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THE YEAR'S WORK IN ENGLISH STUDIES

VOLUME XXVI

1945

Edited for

The English Association

BY

FREDERICK S. BOAS

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PREFACE

THERE has been no change in the list of contributors to this Volume as compared with its predecessor. But Mr. R. M. Wilson is now Lecturer in English Language at Sheffield instead of Leeds. Miss Gladys D. Willcock has been promoted from the post of Reader to that of Professor in the University of London. Dr. D. J. Gordon (as indicated last year) is now Lecturer in English Literature at Reading instead of Liverpool.

As this survey enters upon its second quarter of a century it may be appropriate to recall briefly some of its guiding principles. Contributors are responsible for the views expressed in their respective sections. But as far as is possible there is a measure of uniformity in their approach. The chief aim of their 'notices', which are not reviews, is to indicate anything new, whether of fact or treatment, in the publications with which they deal. Hence an article may need fuller discussion than a book.

As far as is practicable publications are noticed under the year of their appearance. But some books from overseas are belated in arrival and have to be dealt with subsequently. And with American and Continental books prices often cannot be given, and in present conditions are not always helpful.

F.S.B.

ABBREVIATIONS

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

CONTENTS

I. LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM: GENERAL WORKS 7
By ETHEL SEATON, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of St. Hugh's College, Oxford

II. ENGLISH LANGUAGE: GENERAL WORKS . 20
By R. M. WILSON, M.A., Lecturer in English Language in the University of Reading

III. OLD ENGLISH 38
By MARJORIE DAUNT, M.A., Reader in English Language and Literature in the University of London (Birkbeck College)

IV. MIDDLE ENGLISH I. CHAUCER . . . 47
By DOROTHY EVERETT, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford

V. MIDDLE ENGLISH II. BEFORE AND AFTER CHAUCER 61
By GLADYS D. WILLCOCK, M.A., Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of London (Royal Holloway College)

VI. THE RENAISSANCE 77
By FREDERICK S. BOAS, LL.D., D.Lit., F.R.S.L.

VII. SHAKESPEARE 88
By ALLARDYCE NICOLL, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Birmingham

VIII. ELIZABETHAN DRAMA 104
By FREDERICK S. BOAS

IX. THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE. I. THE LATER TUDOR PERIOD . 121
By D. J. GORDON, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in English Literature in the University of Reading

X. THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE. II. THE EARLIER STUART AGE AND THE COMMONWEALTH 133
By L. C. MARTIN, B.Litt., M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Liverpool

XI. THE RESTORATION 151
By V. DE SOLA PINTO, M.A., D. Phil., F.R.S.L., Professor of English Literature in University College, Nottingham

XII. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY . . . 159
By EDITH J. MORLEY, M.A., F.R.S.L., Emeritus Professor of English Language in the University of Reading

XIII. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER. I. 183
By DOROTHY MARGARET STUART, F.R.S.L.

XIV. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER. II 208
By H. V. ROUTH, D.Litt., F.R.S.L., formerly Byron Professor of English Literature and Institutions in the University of Athens; and FREDERICK S. BOAS

XV. BIBLIOGRAPHICA 230
By STRICKLAND GIBSON, M.A., formerly Keeper of the University of Oxford Archives

INDEXES 239

I

LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM: GENERAL WORKS

By ETHEL SEATON

THE new *Oxford History of English Literature* has had two volumes published, Vol. II, 2, and Vol. V, on the fifteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. These are noticed in the appropriate chapters.

Critical surveys of particular kinds of literature are few this year. Una Ellis-Fermor, in *The Frontiers of Drama*,[1] continues her valuable dramatic criticism by a book of general speculation, small but close-packed with thought and suggestiveness. Her aim is to see how drama as an art-form 'may transcend its normal and seemingly inevitable limitations'. She finds that there is much intractable matter for drama, such as religious experience, epic material and the multifariousness of life; again certain interpretations of life prove too complex or contradictory for easy dramatic expression. Correspondingly, in technique, the breakdown of dramatic devices, the bold or desperate invention of new ones, betray the dramatist's dilemma when faced with recalcitrant ideas. The dramatists push out to the borders of drama; like Milton's fallen angels, they 'wish and struggle', and 'find no rest'. To exemplify her contention, Miss Ellis-Fermor studies *Samson Agonistes*, Shakespeare's political plays, and his *Troilus and Cressida*. To illustrate the technical experiments, she considers 'The functions of imagery in drama', and 'The revelation of unspoken thought' (Chapters v and vi). A summary chapter is fittingly entitled 'The equilibrium of tragedy'. In dealing with the individual plays, she claims for each that 'specific content determines for itself a special form'; *Troilus and Cressida*, for example, conveys the idea of chaos and negation by deliberate artistic formlessness. This last study, perhaps the most original and constructive in the book, seems to confirm the growing conviction that Shakespeare's later plays represent neither decay nor an end, but 'the birth of a

[1] *The Frontiers of Drama*, by Una Ellis-Fermor. Methuen. pp. vii+154. 8*s*. 6*d*.

new . . . and positive vision'. Miss Ellis-Fermor's expression is not always easy, and her pronouncements are often debatable, but she has undoubtedly extended the frontiers of dramatic exposition and criticism.

B. G. MacCarthy surveys *Women Writers*,[2] from Mary, Countess of Pembroke, to Eliza Haywood, 'the chameleon of English novelists', and Sarah Fielding. She writes a spirited, witty, and sometimes pungent defence of women as the earliest and best writers of the memoir and biography, and later of the tale, whether realistic and picaresque, or sentimental and didactic, and so as inaugurators of the novel. At last 'the miracle' of a woman novelist not hampered by consciousness of her disability as a woman is accomplished, and Jane Austen appears. Such different personalities as the fastidious Duchess of Newcastle and Mrs. Aphra Behn here get justice done them, Mrs. A. Behn in generous measure, especially for her realistic satire, *The Ten Pleasures of Marriage*. One might, however, suggest that what Miss MacCarthy calls the particularly feminine 'maeutic outlook' is equally discernible in Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, probably derived from the same source. She traces the changes in taste, naturalism preferred to sentiment, and 'fallible men and women' to 'stock vices and virtues'; a woman writer is found to purvey each in turn. A second volume covering 1744 to 1817 is promised.

C. E. Vulliamy[3] distinguishes between 'the English Letter Writers', a select group whose fame is dependent on their published letters, such as Chesterfield, Walpole, and (rather surprisingly) Cowper; and 'the writers of English Letters', a large company of the eminent or otherwise, whose letters are a by-product of living. He allows that women excel in candour, fluency and ease, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu rises to brilliance and vivacity; yet we have no English Sévigné, Dorothy Osborne with her grace and charm being the nearest counterpart. Even the 'conscious literary intention' cannot spoil the supreme letter writer such as Horace Walpole. Vulliamy's judgments sometimes lack persuasive-

[2] *Women Writers: Their Contribution to the English Novel, 1621–1744*, by B. G. MacCarthy. Cork U.P. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 288. 10*s*. 6*d*.

[3] *English Letter Writers*, by C. E. Vulliamy. (*Britain in Pictures*, ed. by W. L. Turner.) Collins. pp. 48. 4*s*. 6*d*.

ness when he yields to personal or political prejudice; he hardly does justice to the royal letter-writers, such as Elizabeth, and there are some surprising omissions, notably Gray. But he wins the reader's full assent when he places Keats in a class apart, where we can watch genius in the act of poetic conception and composition. The eighteenth century inevitably claims chief consideration, but Vulliamy brings the survey down nearly to the present day with the letters of D. H. and T. E. Lawrence.

Augustus Ralli, in *Autobiography* (*Q.Q.*, summer) has considered an unusual aspect of the subject. Looking for a philosophic basis for the impulse to write autobiography, he finds it in a moral parallel to the law of Archimedes, that spiritual gain counterbalances material loss. Vanity is often the initial impulse to autobiography, crossed with the appeal to the sympathy of fellow human beings; the peak is reached when the writer proves that 'what most unites human beings in love is co-operation in the search for God'.

Volume XXII of the *Transactions*[4] of the Royal Society of Literature was prepared by the Marquess of Crewe, and his editorial preface, on the aims of the Society, was such as only a President of nearly twenty-five years' experience could have written. Unfortunately he died before the volume was published, and Lord Lytton's memorial address at a Council meeting in August, printed as a foreword, indicates the measure of the Society's loss. He describes with sympathy how various and how personal had been Lord Crewe's services to it, and how devotedly persisted in, even during age and increasing infirmity.

In the volume there is only one essay of general interest, Juan Mascaro's *Hindu Classics for English Readers*, a plea that the balance of mutual knowledge between Indian and English may be redressed, and that translations of the Indian classics may be made, worthy both of their greatness and also of the beauty of our language.

Volume XXX of *Essays and Studies*[5] draws heavily on the pre-

[4] *Essays by Divers Hands: Transactions of the R.S.L.*, vol. xxii, ed. by the Marquess of Crewe. O.U.P. pp. x+160. 9*s.* 6*d.*

[5] *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. xxx, collected by C. H. Wilkinson. O.U.P. pp. 113. 7*s.* 6*d.*

occupations of 1945, with a naval and a military survey. The latter, *The History of Total War*, by Sir Frederick Maurice, examines historical rather than literary purposes and methods. Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, in *The Naval Officer in Fiction*, finds the novel and the drama to be valuable supplements to naval history and biography, in providing portraits of the ordinary naval officer. After a short survey of his evolution from two early types, the gentleman and the seaman, and of the compromise that fused the two into the sea officer, Richmond studies the character in the seventeenth-century drama of Shadwell and Congreve. Neither Smollett nor Fanny Burney gives an 'engaging picture' of the naval officer, yet the latter had a brother in the Service. Jane Austen, with similar first-hand knowledge, is more favourable, but she is aware of the snobbish disdain of the 'inferior ranks'—Richmond might have quoted Sir Walter Elliot even on admirals. It remained for Marryat to give an all-round picture in his gallery of naval characters, and by his vitality and vigour to become an effective recruiting agent for the Navy.

By way of contrast, Sir William Beach Thomas provides a peaceful essay on *Naturalists*, of whom England has been and still is prolific, from Gilbert White to our own day. From noticing that many naturalists, such as W. H. Hudson and the late Lord Northcliffe, possess unusual sensory powers, especially of sight and hearing, and therefore excel in descriptive writing, Beach Thomas passes to the generalization that style 'depends very much more intimately than the critics have allowed on the acuity of the organs of sense'.

James Sutherland, in his inaugural lecture as professor at Queen Mary College,[6] combines a confession of faith in the value of English studies with some practical advice. He would have students recognize their powers and their functions according to their perception and passion for poetry, or their capacity for adding to knowledge. We are too nervous about facts, whereas to the English scholar 'there is scarcely any kind of knowledge that won't be useful'; the rapid disappearance of familiarity with the Bible and the Classics makes a general awareness of English

[6] *English in the Universities: An Inaugural Lecture*, by James Sutherland. C.U.P. pp. 30. 1*s*. 6*d*.

culture the more desirable. The ideal is the scholar-critic, who can 'read *Julius Caesar* as Ben Jonson may have read it'.

The piety of the Plymouth Branch of the English Association has perpetuated three lectures of their former chairman, Prebendary H. L. Bickersteth,[7] that on our debt to Greek literature being the most general in theme. The discourse is often lightened with some shrewd and unusual comment, such as the reminder that individual Greeks, Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus for example, were known to the English before the Renaissance; or, in lighter vein, that the effect of the port wine trade on Augustan writers is worth noting.

The centenary of George Saintsbury's birth is commemorated by a *Memorial Volume*,[8] which collects tributes from friends and pupils, and gathers up a sheaf of papers: first, some early critical prefaces (as on Dryden and Herrick) which he had wished to have reprinted; and then a number of short pieces from the 1920s and 1930s; there is no new material. In the first and more critical section comes his inaugural address at Edinburgh, in which he, one of the most widely learned of English scholars, distinguishes between research of the barren and of the fruitful kind, and describes his own practice, to construct and to fill in a map of literature, with the joy of perpetual exploration. In the more recent papers, those on *The Qualities of Wine*, and on *The Teaching of English*, stand in as close company as they did in Saintsbury's own life, and are symbolic of the tremendous gusto which carries the ordinary student briskly on through his difficult style and still more difficult allusions. But even his forbearance had limits; and in *Men of Letters as Milch Cows*, he shows himself as impatient as Faustus of frivolous demands, which roused to fury his busy mind, and he insists that the man of letters is a professional whose time should be respected.

[7] *Three Lectures*, delivered by H. L. Bickersteth, Plymouth, for the English Assoc. pp. 24.

[8] *George Saintsbury: The Memorial Volume. A New Collection of his Essays and Papers, with Personal Portraits*, by Oliver Elton, Sir Herbert Grierson, John W. Oliver, and John Purves, and a Biographical Memoir by A. Blyth Webster. Methuen. pp. viii+218. 12*s.* 6*d.*

The Life of George Gordon[9] is presented by his wife, together with a garland of friendship, to which Lord Halifax, Edmund Blunden, and others contribute. It traces his successful career from Glasgow to Oxford, then to Leeds, with a break for war-service, to Oxford again as Merton Professor of English Literature, then as President of Magdalen and Vice-Chancellor, and finally as Professor of Poetry. The summary displays the combination of literary, administrative, and social talents which he exercised with equal ease and grace. His own definition of the academic study of English as a 'free consideration of certain subjects' (with an examination fortuitously attached), indicates his unpedantic, even anti-pedantic attitude to literature. His biographer promises also a volume of his collected writings, to include some unpublished work.

A few books of personal memoirs of men of letters take differing guises. Anthony C. Deane, in *Time Remembered*,[10] writes of the Cambridge of 1889–92, of work on the outside staff of *Punch*, and for *The Times* in the 1930s. In a chapter on 'Reading and Writing', Deane, whose regretted death has since taken place, distinguishes the art of skipping from the lazy vice of skimming, and advises the wise beginner, like the child reading *Pilgrim's Progress*, to 'skip like a lamb'.

A. S. F. Gow's *Letters from Cambridge, 1939–44*,[11] have a different inception, being a Don's letters intended to keep his many pupils serving in the Forces in touch with their College and University. Gow disarms criticism by calling them the parish magazine, and indeed much parochial small beer is chronicled. But there is a constant sense of larger issues, and the record of Cambridge in wartime has its value. For the amateurs of literature among his recipients, Gow, by request, furnished reading-lists of recent books, with comments; for the English student, his quotations from his own unofficial reading have some freshness, as those from Hearne's *Collections*. And annotators of Shakespeare may like to note the shocking case (p. 210) of the Cambridge graduate of 1600 who was

[9] *The Life of George S. Gordon, 1881–1942*, by M. C. G[ordon]. With an Introduction by Lord Halifax. O.U.P. pp. xii + 171. 10*s.* 6*d.*

[10] *Time Remembered*, by Anthony C. Deane. Faber. pp. 276. 18*s.*

[11] *Letters from Cambridge, 1939–1944*, by A. S. F. Gow. Cape. pp. 259. 10*s.* 6*d.*

suspended from his degree for wearing 'deformed long locks of unseemly sight'.

Herbert van Thal[12] also furnishes reading-lists, a *Recipe for Reading*, to his godsons. To try and cover the ground of English literature in some thirty pages is an impossible task, and the going is uneven, proceeding sometimes by literary forms, sometimes by writers; 'leaping and lingering'; leaping over travel-books, lingering, not without an occasional stumble, over the Elizabethan dramatists. Non-dramatic poetry is limited to anthologies, and disposed of in a page. The godsons are set down by an enthusiast to the 'fine confused feeding' of a modern 'gentleman's library'.

