of writing a play has apparently become a lost one with the English race'.

Jean Catel in *Un Inédit de Walt Whitman (Études anglaises, Oct.-Dec.)* reproduces some manuscript notes by Whitman preserved in the Library of Congress in Washington dealing with the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius which he read in an English translation by J. S. Watson (1850). Whitman comments on his materialism, 'no gods or mythologies', and on his 'sane and good' treatment of 'amateness, procreation, &c'.

J. J. Rubin under the heading, *Whitman on Byron, Scott, and Sentiment* reprints in *N. & Q.*, March 11, an article in the comic weekly, *Yankee Doodle* (1846-7) attacking an editorial in *The Brooklyn Eagle*, January 10, 1847, where with reference to a meeting of the Hamilton Literary Association, Whitman complained of 'that monkeyism of literature involved in a few gentlemen . . . getting together and "adoring" and "doting" on Byron, Scott, and sentiment', and contrasted with them the guest who toasted 'The United States of America, an independent country, *not* a suburb of London'.

Rubin in *N. & Q.*, April 29, under the heading *Melville's Reputation*, 1847, also gives the announcement in *The Brooklyn Eagle*, April 10, 1847, 'Important if true, Mr. Herman Melville's forthcoming work, *Omoo*'. T. O. Mabbott, *N. & Q.*, January 28, prints a letter of Melville's, November 27, 1857, from Boston, regretting that he cannot fulfil a lecture engagement. Mabbott in *N. & Q.*, July 29, discusses *Newly-identified Verses by Poe*, three lines intended as a motto for a projected magazine, *Stylus*, and some verses formerly hanging in the Washington Tavern, Lowell, Mass. H. E. Spivey discusses in *Poe and Lewis Gaylord Clark (P.M.L.A., Dec.)* the background of the enmity between the poet and the editor for 26 years of the popular literary magazine, *The Knickerbocker*. Spivey shows strong reason for ascribing to Poe an article signed 'L' on 'Our Magazine Literature' which appeared in the periodical, *The New World*, March 11, 1843, and which attacked *The*

Knickerbocker and *Sargent's New Monthly Magazine*. There can be little doubt that this was the article by Poe, which Clark and, afterwards, Sargent had rejected. Hence began the magazine warfare which was continued till late in 1846.

De Lancey Ferguson presents *The Case for Mark Twain's Wife* (N. & Q. Oct.) against the critics who allege that Olivia Langdon after her marriage with Sam Clemens hampered his genius by compelling him to observe the canons of *bourgeois* respectability. Ferguson defends her censorship of his diction, maintains that his work shows astonishing vigour, freedom and courage, and that it could not have been produced by a frustrated or divided personality.

In the same number G. S. Brett discusses *The Achievement of Santayana*. He analyses the influence on him of his Spanish origin and of his residence in America, especially his connexion with Harvard and William James. He traces the main lines of his development as a poet, essayist, philosopher, and novelist, and sums up his achievement in his own words as having 'increased the wealth of the world in its spiritual dimension'.

Ernest A. Baker in *T.L.S.*, March 25, drew attention to the repeated assurance of George Meredith that he had known Fiona McLeod personally, and that he was puzzled by William Sharp's claim to have been the author of her works. Letters on the subject followed from Geoffrey Taylor (April 1), Dallas Kenmare, and E. A. Jonson (April 8), and R. F. Sharp (April 29) who as William Sharp's brother-in-law said 'the last word' by certifying to the identity of William and Fiona and stating Sharp's reason for adopting the pseudonym.

Louis Grignoux contributes to *Étud.-ang.* (Oct.-Dec.) *La Dette de Shaw envers Samuel Butler: Deux Documents*. The first is a letter from G. B. Shaw, January 6, 1937, stating that before he knew Butler personally he reviewed in 1886 his *Luck or Cunning* for the *Pall Mall Gazette*. He realized its importance as opposed to the new Darwinism, and it fortified him in his own belief in Creative Evolution. Shaw amplified

these views in an interview on August 12, 1937, the account of which is the second document.

Charles-Marie Garnier in *Étud.-ang.* (July–Sept.) discusses George Russell, A.E., *Poète du Sommeil*. With quotations from some unpublished letters of A.E., Garnier illustrates the affinity of a number of his poems, especially those dealing with sleep and with Indian mysticism. A.E. denies that he tried consciously to embody in his poetry ideas so derived, but he found them being transformed in his own mind and appearing as poetry.