Herbert J. Muller's *Science and Criticism*,[13] not available in 1943, has been reprinted in 1945. It is an interesting and stimulating book, written with moderation, humour, and occasional wit. His aim as a literary humanist is to serve literature by making available to the critic the 'revolutionary findings in the natural and social sciences' of the present age. Muller pleads for a humanistic approach to the split in the modern world, as permitting the 'freest play to possibilities of value', and yet as 'an arduous discipline'. He rightly charges laymen with picking up the latest findings of science, or its jargon, but not its 'logic of inquiry'. Therefore, after two introductory chapters on assumptions and keywords of modern criticism, he charts the implications of recent science, the revolution in physics, and the 'coming of age' of biology; and adds chapters on the new 'sciences', psychology, and sociology. The method and outlook of science, rather than explicit affiliations, are best for the man of letters. In the world of Einstein he should 'employ a progressive, adventurous logic', and be as willing as the physicist to 'put up with conflicting theories and tentative choices', and to 'test the efficacy of his principles'. Muller observes that in physics the creative writer has kept within sight or touch of the scientist. In biology, however, he has obviously not kept up; yet biology now steers a middle course between the 'ugly dilemma of determinism', and the 'loose notions of indeterminism'. The modern biologist in

[12] *Recipe for Reading: A Letter to My Godsons*, by Herbert van Thal. Home and Van Thal. pp. 32. 3*s*. 6*d*.

[13] *Science and Criticism: The Humanistic Tradition in Contemporary Thought*, by Herbert J. Muller. Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xiv+303. 22*s*.

fact is cautious, maintaining the difficult balance between the facts of 'biological continuity and biological uniqueness'; but poets and novelists are still apt to make a rigid distinction.

In the chapter on psychology (perhaps the most important, since as Muller truly says, 'literary men commonly praise and condemn psychology alike for the wrong reason'), he examines behaviourism, psycho-analysis, and the Gestalt Theory, and sensibly concludes that 'the artist's private life is as much the effect as the cause of his work, but in either aspect [psycho-analysis] is not a master-key. Countless writers have been maladjusted or neurotic, and all have written differently'; and the inner meanings that the psycho-analyst finds in works of art are often 'too schematic and stereotyped'. He insists that the unconscious has to be directed for reasoned purposes by that conscious mind which Dryden called the judgment. In sociology, Muller examines the opposed systems of Marx and Pareto, and the latest findings of anthropology, and suggests that the artist must not make of his inevitable isolation a 'policy of isolationism'.

In a summary chapter Muller pleads for mutual aid between men of letters and scientists, since they are brothers under their skins. Both are ceaseless experimenters under rigid disciplines; both begin with the same immediate data, sensory perceptions; both aim at an ordered pattern of experience. Their differences are not, and should not be, antagonisms. As a modern scientific humanist, Muller is avowedly anti-Aristotelian, and obviously anti-Platonic; but many of his illustrative quotations are taken from Bacon, and a creative writer, Thomas Mann, not a scientist, is his ideal living humanist. The book should act as a corrective to half-understanding and half-knowledge. The author's references to, and examination of, contemporary philosophers form a reading-list in themselves; but the lack of precise reference and notes is to be deplored.

An ardent humanistic faith in the dignity of man likewise animates Nathan C. Starr in his *Dynamics of Literature*.[14] His aim is therefore to re-affirm certain basic principles, and to estimate literature in terms of idea and spirit as well as in terms of craftsmanship. For him the fundamental satisfactions of literature lie

[14] *The Dynamics of Literature*, by Nathan C. Starr. Columbia U.P. and O.U.P. pp. xi + 123. 8*s*. 6*d*.

in clarity (i.e. that which gives clarification of experience), breadth of understanding, and elevation of spirit. The author's purpose should be deliberate, 'largely to know, and compassionately to understand'. Thus Blake's mysticism 'forgets the world of men', and fails of its universal appeal, whereas Milton remembers it and thereby retains his power. The poet's power of persuasion is exemplified by a detailed comparison of parts of the *Ode on Mrs. Anne Killigrew* and of *Lycidas*.

More than one critic is pre-occupied with the problems of aesthetics. Jean Hytier's aim in *Les Arts de Littérature*[15] (some lectures of which were delivered as early as 1926) is to forge a critical method, admitting of closer approximation in judgment than amateur impressionism, yet more flexible than dogmatic prejudice. He would reconcile the aesthetic and the historical approach to literature; but he ascribes the directive power to the aesthetic, and he exalts the man of taste for his insight into 'les motifs internes et durables de la beauté de l'oeuvre'. Yet the centre of aesthetic pleasure is intellectual. The most interesting section is perhaps that on drama, with its stress on the creative will of the dramatist; 'les personnages sont les gestes du dramaturge'.

Stephen C. Pepper is more methodical than Hytier in his *Basis of Criticism*,[16] lectures given in 1944. Yet his philosophy of criticism is empirical, and for full critical understanding he would seek the mutual adjustment of four hypotheses of value. These are mechanistic criticism, or a too narrowly aesthetic view of poetic pleasure, such as that of Pater and Santayana; contextualistic criticism, a relatively new concept, in which activity in a total emotional situation is judged by its intensity and completeness; organistic criticism, which deals with such situations as stepping-stones to a larger, if possible a total, integration of existence or reality; and lastly formistic criticism, which stresses the fact of the normal, seeks to isolate it, and to define value in terms of it. In the greatest exponents of this last, such as Aristotle, the norm agrees with the universal, but as seen through the individual, and often conceived through deviations from the norm; thus Aristotle's

[15] *Les Arts de Littérature*, by Jean Hytier. Paris: Charlot. pp. 166.

[16] *The Basis of Criticism*, by Stephen C. Pepper. Harvard U.P. and O.U.P. pp. xi+177.

tragic hero, being nearly normal, is open to katharsis. This hypothesis holds art to the healthy golden mean, to what is sane and sound. To illustrate the necessary co-operation of the four types, Pepper examines closely Coleridge's song, 'A sunny shaft', Shakespeare's Sonnet 30, and a sonnet by G. M. Hopkins.

In *The Poetic Organism* (*Journal of Philos.*, 2 Aug.) Sidney Zink seeks to state a view of the poem which shall do justice to the fact of aesthetic unity, and thereby remove certain mistaken poetic doctrines, for example the inadequate view of poetry as an expression of immediate values. A poem is a real object, and represents only itself; it is a complex variety of elements united in a single organism. Metaphor is therefore not an agent, as I. A. Richards and J. C. Ransom hold; this poetic dualism should be avoided. The metaphoric quality, subtle, transient, and poignant, is an organic part of the poem's quality. For this reason, Zink holds the romantics to be the more sensitive experiencers, though the metaphysicals often seem to be the greater artists.

Herbert Read, in *A Coat of Many Colours*,[17] has reprinted essays from his critical activity of the past twenty years, the whole being set in the framework of a stay in Italy. The brevity of many (some reprinted from *The Listener*, and some from *The Times Literary Supplement*) suggests the gay patchwork, rather than Joseph's fatal coat; about one-third are on the visual arts, and the most sustained is that (No. 70) on the relevance of *Areopagitica* to totalitarianism. As Read claims no particular design on the reader, writers of all periods rub shoulders. Perhaps the most original, interesting, and also debatable is No. 37, on the supposed harmful effect of Wordsworth's remorse on his poetic genius.

Otto Funke, in an essay, *Probleme des englischen Literaturbarock*,[18] applies the term to the whole Elizabethan age, and notes with regret that English critics, and even Cazamian, are chary of using it for the period between the Renaissance and the Augustan age, and limit it merely to a few individuals such as Southwell and Crashaw. It is true such phrases as 'baroque pessimism' and 'the

[17] *A Coat of Many Colours*, by Herbert Read. Routledge. pp. viii+352. 8*s*. 6*d*.

[18] In *Wege und Ziele*, by Otto Funke. Bern: Francke. pp. 228.

moral baroque' still fall strangely on the English ear as critical phrases, completely divorced from all connexion with the visual arts. A fluidity of definition which allows Funke to roll the tide of the baroque back over the Elizabethans till it covers such writers as Sidney, Marlowe, Lyly, or Fulke Greville, substitutes the chaos of flood-water for recognizable landmarks. Between this and the forward encroachments of the medieval period, the later Renaissance is in danger of being drowned out. The shadow of the baroque is also projected over Funke's study of Morgan's novels in the succeeding lecture, *Charles Morgan und seine Romanwerke*, since his art, developed in the tension of the 1920s, strives to reconcile death with love of life and creative activity.

Some interesting anthologies have appeared. In *I Give You My Word*, Ivor Brown[19] has added yet another sequel to his unusual and attractive series on isolated words, the perfect parlour-game for blue-stockings, producing satisfaction by recognition, and triumph if one can add to the instances given (e.g. 'gape and *disembogue* a spout' from Cleveland). Some, such as 'thrung' and 'dayligone' are dialectal or rustic survivals; many are poetically evocative, such as 'heydeguise', or 'filemot'; and who could define offhand 'mecantodor' and 'gongoozler'? Of all, Brown writes with ease and variety, conveying learning with lightness. It is a book difficult to put down.

Similar learned ease is displayed by Holbrook Jackson in his *Bookman's Holiday*,[20] a rich entertainment, in which the literary world since the Restoration discusses and characterizes itself, its neighbours, its immediate social and literary circle, the books of the day, and its way of life. Here the proper study of mankind is social, critical, and anecdotal man; only in the Epilogue do the four last things obtrude themselves. The tact and discernment of the editor are reflected in the wit and brilliance of his selections, and in his skilful arrangement.

F. S. Boas[21] uses his unrivalled knowledge of our poetic drama

[19] *I Give You My Word*, by Ivor Brown. Cape. pp. 144. 6*s*.

[20] *Bookman's Holiday: A Recreation for Booklovers*, designed by Holbrook Jackson. Faber. pp. 264. 10*s*. 6*d*.

[21] *Songs and Lyrics from the English Playbooks*, compiled by F. S. Boas. Illustrated by Hans Tindall. Cresset Press. pp. xvii+258. 15*s*.

to skim the cream of its lyrics, from the Norwich *Grocers' Play* down to Alfred Austin's *England's Darling*. He enriches his volume by admitting not only the formal lyric, but also lyrical passages, such as Tamburlaine's lament for Zenocrate, and gives an entertainingly varied selection, not only of the amorous and martial, but also of the social and convivial, such as, to illustrate from a less familiar play, 'Drink and Quaff', from Clavell's *Soddered Citizen*. A fine and unhackneyed example of the formal, even ritual song is William Shippen's Zoroastrian 'Hymn to the Sun' in Act III of Rowe's *Ambitious Stepmother*. In the introduction Boas has much to say of the song-schools and the Children, and in lieu of notes discusses problems, as of authorship, raised by some of the songs. The illustrations, original and whimsical (though not always closely related to the neighbouring text), complete a very attractive and well-produced volume.

Phoebe Pool has collected *Poems of Death*,[22] from Chaucer to Sidney Keyes, in a well-printed and carefully designed anthology. Her purpose is not to give a merely morbid satisfaction, but to rob death of its 'claustrophobia, its meaningless negation'. This aim is perhaps better carried out in the poetry than in the striking illustrations by Michael Ayrton; Smart's cat, Jeoffrey, rebukes death by 'brisking about the life', and Vaughan's 'They are all gone into the world of light', and the ninetieth Psalm, stabilize the final mood. The order adopted is not chronological, but selective. A certain arbitrariness sometimes mars great poems by reducing them to snippets, such as Dryden on Oldham. Room is found for the rustic view, as in the anonymous 'Song of the Mayers', and for the unusual, such as Hugh Holland's exquisite 'Lament' for 'Harry', or the anonymous elegy on Sir Philip Sidney in classical metre. In such examples, precision of reference would be a satisfaction to the inquiring reader.

Guy Boas has reprinted, more especially for use in schools, his *English Book of Light Verse*[23] of 1944. The selection, being in chronological order, incidentally forms also a survey of the changing character of light verse. The neatness, brevity, and point of the

[22] *Poems of Death*, chosen by Phoebe Pool. Muller. pp. vii+112. 10*s*. 6*d*.

[23] *The School Book of Light Verse*, chosen by Guy Boas. Macmillan. pp. xx+300. 6*s*.

seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries yield later to much longer, wordier productions, obviously affected by the broadside ballad, and by the revival of the fourteener. In the later nineteenth century, such skilful poets as Calverley and A. D. Godley restore the older elegance. Literary parody is exemplified by the tragic death of Pyramus, and by John Gay's impish *Song of Similes*. A very different, more simple note is struck by Bunyan's *The Child and the Bird*.

A useful and interesting volume has been added to the World's Classics in Ward's *Specimens of English Dramatic Criticism, Seventeenth–Twentieth Centuries*.[24] In contrast to earlier volumes of criticism of the written play, this stresses rather the effect in the theatre. Not all such criticism is professional like Hazlitt's; some of it is found inserted in creative literature, as Charlotte Brontë's etching of Rachel in *Villette*. The living are served here too, and the collection therefore forms a record of the present age for the use of the future.

E. V. Rieu has made a brave experiment in a modern prose translation of the *Odyssey*[25]; the work gains as fiction, in the sharpened effect of episodes, such as 'The Battle in the Hall', though it sometimes loses as poetry, as in 'Nausicaa', either by the diction, or more often by the prosaic tone. Telemachus setting up the axes as targets, and 'checking the alignment', shows Rieu's vigorous method in describing actions. But the (almost unattainable) evenness of tone is sometimes lost, and 'equerry' has associations even more difficult to accept than 'henchman', while 'the worthy swineherd' is pure eighteenth century. Rieu discusses the difficulties of the recurrent Homeric epithet, and his own devices to avoid the stereotyped; on the whole he is successful. It is a very readable version, and may well justify itself by sending many readers to the original.

[24] *Specimens of English Dramatic Criticism, Seventeenth–Twentieth Centuries*, ed. by A. C. Ward. O.U.P. pp. 355. 3*s*. 6*d*.

[25] *The Odyssey: A New Translation*, by E. V. Rieu. The Penguin Classics. pp. xx+378. 2*s*.

II

ENGLISH LANGUAGE: GENERAL WORKS

By R. M. WILSON

IN general comparatively little work of outstanding importance on this subject was produced during the year. The etymology of single words claimed most attention, but some parts of the subject were almost completely untouched, e.g. place-names and the phonology of modern English. Foreign books and periodicals are becoming more easily available, except for those published in Germany; in fact it is uncertain whether the German periodicals are still being published. Attention should be drawn here to K. Malone, *Some Linguistic Studies of 1941–1944* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.), which gives useful discussions and criticism of some of the works on this subject published between the two dates.

Perhaps the most interesting and suggestive work to appear during the year is an article by R. J. Menner, *Multiple Meaning and Change of Meaning in English* (*Language*, April–June), in which he discusses the relationship of obsolescence of meaning to multiple meaning. Just as homonyms have mutually disturbing effects, and one of two homonyms may disappear from a dialect because of a conflict of sense, so also a word which, in the course of time, develops contradictory senses may lose the earlier ones. Theoretically one might expect that polysemy would be as disturbing a factor in speech as homophony, perhaps even more so because of its greater frequency. It might, of course, be objected that the two cannot be considered parallel, since in the latter two words of originally different form converge at a given time by phonetic law, whereas in the former one sense develops slowly from an earlier one. In the latter therefore a conflict of sense was inevitable, but in the former it could have been avoided by adhering to the original sense. But any extension of meaning occurs only gradually and unconsciously, and the particular sense is usually made clear by the context; but gradually, as the sense is extended to wider circles and receives new applications, there are more occasions when it seems slightly ambiguous. Difficulty in the

existence of the two senses arises when speaker and hearer are not in accord in their use of the word. Obviously, in most cases, polysemy would never offer any ambiguity. But when the polysemy is due to the gradual development of one meaning from another an historical dictionary often shows a kind of progression, with a distinct tendency for the earlier senses to disappear one by one as newer extensions or developments are added. As examples, illustrated by diagrams, of this tendency Menner takes the words *sad*, *silly*, *nice*, *happy*, *fair*, *stout*, and *clever*. Illustrative material is drawn from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *English Dialect Dictionary*, and, in the case of the last two words, from the *Linguistic Atlas of New England*. The evidence of the latter suggests that country people show a greater pertinacity in adhering to traditional senses, in spite of interference from other senses imported into the dialect from Standard English. Amongst city-dwellers, on the other hand, the older senses tend to remain only amongst scholars and writers, or those with some family tradition of literary culture.

The interference of new meanings is especially marked in words referring to death or sex. The process is the same, the only difference being that the association intensifies it. In such words as *immoral*, *passionate*, etc., we have definite evidence that the popular usage gradually restricts the more learned one. The younger generation, using the words in newer senses, unconsciously avoids using them in older and different ones. Even the older generation will gradually use words less often in senses that may not be understood by the younger, and the literate find themselves inhibited by the illiterate from continuing to address them in traditional terms now liable to be misunderstood. Thus old senses are imperilled by new, and the further the new sense shifts from the older one, unless the contexts of the two senses are regularly different, the less likely is the old sense to persist by the side of the new.

In *Bases of Phonology*[1] R. H. Stetson gives his impressions of modern phonemic theory, and, more briefly, his own personal linguistic theories. He discerns two trends in modern phonology, one towards 'logistic phonemics' which 'stresses the "sound", the phoneme, as the essential unit, and confines its formulations to an

[1] *Bases of Phonology*, by R. H. Stetson. Ohio: Oberlin College. pp. 112.

ordinal series of such units', and associated more particularly with the work of Saussure, Trubetzkoy, Jespersen, D. Jones, Bloomfield, and others. The other trend, following the work of Saussure (again), Marichelli, Sapir, and others, is towards considering the syllable as the basic unit. The greater part of the book is an attack on the former trend, with arguments of very varying validity, and interspersed with long discussions on 'the language of music', 'the language of dancing', and the beauties of the Sumerian syllabic orthography. Stetson's own particular contribution to the subject comes when he expresses himself in terms of experimental phonetics and physiology. To him a phoneme is merely 'an aspect of a factor of the syllable'; the syllable itself is a chest pulse, the train of syllables being grouped into feet, breath groups, and phrases. The supposed contrast between phonemics and phonetics is really a contrast between a slow, careful type of utterance, assumed as the norm in phonemics, and normal speech presenting as it does a wide variety of forms. Because of the nature of the syllable as a chest pulse, and because of the nature of the grouping of the syllables in the syllable train, due to the breathing movements which determine both the grouping and the stress of the rhythm, a physiological approach is essential to the phonologist, since phonology is the inductive study of the processes of speech. On the whole it must be doubtful whether Stetson has proved his point that the adoption of a basic theoretical unit larger than the phoneme is unavoidable. He succeeds in pointing out some of the shortcomings of the phonemic method without convincing one that his own is unexceptionable; in fact on occasion he himself appears to characterize the syllable in phonemic terms. The book ends with a review of K. Pike's *Phonetics* of which certain aspects, as one might expect, are found decidedly unsatisfactory by the reviewer.

Rulon S. Wells, *The Pitch Phonemes of English* (*Language*, Jan.–March), suggests that, in addition to the usually admitted exceptions to the segmental principle in phonemics, i.e. nasalizing phonemes, length phonemes, etc., we should also include in certain languages pitch, stress, and juncture. In English certain pitches and stresses are unquestionably phonemic, yet they only occur simultaneously with vowel and consonant qualities; physically and acoustically they are not parts of phones but features or qualities of phones.

In this sense they are suprasegmental, but no phonemicist would dream of regarding two English phones with the same vowel quality, but significantly different pitches, as belonging to different phonemes; rather they would be assigned to the same vowel phoneme but to different pitch phonemes. Stress and juncture, two features usually regarded as suprasegmental, have been analysed by the same phonemic methods that are applied to vowels and consonants, but the systems hitherto published have denied a like treatment to pitches. This paper tries to apply to pitches all the principles and methods of segmental phonemics.

The system observes the principle of segmentation; the pitch contour of an utterance is not treated as a continuum, but broken up into segments. Phonetically a pitch segment is rarely if ever homogeneous, but in the sequence of pitches certain ones are key pitches; the others may be regarded as functions of these. Each utterance is divided into segments in such a way that every segment contains a key pitch at the beginning, and no other. Often the duration of the key pitch is very short compared with the length of its segment; many features of pitch control are automatically conditioned. The distinctive feature of the segments assigned to the pitch phonemes is pitch relative to the speaking-range of the speaker's voice. There are assumed to be four pitch phonemes, from 1 (lowest) to 4 (highest). Thus the phonemic pitch contour of the sentence *The telephone's ringing* would be rendered as *²The ³tel²ephone's ringing* (232). Considered phonetically, in relation to the segmental phonemes, the length of a pitch phoneme is variable. It can coincide in time with any number of segmental phonemes, and its effect will continue until replaced by another pitch phoneme, or until the end of the utterance. Twenty-nine sentences are then given exemplifying some of the most common contours. Each consists of a single clause—one of them containing only a single pitch phoneme, most of them two or three—and Wells then goes on to discuss the distribution of these pitch contours, the allophones and the semantic values. This is followed by an examination of other systems for indicating pitch contours, all of which are found to be unsatisfactory in one way or another. In conclusion the author makes no claim to delineate a general method for analysing the suprasegmental phonemes of every language; still less does he claim to reveal whether or not a given language has suprasegmental phonemes. All that has been done is to

apply the received methods of phonemics to a phase of English phonology where they have not been applied in quite the same way before.

In *Changes of Emphasis in Linguistics with particular Reference to Paul and Bloomfield*[2] G. S. Lane is particularly concerned with the change from the historical and comparative linguistics of the nineteenth century to the modern descriptive method of language study. The origins and development of both types are shown, the gradual advance of descriptive linguistics, although hampered by confusion with the speculations of philosophers and mentalistic psychologists, until in the twentieth century it became a special discipline independent of the historical and comparative method. An interesting article which contains besides much shrewd and constructive criticism.

Nothing seems to have appeared on the primitive periods of the language, on Indo-European, Germanic or West Germanic, but there is a certain amount of material dealing generally with Old English subjects. The first two volumes of F. Mossé, *Manuel de l'Anglais du Moyen Âge*,[3] which were published during the year, are concerned with Old English, and not only do they provide an introduction to the subject for the beginner but also a complete course for the more advanced student. The first volume, after an introduction showing the position of Old English in the Germanic languages and a brief description of the more important Old English dialects, goes on to deal competently and lucidly with the grammar and phonology, mainly that of West Saxon. The two types of writing in use during the period are described, and there is a full account of what can be deduced concerning the pronunciation and accentuation of the language. The chief Old English sound changes are dealt with in detail, though, apart from a description of ablaut and Verner's Law, one misses some of the earlier changes,

[2] In *Studies in Language and Literature*, ed. by G. R. Coffman. North Carolina Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. viii+344. 18*s*. 6*d*. The above collection also published as vol. xlii, No. 3 of *Studies in Philology*.

[3] *Manuel de l'Anglais du Moyen Âge*, par F. Mossé. I Vieil-Anglais: Tome Premier: Grammaire et Textes. Tome Second: Notes et Glossaire. Bibliothèque de Philologie Germanique viii. Paris: Aubier, Editions Montaigne. pp. 548.

such as the influence of nasals, which often had considerable influence on the accidence and so might perhaps have been included if only in a simplified form.

The description of the accidence follows closely the system used by Wright, and Mossé has succeeded in presenting it rather more lucidly, if perhaps even more fully. As it stands it is of course much too detailed for the elementary student, but an introductory note indicates the essential paragraphs and with such guidance the section is as useful to the beginner as to the more advanced student. The third section gives one of the best general accounts of Old English syntax which is to be found, and it is followed by appendices on the language of poetry, on Old English metre, and a very useful glossary of linguistic terms. The selection from the texts, non-West Saxon and West Saxon, follows the conventional pattern —as indeed it should, since the best available extracts for such a purpose must inevitably be used by most editors, and there can be little opportunity, or necessity, for originality in the choice. The introductions to the various extracts are models of what such introductions should be, combining the maximum of information within the minimum of space, and concluding with excellent select bibliographies. Maps illustrating the campaigns of Alfred and the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan are very welcome, though one giving the boundaries of the principal Old English dialects is perhaps unduly simplified. In addition the volume includes a facsimile of the opening page of the Hatton *Cura Pastoralis* and one from the *Beowulf* manuscript, and ends with a table of the principal paradigms.

In the second volume are contained explanatory notes to the texts and a very full glossary. With such a wealth of material in the two volumes it is perhaps inevitable that there should be occasional statements which are open to question. The later Middle English forms suggest that the author is mistaken in regarding OE. *y* (for earlier *ie*, *i*) as merely an orthographical variant of *i*; it would have been better to separate the *i*-mutation of *a* and of the *a*/*o* sound; the general assumption that the loss of medial *h* resulted in a lengthening of the preceding vowel still requires proof; and is it fair to gloss *ambyrne* in *Ohthere* as 'contraire (vent)' without comment? Such points, however, are only minor details, and in most cases the author could probably put up a strong case in his own defence. In general it should be emphasised that this is easily the

fullest, and in many ways the best, introduction to Old English which has yet appeared.

J. Hedberg, *The Syncope of the Old English Present Endings*,[4] presents a survey of the second and third sg. pr. ind. of the Old English strong verbs, and of the weak verbs of Class I, in an attempt to discover whether syncope, or lack of syncope, in these forms is to be regarded as a reliable dialectal criterion. All manuscripts containing prose works in Old English—with the exception of those which contain lists of names only—have been taken into consideration, and a full list of them is given, along with any other necessary particulars, arranged under the headings 'Kentish', 'West Saxon', 'West Saxon–Kentish', 'West Saxon–Anglian', 'Mercian', 'Northumbrian'. The author is, of course, well aware that the date and main dialectal character of many of the texts is not yet settled and in doubtful cases simply follows the opinion most widely held —which was probably the only practical plan. The material which follows is arranged under seven headings, according as the stem of the verb ends, or ended, in *h*, in *t*/*d*, in *p*/*b*/*k*/*g*, in a spirant, in a liquid, in *j*/*w*, or in a heavy consonant group. Each section is followed by statistical tables, an examination of the syncopated forms in Anglian texts and of the unsyncopated forms in non-Anglian texts, as well as comments on exceptional forms which are often of considerable interest. The author has thus provided a mass of well-arranged material from which conclusions can easily and safely be drawn. In general the results show that the number of unsyncopated forms is very small in the West Saxon and Kentish texts, they increase in the West Saxon–Kentish texts, preponderate in the West Saxon–Anglian ones, and become the rule in Mercian and Northumbrian. Apart from such results many other points of interest emerge in the course of the examination; the use of the unsyncopated verb in Ælfric when the subject is God or the Holy Ghost; the comparative smallness of the area in which the syncopated forms were regular; the fact that the loss of medial *h* in such forms appears to have been confined to North Mercian and Northumbrian. The investigation has been most ably carried out, and

[4] *The Syncope of the Old English Present Endings*, by J. Hedberg. Lund: G. W. K. Gleerup. London: Williams and Norgate. pp. 310. Dan. Cr. 21.

its result will be useful to all future workers on the Old English dialects.

An Etymological Note (*Stud. Neoph.*) by M. T. Löfvenberg deals with the Old English nouns for 'hut' descended from the PrGmc. root **kut-*. He finds that Old English possessed the following words: *cot*, n. (from **kuta-*), *cote*, f. (from **kutōn*), **cīete*, *cȳte*, f. (from **kautiōn*), and **cyte*, m. (from *kuti*). The last may perhaps be recorded in Old English in the dat. *cyte*, *cete*, and is later reflected in Middle Kentish *kete* and modern dialectal *kit(t)* 'outhouse for cattle'. The first element of OE. *cytwer* 'weir for catching fish' seems to be a word for 'basket' from the same root. It may be identical with OE. **cīete*, *cȳte* 'hut', but is more probably the ancestor of the modern dialectal *kit* 'basket', in which case it would represent an OE. **cyte*, identical with **cyte* 'hut', or an OE. **cytt*, f. (from **kutiō*) corresponding to MHG. *kütze*, f., 'basket'.

The only work on syntax appears to be H. Meroney's *The Early History of 'down' as an Adverb* (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.). In this paper the author examines the use in Old English of *ofdune* as compared with *niðer*. He suggests that the difference between them was originally dialectal, and that *ofdune* originated in the North, thence spreading southwards and displacing the earlier form *niðer* so that by 1300 *(a)doun* had become the usual form. Old English, in addition to these two, had four other related words, *niðere*, *neoðan*, *niðor*, and *ufan*, the first of these having the sense 'rest down below', the second 'motion from below'. *Niðer* and *ofdune* are repeatedly used of motion 'downwards, to below', but at times by a secondary development may indicate a state of rest 'down below'. Confusion between *niðer* and *niðor* probably led to the favouring of the less ambiguous *ofdune*. In Indo-European and Primitive Germanic the original of *niðer* probably referred to descent from any level of verticality, but *ofdune* must have been applicable at first only to descent from a *dun*, for each speaker a roughly defineable height of ground. But with the reduction of the first element the analogy with *dun* grows more obscure, and as a result throughout the OE. texts *ofdune*, like *niðer*, expresses motion from ground level into depths as well as descent from the heavens. This synonymy can be shown most thoroughly in relation to the uses of *ufan*

which does great service only for motion from high overhead, whereas *niðer* and *ofdune* function alike within all limits. Assumedly an Old English speaker was able in fancy to overlook (or underlie) descent taking place above (or below) him; each instance of *ufan* or of *niðer/ofdune* can thus be interpreted as subjunctive or transcendental. Meroney adds some further comments on the subject.

No new work at all seems to have appeared on the phonology of modern English during the year, the only article on the subject being H. Kökeritz, *The Reduction of Initial* kn *and* gn *in English* (*Language*, April–June), which, in the main, is simply a reprint of the monograph on the subject contained in the author's edition of the work of Mather Flint (see *Y.W.*, xxv, 34–5). On a different subject of the period there is O. Funke's *Sprachphilosophie und Grammatik in englischen Sprachbüchern des 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts*.[5] This is an examination of remarks on the subject to be found in the works of Wallis, Wilkins, and more particularly Cooper and Lowth, as well as others.

Most of the work published on modern English subjects deals with the etymology of individual words, not only of words which are still in use, but also of some which have since become obsolete. J. C. Russell in '*Buzones*', *An English-Latin Hybrid?* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.) suggests that the word *buzones*, 'prominent men in the county courts', found twice in medieval Latin, may be an English word which has been carried over into Latin. It may be connected with the words *buzz* and *busy*, the former in its sense 'incite by suggestion' (a sense not recorded before the seventeenth century), and the latter in the sense of 'business men'. But early evidence for such meanings is lacking, and the suggestion cannot be regarded as very probable. This is recognized by D. W. Robertson, Jr., who, in '*Buzones*', *An Alternative Etymology* (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.), suggests rather connexion with OFr. *buison*, *buson* 'a kind of hawk, or falcon', said to have been used also in the sense of 'buzzard'. Despite semantic difficulties the word may later have come to be used in the sense 'rapacious man'. A. Bell, '*Teseillun*' *in the Vita S. Willelmi Norwicensis* (*M.L.R.*, April), points out that this word, although taken by the editors of the text to be an English word and

[5] In *Wege und Ziele*, by Otto Funke. (See p. 16, note.)

translated 'teazle', is more probably an ultimate derivative of L. *tensus*, formed either from Fr. *teser* or L. *tensicula*, and denoting some kind of gag.