William Butler Yeats receives a memorial appreciation in the same periodical (April–June) from M.-L. Cazamian, and Lascelles Abercrombie's collected poems are discussed (Jan.–March) by J. Vallette.

Another tribute to *A Poet Young and Old*—W. B. Yeats comes from A. J. M. Smith in *U.T.Q.* April. He traces the successive stages in the art of Yeats from the 'delicate music and monotonous rhythm' of his early poems under symbolist influence to the period when 'the imagery was made hard, precise, and clear, the diction homelier and fresher, and the thought more lightly packed', and thence to the last poems which are at once objective and highly personal, dealing with his house, his friends, and Irish politics.

In the same number of *U.T.Q.* Laurence Binyon writes on *Gerard Hopkins and his Influence*. He discusses 'sprung rhythm', verse measured by stresses and not by syllables, the gain and loss that it involves and its influence on Bridges. He illustrates the conflict between the poet's sensuous side and his Jesuit austerity which gives a 'peculiar, overpowering austerity' to his work.

In *Robert Bridges' Concept of Nature* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) J. Gordon Baker deals chiefly with *The Testament of Beauty* which 'has probably gone as far as any poem in reconciling the evolutionary view of life with philosophical idealism'. He analyses the place in man's development which *The Testament* assigns to reason, ideas of beauty, and the instincts of 'selfhood' and 'breed', and illustrates the theme from other poems by Bridges and from his essays.

Herman Salinger notes in *Housman's Last Poems*, XXX and Heine's *Lyrisches Intermezzo*, 62 (*M.L.N.*, April) that the first two quatrains of *Sinner's Rue* correspond with the last and first stanzas of Heine's poem. Housman himself mentioned Heine as one of his chief sources.

J. P. Emery criticising (*P.M.L.A.*, June) C. J. Weber's article on *Chronology in Hardy's Novels* (see *Y.W.*, xix. 247) limits himself to *Chronology in Hardy's 'Return of the Native'* and points out that the action covers two years and a half instead of 'almost one year' and that this novel contains at least five 'calendrical slips' (Weber in a reply defends 'almost one year' as belonging to Hardy's original conception). The chronology of the same novel is further discussed in *M.L.N.* Nov., by A. A. Murphree, and C. F. Strauch who also point out some 'incongruities of fact'.

Helen Sandison in *An Elizabethan Basis for a Hardy Tale* suggests that 'The First Countess of Wessex' in *A Group of Noble Dames* is founded not only on the eighteenth-century marriage of Stephen Fox, afterwards first Earl of Ilchester and the young heiress, Elizabeth Horner, but on an earlier Elizabethan wedding in similar circumstances between Arthur (later Sir Arthur) Gorges and Douglas Howard, daughter and heiress of Viscount Bindon.

Clyde K. Hyder in *Wilkie Collins and 'The Woman in White'* supplies another instance of an historical basis for a Victorian novel. This was the case in 1787-9 of the Marquise de Donhault whose brother, in order to deprive her of her share of their father's estate, attempted to destroy her identity, as Count Fosco did to Laura in the novel.

On the other hand Collins is represented by H. J. W. Milley as inspiring another novelist's work in '*The Eustace Diamonds*' and '*The Moonstone*' (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.). Trollope's novel, written 1869-70, soon followed the publication of *The Moonstone* in 1868. Milley quotes various references by Trollope to Collins in which he criticizes his work as being 'all plot'. But in *The Eustace Diamonds* after the middle of the book the plot plays a much more important part than in Trollope's other

novels, and it is parallel in many respects to that of *The Moonstone*. But in the treatment of the detective element and the ridicule of the methods of deduction, Milley sees a deliberate satire by Trollope of the corresponding features in Collins's novel.

Milley finds a further and more important instance of Collins's influence in *Wilkie Collins and 'A Tale of Two Cities'* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.). He points out that the debt of Dickens to Carlyle's *French Revolution* has overshadowed the novelist's statement that he conceived the main idea of the story when acting in Collins's play *The Frozen Deep* in 1857. But even more powerful on him was the tale *Sister Rose* which Collins had written in 1855 for Dickens's paper *Household Words*. It is a story of the French Revolution dealing with the theme of regeneration through self-sacrifice; in this and in some of the principal scenes and in plot-technique Dickens's novel shows the influence of Collins.