A model example of an investigation into the meaning and etymology of a Middle English word, with all the available evidence carefully collected and lucidly set out, is provided in F. Behre's *English gal(e), gol, goal* (*Stud. Neoph.*). The first of these words occurs twice in Thomas Castleford's *Chronicle*, and since one of the occurrences is in rhyme it is proved to have had a long vowel. The obvious sense of the word in the context is 'possibility, chance; expedient, method', and it is suggested that all these senses may go back to an original sense 'way, road, passage', evidence for similar developments in meaning being given for other words in English and in other Indo-European languages. Further support for such an original sense is to be found in the occurrence of the word in some of the manuscripts of the *Northern Passion* and in the Cotton manuscript of the *Cursor Mundi*. Etymologically the Middle English form does not make it clear whether the word had a long or a short vowel in Old English, but a consideration of cognate Scandinavian words suggests that the Old English form was *gāl* (PrGmc. **gail*), not *găl*, and there are definite indications in Old English itself that such a word existed in the language. It is possible, too, that the Old English word may be the source of modern English *goal*, recorded before the sixteenth century only in a single instance in William of Shoreham. Here, too, mention should be made of O. Funke, *Zur Wortgeschichte der französischen Elemente im Englischen*,[6] an examination of the history of some French loan-words in early Middle English.

The fullest article on the etymology of a modern English word is one by O. Arngart, *The Word 'Shilling'* (*Stud. Neoph.*), in which he examines two proposed etymologies of the word. The first of these suggests derivation from *shield* (*shilling* from **skelðuling*), but the word is first recorded in Gothic as *skilliggans*, acc.pl., and an examination of the available evidence indicates that such a Gothic form could hardly have developed from an original **skelðuling*. The second proposed derivation is from the base **skell-*'to sound'. There already exists an Old English word *scyl* (from

[6] In *Wege und Ziele*, pp. 99–121.

earlier **sciell*) 'resounding', and a formation from this would give the form required. As parallels we have the name of the minstrel in *Widsith*, of which the obvious explanation is connexion with *scyl*, and the personal name *Scilling* in Old English. As far as the meaning is concerned chronology is against the supposition that the name arose in the first place from the likeness of its impression to a shield, or from the use of the oldest imported coins as ornamental shields worn round the neck at a period when they were so rare that they could be used only as ornaments. Moreover good parallels for the transition from name of ornament to name of coin are lacking. On the other hand parallels are available to support the interpretation 'ringing coin', indicating good money as compared with bad, So, for example, MLG. *klinkert*, a name used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for different Dutch gold coins. Similarly OFr. *klepskelde*, *klipskelde*, originally denoting a tax paid in ringing coin, and an account of the payment of the tax in Saxo (Book viii, end) shows that it could only be paid with a coin sufficiently heavy to produce a sound clearly audible to the tax-collector when thrown into a shield or receptacle at a given distance from the place where he sat. Presumably the coin received its name under circumstances similar to this, though not necessarily identical. It is not improbable that the Teutons called the Roman solidus of Constantine by such a name simply because when tested it gave off a clear ring in contrast with the debased currency of the centuries preceding Constantine's reform.

C. H. Livingston, *French 'Treteau': English 'Trestle'* (*Mod. Phil.*, Nov.), objects to the proposed derivation of the French word from Latin *transtellum* or *tristigum*, and believes that the English loan-word indicates the numeral 'three', L. *tri*, as the first element. The second element would then be from OFr. *estel* (from Middle Dutch *stele*) giving OFr. *trestel*, the ME. *trestle* being the result of the shift of accent to the first syllable and resulting compression.

H. D. Austin, *A Suggestion as to the origin of 'sundae'* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.), believes that the word may be connected with the Sanskrit *saṁdhi* 'putting together', a word applied by Sanskrit grammarians to the phonetic combination of two successive words.

Three articles have appeared by Leo Spitzer suggesting French etymologies for various English words usually explained otherwise or noted as 'origin unknown'. Again some of the suggestions strike

one as being perhaps more ingenious than probable, but again all must be taken into consideration by future lexicographers. All that can be done here is to give the English word and indicate in brackets the proposed etymology, but it must be made clear that, however far-fetched some of these may appear, Spitzer is invariably able to bring forward plausible, and usually convincing, arguments in support of them. Two of the articles have the same title, *Anglo-French Etymologies* (*P.Q.*, Jan.; *M.L.N.*, Dec.), and in the first of them the following words are dealt with: *askance/asquint* (OE. *as* (*a*) + OFr. *quanses*; Fr.*équinter*), *frill* (Fr. *friller*), *peevish* (OFr. **epaive* from L. *expavidus*), *saunter* (Fr. *cintrer*), *squirm* (OFr. **escoir(e)mier* from OFr. *cuirien* from Vulgar Latin **coriamen* from Latin *corium*), *toy* (Fr. *taie*). The second article proposes etymologies for *balderdash* (Poitevin **boudreillas(se)*), *caterwaul* (OFr. *chalivali*), *curlicue* (OFr. **croule-queue* 'wagtail'), *dudgeon* (Fr. *digeon*), *pilliwinks* (OFr. **pirouique*), *prowl* (OFr. **proler*), *tantrums* (general popular alteration of *anthem*), *doldrums* (dialectal Fr. **dond(r)ain(e)*, *dand(r)-ain(e)*), *vagary* (Fr. *flamenguerie*). The third article, *Three Etymological Notes* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.), deals with gun (OFr. *gonne* 'long tubular garment', hence 'sleeveless tunic of silk or hides worn by men as well as by women, often worn by the knight over the armour'), *car(ri)w(h)itchet* (Normandian, Picardian, Walloon **(es)querviche*, dialectal form of Fr. *écrevisse*), *gal(l)ivant* (Fr. *galvauder*), *gilravage* (Fr. *galvaudage*).

As additions to the *O.E.D.* we have Kemp Malone, *Good Anglo-Saxon* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.), giving a quotation from J. N. Hall, *Lost Island* (Boston 1944), p. 160, to show *Anglo-Saxon* used in the sense 'English', whilst J. Prescott, *Not in the Dictionaries* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.), gives a dozen words which are not to be found in any of the standard dictionaries: *all-of-a-sudden*, adj.; *bank-holiday*, v.; *candelabra*, v.; *crock-kneed*, adj.; *death-terror*, n.; *markwell*, n.; *peterpantheism*, n.; *pseudalist*, n.; *robotess*, n.; *spleenical*, adj.; *sun-forsaken*, adj.; *winefully*, adv. None of these usages is supported by more than a single reference; all are obvious nonce-words, and unless, or until, they become more firmly established it is difficult to see why dictionaries should be expected to waste space on them.

Nineteen hundred and forty-five was once again a lean year for

English place-name studies. Only a single note connected with the subject appeared, R. M. Smith's *Lawman's 'Gernemuðe'* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) in which Smith rejects Blenner-Hasset's identification of the name with Yarmouth, Isle of Wight (*Y.W.*, xxiii, 72), and agrees with Madden that Great Yarmouth is intended (see also below, chap. V, p. 63).

A gap in the excellent series of Oxford reference books has been admirably filled by E. G. Withycombe's work on Christian names.[7] Although it takes account only of those medieval names which survived the fourteenth century or which were later revived, includes only the commoner Welsh, Irish and Gaelic names, and makes no attempt to deal with modern fancifulness, yet within these limits it is as full as could reasonably be expected, and if we should have liked more that is only some indication of the attraction of the book. In the preface the author deals gently with her predecessors, but all her kindness cannot conceal the fact that the subject is here dealt with scientifically for the first time—though one might perhaps have expected some reference to Weekley's work on the subject. For the first time the available early material has been carefully examined and extensively used. No doubt still more material of this type is to be found which the author has not been able, or has not felt it necessary, to consult, but it is doubtful whether it would do more than supplement or confirm the results already obtained. An introduction sketches the general history of nomenclature from ancient to modern times, with fascinating excursions into such subjects as the legal status of names, changes in fashion, the rise of surnames, surnames as Christian names, and the use of two or more Christian names. It is to be hoped that in the future the author may be persuaded to elaborate much of this, and to tell us more about such things as the local distribution of names, their rise and fall in social position, etc. The body of the work is arranged alphabetically, 'each article including early forms of the name, its equivalent in other languages, pet forms and etymology, together with an account of its introduction into England and subsequent history'. An appendix gives a list of common words derived from Christian names.

[7] *The Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names*, by E. G. Withycombe. O.U.P. pp. xxxvi+136. 7s. 6d.

Crowther's Encyclopaedia of Phrases and Origins[8] is a disheartening book for the etymologist. Although some of the old discredited anecdotes are dismissed with scorn many others still remain, even though proof that they are wrong is easily obtainable. Little attempt seems to have been made to use authoritative reference books, and although the *O.E.D.* is occasionally mentioned a proper use of it would have avoided some of the strange hybrids which pass as Old English, Old Icelandic, etc. Nor would a dictionary of classical mythology have come amiss to the author. Intruders into the work are a number of words which simply act as an excuse for the giving of snippets of statistical information—which may or may not be correct. The reason for mentioning such a compilation is that an occasional entry does give a glimpse of better things.

A much superior work to the preceding one is Joseph T. Shipley, *Dictionary of Word Origins*.[9] It opens with a useful and adequate explanation of the linguistic terms used, a brief explanation of Grimm's Law as it affects English, and a summary of some theories on the origin of language which is unfortunately too brief to be other than misleading. In the entries themselves considerable scholarship is shown; the author evidently knows the best authorities and uses them wisely. Occasional suggestions that an Old English word is to be derived from the Old High German, or a Latin one from the Sanskrit, are probably due rather to an attempt at brevity than to any misconception on the part of the author. Yet, with all the book's undoubted merits, a constant ponderous attempt at playfulness very soon becomes irritating. Moreover whilst, in view of the title, it would not be surprising to find words derived from one root, however remotely, dealt with under the same key word, the author goes very far beyond this, and unrelated words used to explain the key word may be discussed in full, and in turn words used to explain these. The result is that usually at least half the entries on any one page are simply cross-references, some of which are surprising, to say the least. For example under *admire* we are referred to *admiral* and *emir*; under

[8] *Crowther's Encyclopaedia of Phrases and Origins*, by Edwin Radford. John Crowther. pp. 156. 13*s.* 6*d.*

[9] *Dictionary of Word Origins*, by Joseph T. Shipley. New York: The Philosophical Library. pp. x+430. $5.

the first of these we learn only that *admire* and *admiral* are not related, under the second, after the derivation of *emir*, we are given for no apparent reason the etymology of *admire* and its related words, whilst the end of the entry harks back to an explanation of the ending of *admiral* which should rather have appeared under that word. See also such entries as those under the words *clothes*, *curfew*, *quaint*, and *scourge*. Cross-references are entirely adequate, but the reader's time and temper would have been saved by a less frequent and haphazard use of the device. In general the book is well produced, though occasionally the printer has lapsed with the result that some of the pages, e.g. pp. 278, 279, 282, 283, etc., are practically unreadable. Appendices provide a list of doublets, a list of words formed from proper names, and brief etymological dictionary of Christian names, all useful and well done. It is unfortunate that the editor should have felt it necessary to write down to his readers, and by so doing to disguise his very capable scholarship.

On modern English dialects there is a long and interesting paper by J. A. Sheard, *Dialect Studies* (*Trans. of the Phil. Soc.*). This deals generally with the value of dialect studies, the problems facing the dialect worker, what exactly he is to record, etc., and goes on to illustrate these points by reference to the author's own work on the dialect of Lower Calderdale. A brief historical account of the extant records for the dialect is given, followed by a concise but fairly complete account of the phonology, with briefer notes on the accidence. Appendices contain some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century examples of the dialect. This is an important article which all interested in modern dialectal work will find of interest, and Sheard's practical experience will give workers in the field much valuable information as to procedure as well as saving them from many of the pitfalls which await the unwary investigator.

R. A. Hall, Jr., *Notes on British Solomon Islands Pidgin* (*M.L.N.*, May), is intended as an addendum to the same writer's book on *Melanesian Pidgin English* (Baltimore, 1943). The book was based mainly on the variety of pidgin English used in the Sepik Valley (SeP), and that of the British Solomon Islands (BSP) differs from this. An examination of the latter suggests that Melanesian pidgin is to be divided into two main types, Western and Eastern; SeP.

is a sub-dialect of the former whilst BSP. is the main variety of the latter.

Here, too, may be included W. E. Collinson's criticism of some of the claims made for Basic English, *Basic English as an International Language* (*Trans. of the Phil. Soc.*). In this paper Collinson is chiefly concerned to examine the claim that Basic English is so far the best approach to a minimum secondary world language that has been devised. He approves of Richards's postulates for a supra-national language, but feels that these are better fulfilled by a 'constructed' language than by one already used by a nation or by a group of nations, and in general does not agree that these postulates militate in favour of Basic English. An examination of the vocabulary of Basic reveals several inconsistencies and deficiencies, whilst its pronunciation and orthography retain many features of standard English which foreigners find particularly difficult, e.g. the consonants (ð) and (θ), the vowels (æ), (ɔ:), (ʌ), etc., and the position of the stress. An even more serious difficulty is the chaotic nature of English, and the irregularities of accidence, which Basic retains. The methods of word-formation used will not infrequently tend to lead the foreigner astray, whilst 'the virtual elimination of the simple verb in favour of the verb-noun phrase makes heavy demands on the ingenuity of the English user and still heavier on the memorizing powers of the foreigner'. In the syntax constructional patterns of standard English which differ markedly from the prevalent Continental norms are often retained, and will prove particularly difficult to foreigners. In addition there are stylistic difficulties since much that is written in Basic necessarily shows a mixture of incongruous styles.

Collinson then goes on to consider what advantages—if any—such constructed languages Ido, Esperanto, etc., possess in comparison with Basic from the point of view of their fitness to become the auxiliary international languages of the world. Amongst the chief advantages are the facts that they have a system of phonology readily mastered by the vast majority of non-English speakers; a rationalized system of orthography; a system of accidence with the bare minimum of inflexions; a system of word formation by means of which the meaning of the composite word is the resultant of a combination of the meanings of the separate components; syntactical constructions which can be made to con-

form to common Continental usage; and the possibility of the development of a uniform style. In conclusion the author disclaims any intention of examining the claim of Basic English to be a good means of approach to the full standard language, but suggests that the available evidence is far from substantiating such a claim.

Only a single work on American English has come to hand this year, J. H. Neumann, *The Dutch Element in the Vocabulary of American English* (*J.E.G.P.*, July). In this article Neumann makes a careful examination of the sixty Dutch words shown by the *Dictionary of American English* as appearing in the vocabulary of American English, and notes also a few other possibilities. The loan words fall into several distinct categories; names for foods, topographical terms, children's games, household objects and utensils, plants, fishes and animals, occupational and administrative terms, colloquial or slang. Chronologically the earliest borrowings, those dating from the seventeenth century, are topographical or official, but the greater number come in during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. They provide little evidence for any differences of dialect amongst the original settlers, and the most striking features of them are the relatively early obsolescence of many of the words, their extreme provincialism, and the comparative smallness of the number of borrowings.

E. E. Ericson, *The Dialect of Up-State New York: A Study of the Folk-Speech in Two Works of Marietta Holley*,[10] takes two works of Marietta Holley (1844–1926), a prolific writer of essays and stories dealing with the rural peoples of New York, and from the forms found in them tries to give a full description of the dialect. No attempt is made to discover whether in fact the author of the books was intending to reproduce any particular dialect, and the value of such an analysis, devoid of all contact with actual speakers, is slight. The interpretation of the spellings must, as always in such cases, remain doubtful, nor can it be decided how many of the apparent dialectal forms are purely literary conventions. J. M. Haller, on *Edward Eggleston, Linguist* (*P.Q.*, April), deals with the author of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, a work which is often credited with launching the vogue for dialect in American fiction

[10] In *Studies in Language and Literature*, ed. by G. R. Coffman (see p. 24).

of the 1870s and 1880s. A brief account of Eggleston's early life shows how it prepared him to be a good observer of dialect, and his use of it in various books, together with his formal articles on the subject, are examined. A summary, later expanded, of his ideas about speech shows that his views are remarkable for their breadth, penetration and soundness.

J. C. Colcord's *Sea Language Comes Ashore*[11] is a pleasant and unpretentious book by one with a first-hand acquaintance with the sea. It does not pretend to be a comprehensive dictionary of sea terms, and is concerned only with those which have made themselves at home on land. Perhaps it is as well that we should be reminded of the nautical origin of such words and phrases as *bear up, bitter end, first rate, jumper, overhaul, stay*, etc. However, most of the terms given by the author still retain a very close connexion with the sea, and the main value of the book is that it gives a clear definition of them, and more especially of those which the landsman is apt to misuse. In the introduction criticism is disarmed by a modest disclaimer of any philological qualifications, and in fact few etymologies are given, though those which do appear are usually correct enough. The book makes pleasant and instructive reading, and it is to be hoped that Miss Colcord will prepare a similar work dealing with the terms which have not yet come ashore before they die out.

[11] *Sea Language Comes Ashore*, by J. C. Colcord. New York: Cornell Maritime Press. pp. ix+213. $2.25.

III

OLD ENGLISH

By MARJORIE DAUNT

THE output for 1945 is rather on the war-time level, as might be expected. There are two books and a number of articles, but the restrictions of paper and the other less material difficulties that scholars have had to face seem to have worked against large studies, and the material, though interesting, is on the small scale. This state of things will right itself in the next few years if a new angle of approach to Old English language and literature can be found. There have been signs that a new approach is already being found by some writers. All knowledge needs to be re-stated for the new generation once in fifty years. In Old English studies re-statement is at least a hundred years overdue.

H. D. Meritt's book *Old English Glosses*[1] is a slender volume which contains a great deal of matter. He publishes about 2,300 glosses, mostly hitherto unpublished, and gathered from forty-two manuscripts, with the laudable intention of making accessible scattered material, and so adding another usable store to the established work of Wülcker, Napier and Sweet. It is interesting that some of these glosses have come from Old High German MSS., the glossators of which were copying from Old English. This was recognized as early as 1911, but the inter-relationship in scholarship, and particularly in scribal work, is still too often overlooked. A list of the MSS. used is provided, with bibliographical references, and the glosses are clearly set out with the Latin and with footnotes both textual and interpretative. Quite half the book is composed of Old English and Latin indexes. This is the kind of work which has cost years of skilled and patient labour (fifteen years, to judge from a remark in the introduction), and which may be taken too easily for granted as a 'hand-book', which indeed it

[1] *Old English Glosses*, by H. D. Meritt. New York: M.L.A.A. London: O.U.P. pp. xx+136. $3.00 18s. 6d.

deserves to be, if that means a reference book, constantly in the hand.

Gavin Bone's '*Beowulf*' *in Modern Verse*[1] is a proof of its maker's courage. What is there about this poem, so often derided by the literary critics as 'barbarous', unepic', etc., which wins lovers time after time to attempt to pass on to the modern reader the pleasure they themselves find in it? This new effort will be very acceptable to the lay reader who knows nothing about the poem. It is intentionally too impressionistic to be any use to the University student in need of a 'crib', but the latter will find much mental provocation of a valuable kind in the introduction, whether he agrees with it or not. There is no question that in Bone we lost a very imaginative young Anglo-Saxonist, whose work later on might have enriched scholarship.

The most valuable contribution, in the present writer's view, is the recognition of the relationship of Anglo-Saxon so-called verse to speech—'I have conceded far more to the ordinary tradition of how English verse and English sentences should go.' This is the right line, and the translation might have achieved really great heights if its author had not been tempted to use rhyme. The fetter of rhyme cramps his style in many cases and compels him to use a weaker word when a strong one is available. Scyld's funeral ship has to be 'ready to wend' to rhyme with 'friend'. Where a ship is concerned it is a loss to avoid the time-honoured 'outward bound'. The whole translation is clearly inspired by an intense feeling for the poem and it should lead many readers who pick it up from curiosity to turn to the text out of interest.

The complicated events of the fight at *Finnsburg*, and after, tempt Kemp Malone (*M.P.*, Aug.) to worry the puzzle time after time. Here he suggests that (1) *wica neosian*, *Beowulf*, l. 1125, is plural in form but singular in sense, and refers to Finn's burh or hall. (2) *geseon* is taken as meaning 'to see to the end', 'see the last of', and compared with the use in l. 2252. The Danes entered on the last stage of their stay in Frisia. This must apply to Danes, and not to demobilized Frisians. In this interpretation *hamas ond heaburh*, 'mansions and royal castle' is regarded as a piece of decorative description, like 'Milan with its factories and great Cathedral'.

[1] *Beowulf in Modern Verse*, by Gavin Bone. Blackwell. pp. x+84, 15*s*.

It is a strong point of this line of argument that the main interest of the poet is thus the Danes and not the Frisians, and also that immediately after this he is analysing the state of mind of the Danish leader. Malone is now sure that both fights take place in the same *burh*, namely Finn's chief castle, which must be in Frisia. It is not made quite clear how this could be in view of the opening lines of the *Finnsburg*. Still the deadlock between Danes and Frisians is neatly explained by the Frisians' fear that the whole castle will be destroyed by fire if the Danes are driven to desperation, so Finn offered them the best of terms. Then Malone's version of the story takes the *wea-laf* of the Danes back at the end of the winter to their own land, where, debarred as they were themselves by their oath of fealty to Finn from avenging Hnæf, they could, and did, egg on Guðlaf and Oslaf to do it. The story is still not quite convincing. How and when did Guðlaf and Oslaf (or Ordlaf) get home? If they were in Frisia during the winter they too would have been bound by the oath. Why did not everyone die to avenge Hnæf?

In a note on *Finnsburg*, l. 39 (*R.E.S.*, April) Malone suggests another reading of the text than that usually accepted:

> *ne nefre swaton wicne, medo, sel forgyldan*
> *ðonne Hnæfe guldon his hægstealdas*

'Nor have I ever (heard of) retainers paying for their beer, their mead, any better than his young men paid Hnæf.' To reach this reading the words *swa noc* recorded by Hickes, are taken as *swaton*, a plural mass word recorded, but not found in verse; and *hwitne* of Hickes becomes *wicne*, a plural fem. ō-stem 'servants, attendants, etc.', the only evidence for which is a verb *wicnian*, 'to serve, attend upon'. As so little of *Finnsburg* has survived it is impossible to judge its vocabulary and Malone may be right when he says 'in my opinion *wicn* survived to the time of the *Finnsburg* poet, who presumably thought of it as a fine poetic word for retainer'.

L. Whitbread has contributed an article *Three Beowulf Allusions* to *N. & Q.*, 17 Nov. This draws attention to possible parallels between ll. 544–8, 569–72, and 579–81 in *Beowulf* and *Aeneid III*, 194–200, where Aeneas is describing a storm at sea. A second parallel is drawn between *Beowulf*, 1609, and one of the

epic songs of Russia. Here the sword which melts in Grendel's lair, (*not* the hero's sword, by the way, but the magic sword which he took down from the wall), melts away like ice in sunshine. The third passage dealt with is *Beowulf* 2247, taken with *Beowulf* 244 . . ., where the poet enlarges on the sad and elegiac fate of a last survivor. The writer sees a possible connexion with Celtic poetry and pictures the *Beowulf* poet as following in these laments for the past 'an established convention of literature rather than any personal experiences of loss. . . .'

It is hard to see in the parallel passages presented any more than the natural similarity of literary presentation produced by similarity of event from men of the same social age. Stories at sea are always alike and sailors usually describe them in the same way. Floating survivors are always 'cast-up' on the shore. So also the sword in an age of swordsmen, is the symbol that springs to the mind most readily. Lastly men of strong physical prowess usually love sad songs and the elegy for departed glory must have been pleasing without any personal poignancy.

It is hardly within the scope of this section to survey the results of the influence of Anglo-Saxon literature on modern English, but when the modern writer is C. S. Lewis it is amusing to know that he cannot wholly desert his first love. In *Beowulf on Perelandra* (*N. & Q.*, 7 April) S. Musgrove has compared the fight of Ransom and the Un-man with Beowulf's fight from which it is naturally descended.

An attractive explanation of the purpose of *Widsiþ* is suggested by W. H. French in '*Widsith*' *and the Scop* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.). Stated in his own words it is simply this: that the writer was a scop; that his learning was merely professional; that his object in displaying it was not to teach or to construct a rhapsody on heroic themes; that far from being in retirement, he was striving to remain in active service; and that his ultimate aim in composing the poem or in reciting it subsequently was to interest a patron in supporting him'. As French points out 'the probability that a scop, in a poem of one hundred and forty-three lines, would mention rewards a dozen times is very strong, the probability that a cleric, whose interest in the profits would be nil, would nevertheless allude to them frequently is very slender'. The slight references to

each of the important people or tribes mentioned, are seen as samples intended to whet curiosity and suggest the more exciting things the poet could tell.

This theory is worked out with reason and an imaginative grasp of the outlook of the period. The lord who is to employ the scop would naturally want to know what tales he could tell (and the guarantee of truthfulness would lie in the fact that any one of them might be called for as a sample). The need of suitable reward is more insisted on in the poem than has always been recognized and this strongly supports the idea of 'plying for hire' rather than some of the less everyday interpretations which have been put forward.

In *Irish in the Old English Charms* (*Speculum*, April) Howard Meroney tackles a problem which has been on the table since the days of Cockayne but never satisfactorily dealt with. In his *Leechdoms* Cockayne indexed as Irish a short passage in a recipe which contained the names of Irish Saints, but against this he says of another passage later recognized as Irish, 'The words themselves seem to belong to no known language'. It was left to Heinrich Zimmer to show that the language underlying what appeared to be gibberish in these charms was really Irish. He was not able to consult the MSS. and the research was not pushed to a conclusion. Zimmer's article was nearly forgotten and does not appear in the edition of the spells made in 1909 by Grendon.

Meroney goes in detail into the non-A.S. words in these charms and finds not only Irish forms but sometimes good contextual sense. It is impossible to summarize the work, but his conclusion may be quoted: 'More has been made out than isolated words. Zimmer identified the phrases *acræ ær cræ* and *ær nem*, and he clarified the larger syntactical sequences *ratica mo helæ icas* and *robater slana uili*. Thurneysen brought to light the three brief sentences in *Gonomil or ȝomil marbumil*. In the first recipe we have now salvaged the groups *mal int soarlina* and *brio ru be broht*; in the second it had been possible to improve upon Zimmer's handling of *to bært tera fueli* and to augment his longer passages with *arcun cu naŏ ele* and *scp ita hæle*; Thurneysen's work has been carried forward by the recovery of *tofeŏ tenȝo* and *cuillo biran*; and finally, in Charm IV, hitherto unread, after producing a translation of *ær ȝrin thonn stuht fola* we have brought together the

entire second half of the charm, a roughly consecutive passage of eighteen words'.

In some instances a meaningful connexion has been assumed between the charm and the accompanying instructions. The assumptions are unneeded when it comes to the interpretation of *brio ru be broht* in I, *ær nem* in II, *gono mil* in III, and *struth fola* in IV; these expressions are unmistakably Irish and their meanings, which each time correspond with Old English notices, are quite certain. We must therefore discard the opinion that these supposedly senseless medical prescriptions were mere hocus-pocus to their compilers, and we must infer some kind of professional contact between the Anglo-Saxon *læce* and the Irish *lieig*.

Kenneth Sisam has a note on *Seafarer*, ll. 97–102, in (*R.E.S.*, Oct.). These lines comprise the somewhat involved passage about the brother strewing the grave of his brother with gold. The note deliberately deals only with subject matter and the author makes two important assumptions: (1) that the text originally made sense; (2) that the original text is substantially preserved. The explanation lies not in heathen rites but in a reflexion of Ps. 48 (Roman version, v. 7–9) where the dominant idea is the uselessness of one man trying to shield another from the wrath of God by offerings. The present writer is specially interested in this confirmation of a conclusion she reached as long ago as 1916 (*M.L.R.*).

The Old-English Poem 'Almsgiving', by L. Whitbread (*N. & Q.*, 14 July) is an ingenious and well-supported explanation of the nine-lined poem in the Exeter Book as (1) a poem complete in itself, and (2) an adaptation of the old heroic standard of generosity to the Christian virtue of charity to the poor. The writer differs from W. S. Mackie in thinking that the rather ambiguous occurrences of *he* in ll. 5 and 6, refer to the earl, who can quench the fire of sin by almsgiving. This idea is proved to be a frequent homeletic figure. The exploitation of the old heroic values to later Christian purposes is characteristic, of course, of all the religious epics of Old English, and the exploitation of the virtue of generosity, open-handedness, largesse is particularly pleasing. The present writer cannot help wondering if the little religious poems in the Exeter Book, of which this poem is the first, do not represent a series of practice pieces intended to be used as morals to add to non-Chris-

tian poems. This might explain the moral and very bad ending of the *Seafarer*. The poet-scribe in that case was a poor one. This article should not be overlooked.

A note on *Old West-Germanic Poetic Unity* by F. P. Magoun Jr. (*M.P.*, Aug.) seems to be a suggestion for the teaching of Old English Literature in Colleges. It points out the well-known similarity in matter and manner between Old English poetry, the fragmentary *Hildebrand lay* and the *Waltharii poesis* in spite of the metre of the latter poem. It is always a good thing to re-emphasize the fact that the racial unit of the heroic world of the north was for England not England but North-western Europe. It is not easy for readers of Beowulf to forget it. To help students to realize the West Germanic unity clearly, Magoun has turned the *Hildebrand* into Old English and this *tour de force* is included in the article.

An interesting article on some of the problems of Ohthere's account of his voyages is to be found in *Ohthere* (*Ottar*) *and Egil's Saga* by B. J. Whiting (*Speculum*, July). The aim of the article is three-fold. The author points out that certain passages in the *Egil's Saga Skalla-Grimssonar* give a good deal of information bearing on the tribute paid by the Finns to the Norsemen. This tribute was collected by individual lords apparently till the time when Harold Fairhair was centralizing authority. In the *Egils Saga* the king gave to a man called Brynjólfr 'the right of travelling to the Finns, that is the king's stewardship on the fell, and the right of trading with the Finns'. The meeting with the Finns and the market that took place is described. Secondly an important point is made that Ohthere's description of the coast line of the Scandinavian mainland presupposes a time when Harold Fairhair had not yet overrun a large part of it and added it to Norway. This was first pointed out by Kemp Malone. Whiting accepts a later dating for the establishment of Harold Fairhair's supremacy and quotes the authority of modern Scandinavian historians. This would permit Ohthere to have reached England rather later than Malone suggested. A tempting suggestion which the author only offers as a guess, is that Ohthere was one of the important Norwegian landowners who found Norway impossible under Harold Fairhair and so emigrated, in this case to England.

A few points may be added to the notice in Chapter II, pp. 27-2,

cf. Howard Meroney's article *The Early History of 'down' as an Adverb* (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.). In MSS. C and O of Gregory's *Dialogues*, *of dune* is used where the Hatton MS. has *niðer*. There seems to be a case for taking this as a dialectal difference. The *Durham Ritual*, *Lindisfarne Gospels* and *Vespasian Psalter* all have *of dune* only, or else in great preponderance over *niðer*. But Farman glossing the Mercian *Rushworth* changes *of dune* into *niðer*, and *niðer* is the only form in the West Saxon Gospels.

Meroney shows that the dictionaries are incomplete in their descriptions and suggests that *of dune* originated in the north and spread southward. Middle English confirms this suggestion for *niðer* occurs in less than a dozen texts, these coming from the east and south.