Leon Edel in *James Joyce and his New Work* (*U.T.Q.*, Oct.) discusses *Finnegan's Wake*, now published complete in book form, which previously appeared in sections as *Work in Progress*. The hero, H. C. Earwicker, is the product of the Neapolitan Vico's conception of society. The book, as Edel insists, must be read with the ear. Joyce 'asks the eye to look at unfamiliar words and shapes on the printed page and expects it to communicate them to the ear. . . . The unprepared eye will invariably refuse to co-operate. Mr. Joyce has put on paper a work that in reality should be heard, not read.'

XIV

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

By JOHN SOUTHGATE

ALTHOUGH no work of general importance has appeared during the year, several special bibliographies deserve individual mention.

J. W. Spargo's short-title list of reference works for students¹ contains 1,108 entries arranged under twenty subject headings. The choice and arrangement of the entries in the second section, which is given up to learned journals, is particularly good, and should go some way towards removing a difficulty that most university students have often tried and failed to overcome. The third section, 'Books and Articles of Special Interest', suffers from a principle of selection that limits the list to books of general scope within each subdivision. Some strict principle is obviously necessary, but rigid adherence to any principle of selection is bound to produce avoidable defects. For instance, no list of books on English prosody, however brief and general it may be, can be adequate if it omits Bridges's work on Milton, which is as important for the principles of English prosody in general as for Milton's blank verse in particular. But in spite of a few omissions of this sort, Spargo's choice is on the whole judicious, and his arrangement is admirably clear.

A catalogue of early English books in the Newberry Library² provides a useful supplement to the *Short Title Catalogue*, and contains a number of corrections of varying importance.

Gwendolen Murphy's commemorative bibliography of A. W. Pollard³ contains an autobiographical essay by Pollard and a list of books and articles published between 1876 and 1935.

¹ *A Bibliographical Manual for Students of the Language and Literature of England and the United States*, compiled by John Webster Spargo. Chicago: Packard. pp. xii+191.

² *English books and Books printed in England before 1641 in the Newberry Library*, compiled by Gertrude L. Woodward. Chicago. pp. vii+118.

³ *A Select Bibliography of the Writings of Alfred W. Pollard*. Oxford, printed for the Subscribers, 1938. pp. ix+69.

The choice was largely determined by Pollard himself, and should be a useful guide to the work of a scholar who has published on many subjects and in many places.

The third series of R. A. Peddie's *Subject Index*⁴ follows the same plan as the first and second series, published in 1933 and 1935. There are many new subject headings, but the system of cross-references to the preceding series is continued. The collection of approximately 50,000 new entries in less than four years shows plainly that it is impossible for one man to reach even a reasonable standard of completeness. But the failure of the great libraries to compile indexes to their own collections of older books, which makes the attempt more difficult, also makes it more valuable.

A history of *The Minerva Press*,⁵ by Dorothy Blakey, leaves the reader with the impression that modern literary vices are not very new, and that the common eighteenth-century condemnation of novel-reading and novel-writing as low pursuits was neither very snobbish nor very silly. John Lane, though not to blame for the invention, was largely responsible for the success of the circulating library. He encouraged the formation of libraries in most of the large towns of England, and did not neglect the petty shopkeeper who could only run to a hundred volumes and a score of contributors. He had an agent in New York, and by 1808 books from the Minerva Press were on the shelves of circulating libraries in Bombay and Jamaica.

Lane owned a circulating library as early as 1770, but it was not until 1790 that he began to use his press to fill his libraries, and his libraries to stimulate his press. The Minerva's novels were expensive, half a crown a volume in 1790 and four and sixpence in 1820, and few people seem to have bought novels frequently. Much of Lane's advertising was obviously designed to attract the proprietors of circulating libraries as well as private purchasers. He followed the common practice of issuing

⁴ *Subject Index of Books published up to and including 1880*. Third series. By R. A. Peddie. Grafton. pp. xv+945. £10. 10s.

⁵ *The Minerva Press, 1790-1820*. Bibliographical Society, 1939. pp. 339+pl. ix. 15s.

a prospectus in the daily press (he owned a newspaper himself), and of printing extracts from the reviews with the usual well-chosen omissions, but his great claim to originality was the puffing of the Minerva Press in the text of the novels he issued from it.