A long and painstaking article on *E and Æ in Farman's Mercian Glosses* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) by Sherman M. Kuhn claims to have 'succeeded in distinguishing the non-Mercian features of his (Farman's) text, and especially those features in which he seems to have been imitating the official West Saxon of the tenth century'. From this the next step in contemplation is the possibility of restoring 'the general outlines of the glossator's native speech, his pronunciation as it would have been without the influence of non-Mercian speakers and writers'. This seems to go beyond the limits of linguistic possibility. *Pronunciation* can never be reconstructed —nor can a human voice be recovered from a text, let alone a set of glosses.

The Domitian Bilingual of the Old-English Annals by F. P. Magoun, Jr. (*Speculum*, Jan.), is a highly detailed article of the alphabetic-geometric sort in which he considers the despised F version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS. *Cotton Domitian A. VIII* with the Latin text which runs parallel to it and which has never been fully edited. The article appears extremely learned but the present writer, in spite of careful examination of it, has been unable to find any conclusion of real interest except the fact that two texts are quite different!

In *M.L.Q.* (Dec.) F. B. Magoun continues his work on *The Domitian Bilingual of Old-English Annals*. This time he presents a list of *Corrigenda* on the F text as usually printed, followed by

eight explanatory notes, which are both interesting and clear. It is a pity that the whole revised text cannot be published in one edition, but no doubt that is what the author of the article intends to do.

Beatrice White has *Three Notes on Old and Middle English* (*M.L.R.*, July) and the two on Old English deal with whale hunting and the barnacle goose.

In connexion with whale hunting it was noted that the Arab cosmographer Gazwini (*d.* 1283) quotes from the Hispano-Arab Al Udhi (*c.* 1083) in his description of Ireland (Iceland?), telling of great centres of whale hunting from the tenth century off the Basque provinces of France and Spain. The method described savours of Pliny. The young whale is lured by hand-clapping and his enraged mother is driven away with powdered garlic. Gazwini also has a description which tallies with the bird described in the Old English *Riddle* 10.

In *A Note on Ælfric's Translation of Job* I, 6 by C. R. Davis (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) he points out that here Ælfric translated the Latin *filii dei* of the Vulgate by *Godes englas* and added a note Una translatio dicit *'filii Dei'* et altera dicit 'angeli Dei'. This *Altera* is here identified as Jerome's rendering of the Job verse from Origen's Greek *Hexapla.*

H. D. Meritt has a short note on *Beating the Oaks, an Interpre-of 'Christ'*, 678–9 (*Amer. Jour. of Phil. LXVI*). He accepts the translation 'Some can climb the high, steep tree' and argues that the passage refers to beating down the acorns for swine.

A few contributions to Old English Studies could not be obtained.

Some Philosophical and Adminatory Poems in the Exeter Book, by Helen Corsa, is the abstract of a Bryn Mawr dissertation and was published in *Microfilm Abstracs*, vol. vii.

Man in Anglo-Saxon and Old High German Bible Texts, by L. H. Gray, appeared in *Word*, vol. i, 1. This periodical appears to be unobtainable in this country.

IV

MIDDLE ENGLISH

I. CHAUCER

By DOROTHY EVERETT

THIS year's publications on Chaucer consist entirely of articles and notes in various periodicals, the majority of them being in the nature of comments on difficult passages, or discussions or explanations of allusions. The following record will begin with those that are concerned with the *Canterbury Tales*, and will, as usual, take them in the order in which the *Tales* themselves are presented in Skeat's edition.

The only one that deals with the *General Prologue* is E. P. Kuhl's brief note, Chaucer's *Madame Eglantine* (*M.L.N.*, May). In this he refers to a passage in Mandeville's *Travels* which he thinks may throw some light on the significance of the Prioress's name. 'Mandeville' describes three crowns of thorns with which Christ was crowned, and, of the last he writes, 'And aftreward he [Christ] was lad in to a Gardyn of Cayphas, and there he was crouned with Eglentier (v.r. Eglantine). . . . And this Croune has Crist on his Heved, whan he was don upon the Cross.' In view of this passage, and of the medieval habit of giving allegorical significance to flowers, it seems unlikely that, to Chaucer and his contemporaries, the name Eglantine was merely 'romantic sounding' (Robinson).

Johnstone Parr's article on *The Date and Revision of Chaucer's 'Knight's Tale'* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) calls in question some generally accepted opinions of Tatlock about the *Knight's Tale* (cf. *The Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*). With the exceptions of ll. 875–92, and the last line (l. 3108), Tatlock found no indication that Chaucer altered or adapted the work to which he refers in the *Legend of Good Women* (F. Prologue 420–1 'al the love of Palamon and Arcite of Thebes') when he incorporated it in the *Canterbury Tales* as the tale of the Knight. With this view Parr disagrees, and he also questions the date (about 1388–90) proposed

by Tatlock as that at which the *Knight's Tale* was put into its present place, preferring one after the middle of 1390.

The evidence which Parr adduces for his views is to be found in several passages which, he believes, contain topical allusions. The first is in ll. 2461–2, where Saturn says:

> *'I do vengeance and pleyn correccioun*
> *Whil I dwelle in the signe of the leoun.'*

Most of the evils ascribed by Chaucer to the influence of Saturn have been traced to 'authoritative astrological text-books', but 'vengeance' and 'pleyn correccioun' are not among them. Nor does there appear to be any general belief that Saturn is more malignant in the sign of Leo than in other signs. Parr therefore concludes that Chaucer is alluding to some current event or events. He notes that Saturn was actually in Leo between July 1387 and August 1389, and that during this period the Duke of Gloucester and his faction were taking 'vengeance' on the favourites of Richard II, many of them men with whom Chaucer had had connexions. Some of these men were impeached and sentenced to death, others were actually executed. In May 1389 Richard asserted himself, and having claimed the right to rule, he soon proceeded to mete out 'pleyn correccioun' to his opponents.

Another passage mentioned by Parr is the reference to the 'tempest at hir (Ypolita's) hoom-comynge', l. 884. Accepting Curry's definition of 'tempest' in this context as 'popular noise, disturbance, or excitement', he suggests that Chaucer is alluding to the celebrations in Paris, in June 1389, of the official coronation of the French queen, Isabella of Bavaria (cf. the description by Froissart). Various historical parallels have been suggested for Ypolita's intercession for the life of Palamon. Parr thinks that the most likely is the intercession of Anne of Bohemia to the Duke of Gloucester for the life of Sir Simon Burley (1388). Finally he suggests that a number of the details in Chaucer's description of the tournament and of the preparations for it, which were certainly not taken from the *Teseida*, were drawn from Chaucer's own experience. In May 1390 King Richard held a grand tournament in London, and Chaucer, as Clerk of the King's Works, was responsible for some of the preparations. It is noteworthy that Froissart's account of this tournament affords parallels to a number of the details in the *Knight's Tale*.

Parr admits that no one of his pieces of evidence is conclusive by itself, but he maintains that together they constitute 'a somewhat substantial argument' for a slightly later dating of the *Knight's Tale*, and for Chaucer's having revised 'Palamon and Arcite' rather more extensively than has been thought. It may be remarked, however, that there are inherent weaknesses in the kind of argument he uses. Not only is it difficult to *prove* that a supposed topical allusion actually exists; but, even when it has been generally agreed that a passage contains one, it is often impossible to be certain to which, of several events, it is referring.

In *Chaucer and 'Partonope of Blois'* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) the same writer refers to an article by R. M. Smith in *M.L.N.* 1936 (see *Y.W.*, xvii, 77–8) which mentioned certain similarities between the *Knight's Tale* and the Middle English version of *Partonope*. Parr has found several more parallels, but he is not disposed, as Smith was, to think that Chaucer derived his lines from *Partonope*. We have at present no evidence that would lead us to date *Partonope* before the fifteenth century, and the likelihood is, therefore, that the fifteenth-century translator imitated Chaucer.

In *Four Chaucer Saints* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.), Miss R. H. Cline remarks on the appropriateness of some of the oaths used by the pilgrims in their tales. The appeal of the carpenter of Oxford to St. Frideswide (*Miller's Tale*, A 3449) is appropriate, not merely because there was a Priory of St. Frideswide at Oxford, but also because this saint was known for her skill in healing; and the carpenter has just been led to believe that Nicholas is ill. St. Cuthbert is invoked by the clerk John (*Reve's Tale*, A 4127) when he and Alan are begging the miller for hospitality. Miss Cline thinks that the point of this, apart from the obvious one that it is natural for 'a Northumberland man to swear by a Northumberland saint', is explained by reference to the well-known story of St. Cuthbert's entertaining unaware an angel (not 'angels'), who left miraculous food behind him. (It may be remarked here that the local significance of this oath has been fully discussed by J. R. R. Tolkien in *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1934.)

Miss Cline's other saints are 'Seint Thomas of Ynde' (*Merchant's Prologue*, E 1230), and 'St. Yve' (by whom the merchant in the *Shipman's Tale* swears, B 1417). She justifiably maintains that, of

the various saints with whom scholars have attempted to identify 'St. Yve', the most likely is St. Ivo of Chartres.

B. J. Whiting's article, '*By my fader soule*' (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.), contains some useful information bearing on the main problems of the much-discussed *Man of Law's End-link*. Several scholars have maintained that the speaker in B 1179 could not, in spite of the evidence of many MSS., have been the Squire, because—to quote F. Tupper—'men in the Middle Ages did not swear by the souls of living parents'. Whiting has collected a large number of passages, in French and English, in which this oath occurs, including some from Deschamps, Froissart (recording what purport to be the words of historical personages), the *Roman de Renart*, and various Miracle and Morality plays. He notes that the quotations establish two points. First, that though it was more usual to swear by the soul of a dead parent, 'it was possible to swear by that of one still living'; second, that in the two centuries after Chaucer, this type of oath was used only by low or rustic persons. Whiting refuses to commit himself as to the bearing of these conclusions on the problem of the original speaker in l. 1179, and contents himself with remarking 'Here is another starting-point from which something surely can be developed, but not by me'.

In *Chaucer and Courtly Love Once More—'The Wife of Bath's Tale'* (*Spec.*, Jan.), G. R. Coffman sets out to show how the *Wife's Tale* reflects the traditions of courtly love. He quotes the comment of Bell in his edition of Chaucer (1854–6) that, in ll. 1026–9, 'Queen Guenever is here represented sitting as judge in a Court of Love', and he elaborates this by referring to Book II, Chapter 7 of the *De Amore* of Andreas Capellanus, which contains judgments given by Eleanor of Aquitaine and other noble ladies. The case before Guenever is of the kind described in *De Amore*, and one of Chaucer's details, the mention of the noble wives, maids and widows who assist her, is paralleled by the description of the 'associate justices' who supported Eleanor of Aquitaine and Marie de Champagne.

In the final episode in the *Wife's Tale*, a main concern is the question of 'personal estimate or actual worth', a question which is discussed in Andreas's first Book. From what he says there, it is obvious that the hag's admission that she is 'foul, and oold, and

poore' (l. 1063) is tantamount to a recognition that she is outside the select circle to which the code of courtly love could apply. This admission leads on to her monologue on *gentilesse*, which, while 'epitomizing the Christian, Senecan, Boethian and Dantean concept of gentilesse, largely as summarized in the *Romance of the Rose*', also agrees in the main with Andreas's arguments on the subject, the exception being her views on poverty. By stressing the virtues of poverty, as 'an honest thyng' (l. 1183), a 'greet bryngere out of bisynesse' (1196), a means by which a man may know God and himself (1201–2), and find out who are his true friends (1203–4), the old hag is not merely showing up the baseness of the knight's attitude, she is also revealing the incongruities in the systems of courtly love and of feudal society. At the end of the *Tale* the fundamental idea in courtly love, that there could be no love between husband and wife, is flouted when the knight addresses the old woman both as 'my lady and my love' and as 'wyf so deere'. In this manner, so Coffman maintains, Chaucer reveals in the *Wife's Tale* 'his customary perception of the incongruities in life and in literary convention', and shows himself to be, 'in the Meredithian sense', a great master of comedy.

The identity of the 'tidyves' mentioned in the *Squire's Tale*, l. 648, and the 'tydif' of the *Legend of Good Women* (F 154), is discussed at some length and with much learning by Charlotte Macdonald in *Drayton's 'Tidy' and Chaucer's 'Tidif'* (*R.E.S.*, April). She gives good reasons for thinking that Chaucer meant the bird we now call the 'great tit'.

In *The Franklin's Tale, Line 942* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.), W. H. French proposes a new explanation of the line 'Withouten coppe he drank al his penaunce'. By means of various quotations in French and English, he shows that in medieval literature a man can be said to 'drink' the woes of love, and since 'penaunce' was a common word for the 'discomforts involved in falling in love without due encouragement', the phrase 'drink penaunce' would be intelligible. 'Withouten coppe', he thinks, merely expresses the obvious fact that the 'drinking' was metaphorical. French therefore interprets the line as meaning 'he inwardly ("withouten coppe") suffered bitter pain from love'.

It will be convenient to mention at this point four articles which

are fairly general in reference. In *Chaucer and the Red Rose* (*P.Q.*, Jan.), E. P. Kuhl maintains that Chaucer's various allusions to red roses had an allegorical significance. The red rose was the badge of Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, and it was taken by her husband, John of Gaunt, as his device. Gaunt succeeded to his father-in-law's duchy, and the red rose thus continued to be the badge of the house of Lancaster. Kuhl refers to a number of passages in which Chaucer mentions red roses, the earliest probably being what he terms an original line (l. 1680, 'I love wele sich roses rede') in the translation of the *Roman de la Rose*. (But cf. *Roman de la Rose*, l. 1644, *Icil ne font pas a hair*, which certainly suggested Chaucer's line.) Kuhl thinks that, by such references, Chaucer early showed himself to be 'with the Parliamentary party', since 'the red rose was the symbol of Parliamentarian sanction'. The 'rose garland whit and red' worn by Venus in the *House of Fame* (ll. 134 ff.), and other references to flowers 'whyte and reed' (cf. *General Prologue*, 89 f., *Knight's Tale*, 1053–4), suggest to Kuhl that Chaucer is hinting at the desirability of a union between the house of Lancaster and the Mortimers, who had the white rose as their badge, and that he is thus revealing his 'concern over a divided England'.

It may perhaps be suggested that before it is possible to be definite about the significance of red and white roses in Chaucer's poetry, it is necessary to consider carefully the contexts in which they are mentioned, and the significance (or significances) of some of the many references to them to be found elsewhere in medieval literature.

Margaret Galway, who is well known as the exponent of a similar kind of interpretation, defends her main thesis once again in *Chaucer's Hopeless Love* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.), her starting-point being Loomis's article of last year, *Chaucer's Eight Years' Sickness* (cf. *Y.W.*, xxv, 49). Loomis argued that, if Chaucer's reference, in l. 37 of the *Book of the Duchess*, to his eight years' sickness is not autobiographical, the 'one solid prop' to Miss Galway's identification of Chaucer's 'lady' as Joan of Kent is removed. Miss Galway, in reply, rejects the view that the 'eight yeer' is merely 'a displaced loan from Machaut'. Later allusions, she maintains, indicate that it is a correct reckoning of the duration of Chaucer's own love for Joan. The rest of her article is devoted to 'new documentary evi-

dence' in favour of the identification of 'Alceste' of the *Legend of Good Women* with Joan, and to showing that Chaucer constantly had her in mind in works written during her life-time. The 'evidence', which she says is still accumulating, is of the same sort as that produced in her first article on the subject, and, while gratifying to those who are already converted, is not likely to induce belief in those who are not.

In *Chaucer's Doctrine of Kings and Tyrants* (*Spec.*, April), Margaret Schlauch first outlines the theories of lordship current in Chaucer's day, and the practical problems of government at the time in England and Italy, and then considers what indications there are in Chaucer's works of his awareness of such matters.