The Minerva Press went in for political respectability and moral virtue, either in the sentimental or the gothic style, and depended on rapid rather than lasting successes. Lane, either because he disapproved of thinking or disliked high fees, deliberately dealt with hardened and anonymous hacks and with timid young ladies who had one thing in common with Jane Austen that they wrote 'only for fame and without any view to pecuniary emolument'. He usually paid from five to thirty pounds for the manuscript of a novel, and his long connexion with Mrs. Bennett is almost the only exception to his rule of avoiding distinguished authors.

The descriptive part of this work is followed by a long catalogue of books issued from the Minerva Press. This detailed bibliography is well done, if indeed it is worth doing at all. But it is interesting that Lane's claim to elegant printing, which he occasionally made good, was in fact based on a close imitation of Bell in the layout of title-pages and the setting up of the page.

W. W. Greg's *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*,⁶ of which the first volume appeared in 1939, will include all editions to 1700 of plays either written before the end of 1642 or printed before the beginning of 1660. Translations which have some definitely literary interest will be included. The first section consists of transcripts of all the entries concerning dramatic publications that can be found in the records of the Stationers' Company, the second of descriptions of the printed editions of individual plays. Other sections will deal with Latin works, with works which may be supposed to have been printed but of which no early edition survives, and with descriptions of collections of plays arranged alpha-

⁶ *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* . . . vol. i. Stationers' Records. Plays to 1616: Nos. 1-349. O.U.P. for the Bibliographical Society. pp. xxxiii + 349. pl. LXIII.

betically under their reputed authors. The appendixes will contain reprints of the more important prefaces and of any other subsidiary matter that is relevant to the composition, production, or publication of the plays. The general introduction will be left until the last.

In the volume which has appeared, the plays are arranged chronologically according to the supposed date of the earliest surviving edition, references to collections of plays coming at the end of the year-group. Under each heading the several editions are placed in chronological order. The transcripts of title-pages and the arrangement of subsidiary bibliographical items follow the standard methods as far as is practicable. The main contents are specified with a reference by signature to the page on which the items occur. Then follow notes on whether the play is printed as prose or verse, whether it is divided into acts and scenes, whether it has prologue and epilogue or other such subsidiary material, and whether the scene of the action is specified or not. The compiler has not attempted to go into questions of textual differences between editions and of literary revision, but the salient facts relating to such differences and important differences in printing are mentioned. Neither has any attempt been made to give a complete list of copies. Except in special cases the list is limited to the more important or accessible libraries in Britain and America.

The bibliographical detail is generally sufficient to give a scholar all he can legitimately ask of a bibliography, and the work is entirely free from the affectations and pedantries of the 'precious' bibliographer. The series of plates reproducing title-pages is a notable feature of the volume. A bibliography of this vast and disorderly part of English literature is plainly a necessity, and Greg has earned the gratitude of all students of our drama by producing a work which is at once so thorough and so easy to use.

The following articles, in addition to those noticed in previous chapters, have appeared in *The Library*⁷ during 1939.

The First Printing of the Letters of Pope and Swift by Maynard

⁷ *The Library* (*Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*), New series, vol. xix, no. 4-vol. xx, no. 3. O.U.P. 5s.

Mack (Mar.) begins with a description of an unrecorded edition of 1741 in the library of Yale University. It has the imprint 'London: Printed for T. Cooper', and contains a few sentences not found in other editions of Pope's correspondence. A comparison of this book with the previously recorded editions of 1741 seems to warrant the conjecture that the Cooper edition contains the same sheets, except for the title-page and preface, as the 'clandestine' edition sent to Swift in 1740. The Faulkner and Cooper texts are much closer than any other two editions, and it is known on Pope's authority that the Faulkner edition was reprinted from the copy of the 'clandestine' edition that had been annotated by Swift. A comparison of the textual differences of the Faulkner and Cooper texts suggests that Faulkner's additional names, notes, and references are possibly identical with Swift's manuscript insertions in the 'clandestine' edition. If these arguments are sound, it is possible to reconstruct tentatively Pope's procedure in issuing the authorized edition, and to show that some of Pope's statements about it, which have hitherto seemed just false, are in fact approximately true, by showing that his practice in releasing his own and his friends' letters to the public had been thoroughly disingenuous.

Michael Sadleir (Mar.), in *Archdeacon Francis Wrangham. A Supplement*,⁸ discusses a number of letters from Wrangham to Sir Egerton Brydges extending over a period of seventeen years and dealing mainly with the archdeacon's literary interests and his collection of old books.