Political theorists, both before Chaucer and in his life-time, were concerned with the distinction between a legitimate ruler and a tyrant. It was generally assumed that lordship is a duty, that it is subordinate to the law, and that its purpose is the welfare of all classes of the community. The ruler who ignores this end, equally with him who usurps power, is a tyrant. Though the twelfth-century writings on this subject were mainly derivative, being 'a reproduction of some classical commonplaces and Biblical *exempla* for homiletic purposes', in the next century new ground was broken, both by the English jurists who attempted to define the functions of royal power and the relation of a king to the laws, and, outside England, by a number of important writers, among whom Miss Schlauch mentions St. Thomas Aquinas, Brunetto Latini and Egidio Romano de Colonna. Various supporters of either side in the struggle between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines also dealt with the matter theoretically. In the Italy of Chaucer's own time the increasing power of such families as the Medici and the Visconti gave theorists fresh reasons for examining the nature of tyranny and the remedies against it; and at the same time, in England, the behaviour of Richard II afforded many concrete illustrations of the characteristics of a tyrant.

Chaucer's interest in the political situation at home is most fully indicated in the *Legend of Good Women*, in the speech of Alceste to the God of Love (especially F 372–90, G 353–76); and some of the phrases she uses, for example, 'he that kyng or lord is naturel' and 'A kyng to kepe his liges in justice', suggest that he also had a knowledge of current political theory. Miss Schlauch notes that

while the longer G version of this speech should probably be assigned to the 1390's when Richard's behaviour was becoming more outrageous, the shorter F version would already have been appropriate in the 1380's. Other indications of an active interest in political problems at home and abroad are Chaucer's advice to Richard in *Lak of Stedfastness*, and the examples of tyrants which he cites in several of his works. Admittedly some of these examples are merely stock ones (e.g. Nero, in the *Monk's Tale*, and Tarquin in *L.G.W.*), but the verse on Bernabò Visconti (*Monk's Tale*, B 3589 ff.) is a comment on contemporary Italian politics. (Incidentally it illuminates the reference to tyrants of Lombardy in the *Legend*, 'And not ben lyk tyraunts of Lumbardye', G 354). The phrase 'God of delit', used of Bernabò, reflects the frequent statements of the theorists that the tyrant pursues *delectabilia* rather than the common good (*bonum commune*); and that this *bonum commune* ('commune profit') was a familiar concept to the poet is clear from several passages in which he refers to it.

Robert A. Pratt's judicious article, *Conjectures regarding Chaucer's Manuscript of the 'Teseida'* (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.), is chiefly valuable in connexion with the *Knight's Tale*, but it has a bearing on other works of Chaucer which were influenced by Boccaccio's poem. Pratt sets himself to answer three questions—whether Chaucer's MS. of the *Teseida* contained Boccaccio's commentary on the poem, how it was related, textually, to manuscripts known to-day, and whether Chaucer had any personal knowledge of Boccaccio. For his investigations Pratt has used a reproduction of the Laurentian autograph of the poem in the Library of Congress, and the critical edition of S. Battaglia. (Incidentally it may be noted that the form in which the title appears in his article, [Il] *Teseida*, not *Teseide*, is that found in the autograph.)

Boccaccio's own commentary accompanies the poem in some MSS. which date from Chaucer's time. Pratt has discovered a number of 'verbal or factual parallels' to Boccaccio's notes 'in passages which Chaucer based on the *Teseida*', but he thinks that most of them could be explained either by the assumption that the two poets both used the same source (often the *Roman de la Rose*, or Ovid), or by the fact that what they wrote was common knowledge. He produces all the passages which could possibly be used as evidence that Chaucer knew the commentary, and argues the

case for each. One of his instances occurs in the description of the temple of Venus in the *Parliament of Fowls*. This description, as is well known, closely follows the *Teseida*, but in ll. 204–5 Chaucer adds a detail not found there ('Th'air of that place so attempre was That nevere was ther grevaunce of hot ne cold'). This could have been suggested by the words in Boccaccio's commentary, 'è regione molto temperata di caldo e di freddo', but, since there is a similar passage in the *Book of the Duchess* (ll. 340–2) which is partly based on the *Roman de la Rose*, there is no certainty that Chaucer used the commentary. On the other hand some details in Chaucer definitely suggest that he did not know it. For example, when he produces 'Wille' for 'Voluttà' (*Parliament of Fowls*, 214), it is quite possible that his manuscript of the *Teseida* may have contained a scribal error, and read 'Voluntà'; but if so, Boccaccio's commentary would have made it clear that this was an error. Similarly Chaucer could hardly have written the phrase 'in convers' (*Troilus* V, 1810), which is almost certainly due to a scribal error for Boccaccio's 'i convessi', had he read Boccaccio's note, 'Ogni corpo voto ha concavità e convesso; concavità si chiama la parte dentro, convesso si chiama quella di fuori.'

Pratt's answer to his second question does not differ substantially from his statement in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (see pp. 85–7) where, using Battaglia's classification of the MSS. of the *Teseida*, he showed that Chaucer's MS. must have been 'more closely related to group *z* (less *zz*) of family *α* than to any other group or manuscript'. He notes here that it must have contained certain errors which, so far as he has been able to ascertain, do not exist in any extant MS.; and he therefore concludes that it was 'a corrupt copy of the most widely published type of manuscript, a type which did not have the approval of Boccaccio, and which lacked the commentary'. These conclusions suggest an answer to the third question. If Chaucer had met Boccaccio, one would expect that the Italian poet would have helped him to acquire a good manuscript, and would have made the commentary known to him. There is, in fact, no evidence to support the view that Chaucer came into personal contact with Boccaccio.

Curt F. Bühler has compared the important Campsall MS. of *Troilus*, which was acquired by the Pierpont Morgan Library in

1942, with the two Chaucer Society 'facsimile' reprints, and in *Notes on the Campsall Manuscript of Chaucer's 'Troilus and Criseyde' now in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (*Spec., Oct.*), *he* records his findings. Professor Root remarked that these 'diplomatic' prints 'are in general to be trusted', but Bühler has noted 'no fewer than 518 mistakes', as against the 38 noted by Root. Bühler gives a list of the major mistakes, and indicates the nature of the rest. He notes that, through the use of these prints, at least twenty mistakes appear in the list of variants which Root included in his critical edition, and he adds a warning about the importance of consulting originals whenever possible.

Chaucer's Cressida,[1] a brief essay by Sherman B. Neff, is written in appreciation of *Troilus and Criseyde*, and, in particular, of Chaucer's portrayal of the heroine. Neff sketches sympathetically the character of Criseyde as it is gradually unfolded in the poem. As he sees her, she is a woman of 'a quiet and agreeable disposition, gracious and charming'. Her sorrow at having to leave Troilus he believes to be genuine; but he does not find her infidelity surprising, in view of her nature and circumstances. He stresses the poet's own sorrow at her deed, and his refusal to blame her 'Ferther than the story wol devyse'.

Two other publications contain comments on particular passages in this poem. R. C. Goffin, in '*Here and howne*' *in* '*Troilus and Criseyde*' (*M.L.R.*, July), tackles once more the difficult phrase in *Troilus* IV, 210. Referring to earlier attempts to elucidate it, he remarks that the 'bungling attempts at emendation' (as Root calls them) by the scribe of MS. Harleian 4912, and in the Caxton edition, do at least indicate that the phrase was obscure from an early date; and he questions whether the reading 'here and howne' is so 'clearly attested by the MSS.' as Root thinks.

Goffin's own view is that the phrase never existed, but that some scribe, confronted by 'herrandoun' (for 'her randoun'), misread, or emended, it to 'hereand[h]oun'. His interpretation of his suggested reading ('thus seyde her randoun') is 'this was the burden of their harangue', 'randoun' having here the special sense, mentioned in the *O.E.D.*, of 'a rush or stream (of words, fire)'. Goffin meets

[1] In *Elizabethan Studies and other Essays in Honor of George F. Reynolds*. Univ. of Colorado Studies, 1945. pp. x+390. $2.50.

the possible objection that the construction is un-Chaucerian by showing that Chaucer elsewhere uses words like 'speech', 'sermon', 'soun' as subjects of the verb 'say'. To the more serious objection that, since the phrase must rhyme with 'hoom to toune', the dissyllabic word 'randoun' is impossible, he answers that 'toun(e)', used in rhyme in an oblique case, is often monosyllabic in Chaucer's works (cf., for example, *Troilus* III, 1780 ff., where 'town' rhymes with 'lyoun' and 'down').

The other comment is B. J. Whiting's *Troilus and Pilgrims in Wartime* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.), on *Troilus* V, 1577. Whiting thinks that Troilus's idea, when he planned to visit Criseyde in the disguise of a pilgrim, was to 'take advantage of the latitude which medieval custom, . . . ordinarily allowed pilgrims even in time of war', and he quotes two accounts, one from Giraldus Cambrensis and the other from a redaction of Froissart, showing that pilgrims found it possible to pass through enemy lines. It is, Whiting remarks, quite as likely that, in writing this passage, Chaucer was drawing on his knowledge of what commonly occurred as that he was—as Magoun has suggested (cf. *Y.W.*, xxv, 49)—introducing a 'migratory motif'.

In *Chaucer's 'Glorious Legende'* (*M.L.N.*, June), P. F. Baum draws attention to a peculiar feature in the plan of the *Legend of Good Women*, namely, that the 'legende' which the poet is to write to make amends for his 'trespas' against the God of Love, is not merely to glorify faithful women, but is also to tell of 'false men that hem bytraien' (F 486 ff., G 476 ff.). If Chaucer's sin was simply the translation of the *Roman de la Rose* and the writing of *Troilus*, the penalty, Baum thinks, 'does not altogether fit the crime'. It has been suggested that the *Legend* was intended as a palinode to *Troilus*, and even as a reply to criticism of it. If so, Chaucer planned a mock palinode, merely reversing the situation; for the faithful man and false woman of *Troilus*, he was now to present false men and faithful women.

But his plan did not work out quite like that. Baum analyses the relations between the lovers in the legends and summarizes them as follows. In the first two stories, those of Cleopatra and of Thisbe, both the men and the women are true lovers. In the third, Aeneas is false to Dido, but 'his case has to be dismissed on a technicality: he had a higher mission than love of woman'. Tar-

quin, Tereus and Lynceus are undeniably villains, but their ladies are not what the code of courtly love meant by true lovers; Lucresse and Philomene 'are not martyrs of love but victims of lust'. Of the other five pairs of lovers named in the *Legend*, Hypsipyle and Jason, Medea and Jason, and Ariadne and Theseus have stories which are 'distinct and alike'; the stories of Scylla and Minos (mentioned at the beginning of the legend of Ariadne), and of Phyllis and Demophoon, are merely 'pale replicas' of that of Ariadne and Theseus. All five have one feature in common; though undoubtedly the women are faithful and the men false, the women are 'somewhat forward' and force themselves on the attention of the men. They are, in fact, not true lovers of the kind that the Prologue led one to expect.

Baum can only conjecture how this discrepancy between Chaucer's plan and his carrying out of it is to be explained. 'There may be some topical or contemporary satire which we miss', he writes, 'or it may be humorous perverseness.'

In *Action at Actium—An Alliterative Crux in Chaucer* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.), R. M. Smith objects to the solution of the difficulties in l. 648 of the *Legend* ('He poureth pesen upon the haches slidere') which F. J. Mather proposed last year (cf. *Y.W.*, xxv, 50–1). Mather argued that *pesen* must be a mistake for *resyn*, but Smith thinks that the alliterative phrase *poureth pesen* should be left undisturbed, and he notes that the MS. evidence is entirely in favour of *pesen*.

It was shown long ago by Schofield that there are parallels to Chaucer's description of the sea-fight at Actium in Froissart's accounts of fourteenth-century sea-battles. In these accounts there frequently occur the phrases *lançant* (*lançoient*, *jettoient*) *de pieres* ('stones'), and Smith thinks that these phrases 'have all the earmarks of a stereotyped expression which was current long before' the time of Froissart or Chaucer. It need not, therefore, be assumed that Chaucer learnt them directly from Froissart. If he had any source containing the familiar phrase *lançoient de pieres*, it is only necessary to suppose that he misread *pieres* (or *peres*, *peires*) as *peises*, *peses* ('peas'), and then changed this to *pesen*.

An alternative explanation is suggested by certain lines in the English romance *Kyng Alisaunder*, where *peises*, *peys* (i.e. 'weights') are used for the same purpose as the *pieres* in Froissart. It is just

possible that Chaucer, reading some Middle English passage containing *peises* (='weights') thought that peas (*pesen* = *peises*) were thrown. But Smith thinks it more likely that Chaucer had a French source for his passage.

The same writer throws light on an obscure passage in the *House of Fame* in a note entitled *Chaucer's 'Castle in Spain'* (H.F. 1117) (*M.L.N.*, Jan.). In his description of the *House of Fame*, Chaucer writes that it stood upon so high a rock 'Hier stant ther non in Spayne', and, in connexion with this, Robinson remarks that 'The reason for the mention of Spain, unless it was for the rime, is not apparent'. Smith notes that, in the *Roman de la Rose*, l. 2442, there is a mention of 'chastiaus en Espaigne', clearly meaning 'castles in the air', which explains the allusion in the *House of Fame*. It is not known whether Guillaume de Lorris invented this phrase, or whether it was already proverbial when he used it.

The next two publications are concerned with Chaucer's family. In a brief *Note on Chaucer's Mother* (*M.L.N.*, June), Nan C. Carpenter corrects a mistake in Russell Krauss's book, *Chaucerian Problems* (1932), which is repeated in Robinson's edition in the statement (p. xv) that Chaucer's mother is to be identified with Agnes 'daughter of James de Copton'. The ultimate source of the information in both books is a record in the cartulary of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate (first reported by E. St. John Brooks in *The Times*, 14 March 1929) which states that Agnes, who married John Chaucer, was the daughter of *John* (not *James*), brother of Hamo de Copton.

Marjorie Anderson's article *Alice Chaucer and her Husbands* (*P.M.L.A.*, March) contains a full and interesting account of the life of the Duchess of Suffolk who is fairly generally believed to have been the poet's grand-daughter.

Some Chaucer Allusions by Sir Edward Coke (*M.L.N.*, Nov.), by Lillian H. Hornstein, supplements Caroline Spurgeon's reference in *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion* (III, 66) to Sir Edward Coke. Miss Spurgeon cited Emerson's statement that 'Lord Coke valued Chaucer highly because the Canon Yeman's Tale illustrates the Statute fifth Henry IV, Chap. 4 against alchemy', but she was not able to trace the origin of this

statement. Miss Hornstein has discovered Coke's reference to the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* in *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England*, Chapter Twenty ('Of Felony in such as use the Craft of Multiplication'), and she remarks that it should be dated either 1628, by which date Coke had completed the *Third Institutes*, or 1644, the date of publication (not 1643, as in Miss Spurgeon's book). Miss Hornstein also mentions a second reference to Chaucer in the *Third Institutes*, Chapter One, in connection with the use of counterfeit coins called 'Lusheburgh' (cf. Prologue to the *Monk's Tale*, B 3152), and one to the Serjeant at Law in the *Second Institutes*.

V

MIDDLE ENGLISH

II. BEFORE AND AFTER CHAUCER

By GLADYS D. WILLCOCK

THIS year has been characterized by the appearance of a very fresh and stimulating work of comparative or cognate interest and of one massive contribution by a veteran historian of our literature to the study of the closing phases of ME. literature. These works will be used to begin and round off the following survey. There is one brief but illuminating essay on *Piers Plowman* and one sustained dialect study deferred from last year. Apart from these, the 1945 harvest consists mainly of rather short articles scattered over the field. There is less to record than usual on prose and drama. The growing interest in fifteenth-century subjects is, however, well represented. The order of consideration will begin as usual with cognate and comparative studies and will proceed through verse, prose and drama to bibliographical, linguistic and miscellaneous or comprehensive works.