John Edward Wells, in *Lyrical Ballads, 1800: a paste-in*, describes two copies, the one his own, the other in the Huntington Library, which supply the lacuna of fifteen lines in the middle of *Michael* (vol. ii, p. 210) by means of a paste-in printed on coarse laid paper. He suggests that the paste-ins were hurriedly struck off for Longmans under pressure from Wordsworth, who did not find the omission until some time after publication, and that the poet's dissatisfaction with them was the reason for printing the errata-cancels which are found in some other copies.

⁸ See *Supplement to the Society's Transactions*, no. 12.

Arnold J. Muirhead (June), in *An Introduction to a Bibliography of William Cobbett*, discusses some of the problems presented by Cobbett's vast and disorderly production. He gives historical and bibliographical details about each of the important works, basing his remarks for the most part on information deriving directly from Cobbett himself.

In the same number a summary of a paper on *Congreve's Library* by J. Isaacs includes a list of thirteen books with signatures or manuscript notes by Congreve.

The subject of an article by F. T. Bowers (Sept.) entitled *A Possible Randolph Holograph* is a manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge, Library, which contains a poem 'On a very deformed gentlewoman but of a voice incomparably sweet', first published in 1638. The signature, Tho: Randolph, closely resembles other signatures in the college records, and the limits of the date of the manuscript coincide with the years of Randolph's literary and collegiate activity. This manuscript apparently preserves an unpolished version of the poem. Bowers also, in *Marriot's Two Editions of Randolph's 'Aristippus'*, points out that although bibliographies list only one edition of *Aristippus* in 1630, a comparison of the British Museum and Harvard College copies shows that there were in fact two, the second, in Harvard, being the more incorrect. Allot's edition of 1630 and the undated Dublin edition were set up from Marriot's first edition.

Cornell M. Dowlin brings evidence to show that the quarto edition of *Gondibert* is earlier than the octavo.

Under the title *Ralph Griffiths, author and publisher, 1746-1750*, Lewis M. Knapp publishes twelve documents on the examinations of Griffiths in relation to *Ascanius*, which the government thought dangerous propaganda for the Young Pretender, and Cleland's *Memoires of a Lady of Pleasure*. The papers give a good idea of the methods and hazards of eighteenth-century Grub Street, and of the sort of people with whom Smollett and Goldsmith had to deal.

G. H. Spinney (Dec.), introducing a *Bibliography of Cheap Repository Tracts: Hazard Marshall Edition*, describes the attempt of Hannah More and her associates to counteract the vogue

for loose and atheistical ballads by issuing a series of moral tales and ballads with all the external attractions of the Chapman's wares. The effect of the press on the morals and politics of the poorer classes in England had joined with the revolution in France and the sensation caused by Tom Paine and his followers to suggest a new interpretation of aristocracy's responsibilities to the masses, and Hannah More's sponsors were neither obscure nor contemptible. This article deserves mention here, not because of the literary value of Hannah More's tracts, but because the project illustrates an important and often neglected part of the background to much late eighteenth and early nineteenth century literature.

More than half of this year's part of the Oxford Bibliographical Society's Proceedings⁹ is taken up by *A Bibliography of John Bale* by W. T. Davies. The bibliography is introduced by a careful biographical sketch, which gives an admirable idea of the development of the scholarly Carmelite into the Protestant propagandist. Bale wrote the plays of 1537 and 1538 under the inspiration of Cromwell's attempt to make the King the supreme ecclesiastical authority, and his interest in the national literature developed step by step with his enthusiasm for the national church. The Marian exile and his disappointment in the Frankfort Protestants increased his love for the Church and the letters of his own country, and the great *Catalogus* was mostly done while he was abroad. It is an instructive example of the mixture of fanaticism and scholarship in sixteenth-century England that on his recall to England he was equally zealous to destroy relics of idolatry and to preserve medieval historians. In the midst of the most violent ecclesiastical quarrels he collated the texts of the old historians and tried to get them published under patronage, lest the loss of historical information caused by the dissolution of the monasteries should become irreparable.

Among several new theories propounded in the biographical part is the suggestion that the so-called 'A-Version' of *King Johan* was composed in 1538, not 1536 as is usually supposed, and the 'B-Version' in 1561 or 1562. It is also pointed out

⁹ *Oxford Bibliographical Society: Proceedings and Papers*, vol. v, pt. iv. pp. xiv+201-322. 10s.

that *The Chief Promises of God*, *John Baptist's Preaching*, and *The Temptation of Our Lord* form a trilogy.

The bibliography, which is exhaustive and careful, is preceded by a chapter on Bale's handwriting, with facsimiles, and by three lists, viz. Bale's catalogue of his own works, a list of his surviving works, and an attempt at a chronological arrangement of his works.

To the same volume H. F. Brooks contributes an article on the collection entitled *Rump: or An Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems And Songs Relating to the Late Times*. Neither the edition of 1662 nor that of 1874 contains index, editorial matter, attributions, or notes. The manuscript notes of the late G. Thorn-Drury formed the basis of research which has now supplied an index of titles and first lines, an index of authors, and brief notes on each poem, giving its provenance and the titles of collections in which it has been printed. The authorship of about eighty pieces has been determined.

Philip Babcock Gove's *Notes on Serialization and Competitive Publishing: Johnson's and Bailey's Dictionaries, 1755* completes this part of the Oxford Bibliographical Society's Proceedings. The 1755 edition of Bailey's dictionary had practically nothing in common with the earlier editions. It was prepared merely to hold the field against Johnson, whose success was apparently neither great nor rapid, since it is shown that the sale of the first edition overlaps that of the second and there was no demand for a third edition until 1765. After an account of the differences between the first and second editions of Johnson's dictionary, the author analyses the serialization of a work which took eighteen months to print and kept many of the subscribers in the booksellers' accounts for three years. Bailey's dictionary was little more than a short theft of Johnson's, preliminary matter, definitions, quotations, and all. The complicated procedure of getting out the sheets, embellishing them with engravings, and copying and altering Dr. Johnson had to be planned and set going in about seven weeks. The difficulties of carrying out this scheme and attempting to compete with

Johnson's dictionary over a period of seventeen years is the subject of the last part of the essay.

There is no change in the arrangement of the Modern Humanities Research Association's Nineteenth *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*,¹⁰ which appears for the first time under the editorship of Angus Macdonald. Leslie N. Broughton continues to be responsible for the American entries. The decrease from 4,994 to 4,586 in the number of books listed is mainly due to the present emergency.

The most interesting accession to the British Museum during the past year is the May Morris Bequest of forty volumes of William Morris's works written out by himself and his relatives. The first volume is made up of early poems not included in *The Defence of Guenevere*, 1858, and miscellaneous poems of the kind published in *Poems by the Way*, 1891. The last of these poems is dated 1896. The next eleven volumes comprise the verse-tales from classical and northern sources written after 1866. There are seven volumes of the first draft of *Sigurd the Volsung*, 1876. The Museum already possessed the other two volumes of the first draft and a fair copy of the whole. Translations of northern prose and poetry, the original journals of the visits to Iceland in 1871 and 1873, the abandoned version of the *Iliad*, and *Scenes from the Fall of Troy*, 1857, fill five more volumes. Seven volumes are accounted for by notes, drafts, and fair copies of prose romances dating from 1871 to 1896. Many of them are unfinished. The remaining volumes consist of manuscripts of lectures, the journal of Morris's experiences as a socialist, designs for glass, and miscellaneous drawings. The William Morris Papers, in twenty-two volumes, include family correspondence, journals which chronicle the progress of work at the Kelmscott Press, and a collection of poems and letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. The acquisition by the Department of Printed Books of fifty-five works printed at the Kelmscott Press is a useful supplement to these two large collections of manuscripts.

¹⁰ *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, ed. by Angus Macdonald. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes. pp. xi+284. 8s. 6d.

Of the remaining accessions to the Department of Manuscripts the Correspondence of William Archer is the most important. Letters from Ibsen, Pinero, and Shaw form the largest part of the collection, but almost every important literary man from the nineties to the twenties is represented.

The Bodleian's collection of manuscripts relating to Dr. Johnson has been increased by a group of documents which includes the corrected proof-sheets of the *Life of Cowley*, and by a collection of correspondence relating to the Doctor. Other manuscript accessions of note are twenty-two letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and seven volumes in the handwriting of William Morris, the donation of the late Miss May Morris. At the end of last year the library obtained six quartos of the plays of Dryden dating from 1684 to 1698. The Dryden collection has now been further increased by five early editions of plays dating from 1691 to 1703, a quarto collection of various poems in a contemporary binding, *Don Sebastian*, 1690, and *The Works of Virgil*, 1709. Other seventeenth-century accessions are Cowley's *Verses lately written upon several occasions*, 1663, Denham's *Poems and Translations*, 1668, and five works of Jeremy Taylor. Charles F. Heartman has presented a collection of early-nineteenth-century editions of contemporary authors.

The National Library of Scotland has published no report this year.

Few books of real importance bibliographically have changed hands during the past year, but it may be interesting to notice the prices brought by an unusually large number of contemporary editions of works by Milton: *Paradise Lost*, 1667, £115 and £40; 1668, £17; 1669, £14 and £2. 5s.; *Paradise Regained*, 1671, £5. 15s.; *Lycidas*, 1638, £120; *Poems*, 1645, £48; *Tractate of Education*, 1644, £110; and various editions of minor works, 10s. to £24. Copies of the second folio of Shakespeare realized from £8 to £41, of the fourth from £34 to £165. A copy of the 1664 folio was sold for £135. An apparently unique copy of Dame Juliana Berners's *The Boke of Hawkyng and Huntynge*

and *Fysshynge*, imprinted [sic] by Wynkyn de Worde, n.d., was bought for £560, another edition, printed by Wyllyam Powell c. 1550, £295. The rare Dublin edition of Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, 1780, was bought by Scribners for £215. Other comparatively rare editions sold during the year were Surrey's *Songs and Sonnettes*, 1585, £85; Spenser's *Complaints*, 1591, £48; Campion's *Description of a Mask*, 1614, £38; Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1638, £92; Herrick's *Hesperides*, 1648, £130; Lovelace's *Lucasta*, 1649, £110; and *The Vicar of Wakefield*, 1766, £90 and £340.

The following poetical and dramatic works, the prices of which may be of some interest, are arranged in rough chronological order: Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, 1554, £8. 10s.; John Heywood's *Woorkes*, 1562, £10; Ben Jonson's *Works*, 1616, £3. 5s.; 1616-40, £4; Waller's *Poems*, 1645, £3. 10s.; *Divine Poems*, 1685, £34; *Rump; or An Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs Relating to the Late Times*, 1662, £1. 10s.; Donne's *Poems*, 1669, £2. 2s.; Dryden's *Aurang-Zebe*, 1676, £4. 5s.; *MacFleckno*, 1682, £58; *Works*, 1701, £3. 3s.; *Works*, 1808, Scott's edition, £1. 15s.; Marvell's *Poems*, 1681, £7. 10s.; Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, 1711, £50; *Essay on Man*, 1733-4, £2; *New Dunciad*, 1742, £4. 4s.; Thomson's *Seasons*, 1744, £1. 5s.; Baskerville's edition of Congreve's *Works*, 1761, £2. 12s.; Percy's *Reliques*, 1765, £2; Goldsmith's *Poems and Plays*, 1777, 10s.; Dodsley's *Select Collection of Old Plays*, 1780, £1. 5s.; Lamb's *Specimens of the English Dramatic Poets*, 1808, £2; Rogers's *Poems*, 1814, £1. 5s.; Coleridge's *Christabel, etc.*, 1816, £3. 5s.; and Shelley's *Cenci*, 1819, £34.

The following is a similar list of prose works: Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, 1605, £17. 10s.; *History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, 1622, £2. 5s.; *Essays*, 1625, £11. 10s. and £22; James I's *Workes*, 1606, £1. 12s.; Raleigh's *History of the World*, 1614, £3; 1628, £1. 14s.; Donne's *LXXX Sermons*, 1640, £4. 10s.; Browne's *Religio Medici*, 1642, £38; *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, 1646, £1. 15s.; *Hydriotaphia*, 1658, £1 and £12; Hobbes's *Leviathan*, 1651, £1. 18s.; Fuller's *History of the Worthies*, 1662, £3. 5s.; Glanvill's *Scepsis Scientifica*, 1665, £4; Collier's *Short View*, 1698, £1. 8s.; Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year*, 1722,

£7; several copies of Johnson's *Dictionary*, 1755, £5. 10s. to £36; *The Letters of Junius*, 1772, £1. 2s.; Goldsmith's *Miscellaneous Works*, 1775, £1; Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, 1785, £2; *Life of Sam. Johnson*, 1791, £15; Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790, £6; and Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, 1825, 10s.

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