H. J. Chaytor's *From Script to Print*[1] offers a most welcome and illuminating insight into the making, transmission and reading of medieval poetry. The author naturally finds his point of departure in Old French and Provençal, but the book is of broadly comparative scope and will be found relevant to understanding of any Western European vernacular literature. Its object is to bring home to readers of these literatures the actual conditions by which literature was moulded—in particular to stimulate imaginative reconstruction of the mental world before the printing press came to substitute, eventually, readers for listeners. In spite of much recent interesting work on a variety of medieval conditions, it is still doubtful whether most of us make the necessary mental adjustments in our approach to medieval imaginative writing; even the editor, the textual critic, needs to remember, as Vinaver showed, that a medieval MS. was, so to speak, a stage in an *oral* process.

[1] *From Script to Print. An Introduction to Medieval Literature*, by H. J. Chaytor. C.U.P. pp. 156. 12*s*. 6*d*.

From Script to Print is of especial interest to the student of literary criticism and comes forward very aptly as a complement to J. A. W. Atkins's valuable *English Literary Criticism: the Medieval Phase* (see *Y.W.*, xxiii, p. 57). Traditional literary criticism has been, historically, dominated by 'the ancients' and the Renaissance. It follows the periodization of history which the Renaissance itself bequeathed (hence *middle* ages) and has a habit of finding its points of interest and rest in such stepping-stones as are traceable across the 'middle' centuries from the ancient culture to its rebirth. Chaytor's study, on the other hand, accepts the 'autonomy' of the age of troubadours and romancers. This age is not judged in relation to a 'destiny' in the Renaissance of which it could know nothing, but as a time when poets, rhetoricians, 'humanists', entertainers seized their opportunities or grappled with their problems under the normal pressures from authority, tradition, need, fashion, genius, and, above all, under the conditions of a still mainly oral transmission. Dante's critical writings (as well as Chaucer's *obiter dicta*) gain from being seen in this setting. The book is most refreshingly free from 'twilights' of one culture and 'dawns' of another.

From Script to Print also exemplifies the fruitful union of Philology (in its full sense) with criticism and social analysis. Though modest in scope, it carries the authority of its author's long studies of the troubadours and other Romance groups. It shows us how poets set to work, how their works were diffused and how they and their readers were conditioned. It is stimulating in its emphasis on the free imaginative and creative literature of the Middle Ages.

It is natural to place next one or two studies in Anglo-Norman and Anglo-Latin. The work of Walter Map has been made more accessible by a Belgian edition of extracts from *De Nugis Curialum*.[2] D. W. Robertson, Jr., has a brief article on *The 'Manuel des Péchés' and an English Episcopal Decree* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) in which he calls attention to the resemblances between the *Manuel* and two works by Walter de Cantilupe (Bishop of Worcester, *c.* 1240) and Peter Quivil of Exeter. The Episcopal Decree in question, through which these works are linked, was noticed by E. J. Arnould in his

[2] *Extraits du 'De Nugis Curialum', par Guatier Map*, ed. André Boutemy. Brussels: J. Lebègue. pp. 92.

study of the *Manuel* (Paris, 1940) as appearing in the Constitutions of Bishop Grosseteste. In this article a table is worked out to show the interrelation of derivatives from the primary form in Walter de Cantilupe's Constitutions.

A work on Geoffrey of Monmouth to be noted here is concerned rather with his later reputation than with the problems posed by the *Historia*. Ernest Jones undertook, under J. S. P. Tatlock, a study of this reputation from 1640 to 1800 which was published in 1944.[3] This monograph is obviously concerned rather with illustrating the growth of the critical spirit in history in the modern period than with Geoffrey as a medieval author *per se*; one is prepared for the finding 'by 1800 what little credit he had in 1700 has vanished', yet it bears, of course, on the whole tradition of medieval studies and is by no means without somewhat sobering relevance to present-day cleavages of opinion on Geoffrey's 'Welsh book' and other disputed topics.

R. M. Smith in *Lawman's Gernemuðe* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) brings to bear a very interesting fact of shifting East Anglian topography on R. Blenner-Hassett's rejection of Great Yarmouth as the site of Lawman's *Gernemuðe* (see *Y.W.*, xxiii, p. 72). The main reason for looking to Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight was that there is no island at Great Yarmouth to fit Lawman's description. Smith has found a quotation of Elizabethan date in Palmer's edition of Manship's *History of Great Yarmouth* which records that the site of the town was 'percell of a greate sande, lyinge within the mayne sea'. Evidence is quoted to show that the sand encroached on the sea from the fifth century on, so that eventually the island became a peninsula. About Lawman's time, therefore, the Great Yarmouth area might still have filled the bill. So far, so good, but the fact remains that *Gernemuðe* has to be not too far out of a course from Ireland to Brittany. Smith is inclined to minimize this difficulty in view of Lawman's demonstrably hazy geography of the south (and east?) coasts. His topography would have to be extraordinarily vague if he was content with Great Yarmouth as a port of call on a voyage from Ireland to Brittany. A coast-hugging course might

[3] *Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1640–1800*, by Ernest Jones. Univ. of Cal. Publication in Eng. vol. 5, No. 3. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1944. pp. 357–442. Publ. separately. $1.

take a ship to a point near that from which boats still sail to St. Malo, but scarcely to East Anglia.

A transition can be made to work on ME. romances by R. N. Walpole's addendum to his major study (see *Y.W.*, xxv, p. 62) of the provenance of Auchinleck *Roland and Vernagu*, and *Otuel and Roland—The Source MS. of 'Charlemagne and Roland' and the Auchinleck MS.* (*M.L.N.*, *Jan.*). Walpole begins by underlining yet again the possibilities opened up by Laura H. Loomis's thesis (see *Y.W.*, xxiii, p. 85) that the Auchinleck MS. is the product of a lay-publishing enterprise in London or Westminster in the latter fourteenth century. Additional support is found for the belief that the actual French text used for the Roland-pieces was B.M. Addit. MS. 40142, from which a ME. cyclic compilation *Charlemagne and Roland* was being produced. This French text once formed part of a MS. formerly belonging to Sir Henry Hope Edwards, which was sold and broken up. Portions have been finding their way to the British Museum and items 3–7, now reassembled, constitute a version of the French pseudo-Turpin compilation. Links between the Auchinleck *Guy of Warwick* and the Fr. *Gui de Warewic*, also originally in the Hope Edwards MS., strengthen the view that the items of this MS. once formed part of the 'book-capital' assembled in the workshop or atelier, from which popular English romances were to be made as a commercial enterprise.

Laura H. Loomis's *The Auchinleck 'Roland and Vernagu' and the 'Short Chronicle'* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) is another off-shoot from these Auchinleck studies. In the MS. two otherwise unrelated texts offer a list of the relics of Christ's passion and other holy objects. In *Roland and Vernagu* King Costance in Constantinople offers Charlemagne rich gifts, but Charlemagne desires only relics of our Saviour. In the *Short Chronicle*, Athelstan receives from King Huwe of France various precious and holy presents. The resemblances, Mrs. Loomis thinks, are too strong to be explained by convention or coincidence. The *Short Chronicle*, according to the theory sketched here, drew its items from William of Malmesbury and Robert of Gloucester but added its own phrasing. *Roland and Vernagu* drew this material from the *Short Chronicle*. There are five extant MSS, of the *Short Chronicle*, but it is the Auchinleck version alone which has all the correspondences noted. This, then,

appears to be evidence of a sort of collaboration between the 'hands' working in the bookshop; the 'hacks had easy access to each other's works'. Thus the very interesting possibilities opened up by the theory of the commercial origin of the Auchinleck MS. are being explored.

Though considerable work has been done on the background of reading behind the works of the Gawain-poet, the subject is not yet exhausted. C. O. Chapman, in his *Virgil and the 'Gawain-Poet'* (*P.M.L.A.*, March) recalls the differences of opinion between editors and commentators as to the nature and extent of this poet's knowledge of the classics. Chapman defends the thesis 'that the *Gawain*-poet had read Virgil and that traces of his reading remain in substance and style'. In support of this he finds evidence in the use of classical figures of speech, in definite imitations of Virgilian mannerisms and in the close dependence of some passages on contexts in the *Aeneid*. By accident or design, this article works by climax. Under figures and mannerisms there must, in view of the wide diffusion of Virgilian examples in medieval *grammatica*, be room for doubt; the concluding examples, however, where reference to the full text of the *Aeneid* explains allusions which have puzzled editors, constitutes very strong evidence of first-hand knowledge. In the last example of all, by a very pretty argument, Chapman suggests a Virgilian explanation of the 'double-barrelled' name Felix Brutus in *Gawain*, line 13. The epithet or pre-name Felix is nowhere else attached to the Trojan Brutus. In *Aeneid VI*, 817–22, Aeneas is shown the unborn spirit of that Roman Brutus who was fated to condemn his sons to death:

infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores, etc.

In post-Geoffrey of Monmouth times, any British reader would be struck by the name Brutus whenever he met it; the *Gawain*-poet, runs the argument, with the British Brutus in his mind read these lines 'and felt the contrast'. Hence, when he has occasion to mention the founding Brutus the distinguishing epithet *felix* sprang to his mind.

The vocabulary of *Sir Gawain* and its kindred poems is an endless subject; in particular there can be few students of the poems

who do not find a difficulty in the apparent variability of meaning of certain favourite and characteristic words. One of these is the word 'lote' and to the elucidation of this H. Savage devotes an article *Lote, Lote3 in 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.). This word, seldom easy to gloss, is particularly ambiguous in l. 639. The singular, or apparently singular, form is common in ME., but the singular meanings ('loss', 'death', 'decease') of the ON. word *làt* (rare in any case in the uncompounded singular) have not so far been recorded for ME.; with the meanings originally associated with the plural form—'manner(s)', 'demeanour', 'looks'—the word (singular and plural) is widely diffused in ME. works in prose and verse in addition to the *Gawain*-group. In *Gawain*, while 'lote' often carries the above meanings, it keeps as well the more specialized senses of the ON.: 'boisterous manners', 'din', 'noisy conversation', etc. In the latter part of the article, Savage compiles a list of the contexts containing 'lote(3)' in *Gawain*, *Pearl* and *Patience* and gives his interpretation in each case. From these it is clear that he believes the poet's preferred, or most usual, meaning to be 'loud noise', 'din'.

Another investigation of the same poet's ambiguous terms has been added by Mary Vincent Hillman to her earlier studies of the vocabulary of *Pearl*. In *Some Debateable Words in 'Pearl' and its Theme* (*M.L.N.*, April) she concentrates on stanza 5 and particularly on 'deuely'. The most probable source is OE. *dēoflic*, 'devilish'; a 'deuely dele' means a 'wicked grief': wicked because it was contrary to reason (l. 52), to Christian doctrine (l. 55) and, moreover, deliberately indulged (l. 56). With the help of some analogous statements or inferences from Walter Hilton, *Patience* and *Purity*, this interpretation is worked into the writer's thesis as to the nature of the poem—that it is homiletic. The word 'perle' changes its meaning according to the well-known precedents of three-fold symbolic interpretation. Now it means a material gem, now the soul; at other times, the Kingdom of Heaven. The concluding stanzas, it is held, emphasize the theme; the last stanza in particular underlines the homiletic intention. The poem is to be viewed, therefore, as an extended *exemplum* based on the theme of an imaginary jeweller and his pearl. The jeweller corresponds to an aspirant who has reached the primary grade of mysticism but incurs expulsion through rashness in endeavouring to pass to the

'unitive' or highest grade (Paradise). The 'lesson' is a warning against a covetousness of the spirit. In the view set out in this article the poet remains, of course, as for others, a 'maker of beauty out of material ready to hand'. He was, we are told, 'in the medieval sense' a true artist. The meaning of this qualification is not made clear. Is it a little captious to inquire whether it is to be illustrated by the explanation put forward a little earlier of the maiden's failure to correct the dreamer's mistake as to her identity? The reason was that the poet wanted his poem to go on; he had material he did not want to waste; in particular, there were theological issues still calling for his zest in *débat*.

Piers Plowman studies this year are represented by Nevill Coghill's brief but important and stimulating pamphlet, *The Pardon of Piers Plowman*.[4] Into fifty-six pages Coghill has packed so much interpretative insight, full and various citation from the texts, and range of pursuit of factors and processes working upon or in Langland's mind, that the pamphlet, if it is to yield up all its riches, will demand careful reading and meditation except for these who have been recently following the same road. Coghill is tackling in the 'Pardon' of Piers the Plowman the central enigma of the poem; if there are readers who sometimes feel that academic analysis and controversies offer them trees but no wood, they can safely entrust themselves to Coghill's experience and insight as a mediator between the medieval poetic mind and our own.

There is a sense, however, in which Coghill divides the wood. Though he is occupied with the whole process of the growth and deepening of Langland's awareness, and though he offers many well-chosen examples of links and returns between the B-text and the A-text, his experience of the poem is clearly impelling him towards a more radical distinction between these two texts than has been generally held. Thus (p. 41) he speaks of the 'transformation of the poem from one about England into one about the search for eternal life' and again in conclusion he shows us Langland as compelled to write a new *kind* of poem (in the B-text). At the same time his illustrations show us the B-text, in its descriptive and topical material, as more deeply and vividly 'in England' than the A-text had been. This is merely one example of how, when

[2] *The Pardon of Piers Plowman*, by Nevill Coghill. Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture. *British Academy Proceedings*, vol. xlxi. O.U.P. pp. 56. 6*s*.

one leaves the living flesh of the poem and looks to the articulation of the skeleton, there may be certain doubts or difficulties which this sensitive interpretation will not entirely resolve. But Coghill's note is not polemic; there will be few, if any, students of the poem, however sympathetic as well as close their application to it has been, who will not find their understanding enriched, not only by brilliant or penetrating *aperçus* scattered throughout, but by the pervading quality of the critical perception brought to bear upon it here.

There are two Notes, one brief and one long, on ME. lyric. Considerable interest was aroused by Manfred F. Bukofzer's re-opening, in a context of medieval music, of the question of the date of 'Sumer is icumen in' (see *Y.W.*, xxv, p. 72). Anselm Hughes, in a short Note in *M.L.R.*, Oct., expresses a certain reservation and considers that conclusions in favour of a date *c.* 1300–25 are 'highly probable but not final'.

At the other end of the story of ME. lyric comes the 'lying-song' 'When Nettles in Winter bring forth Roses Red'—a first line which constitutes the title of an article by F. L. Utley (*P.M.L.A.*, June). It is perhaps superfluous to explain that the inspiring theme of the paradoxes of this poem is the instability of women. The bulk of the article consists of a very thorough bibliographical and textual comparison of the three extant MS. versions A (Bodl. 29734), B (Balliol, 354) and C (MS. insertion in a copy of Trevisa's *Bartholomaeus Anglicus*. C (of which a transcript is given) is shown, though defective, to offer the most authentic version. The extant versions are all widely separated in date from the probable early fifteenth-century origin of the poem; their sometimes striking differences point to the popularity of this kind of rhyming foolery. Anyone could take it and inflate it with a few more paradoxes or add a topical reference. A topical addition (the Blood of Hales) places B in the early sixteenth century (*c.* 1538).

Very largely as a result of the articles on Henryson (by this time quite numerous), published recently by M. W. Stearns (see *Y.W.*, xxiv, p. 65; xxv, pp. 63–5), the author of the *Testament of Cresseid* is enjoying a minor research boom. Stearns himself adds another to his sequence in *A note on Henryson and Lydgate* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.). While the main inspiration for the story of the *Testament*

remains Chaucer's *Troylus*, Stearns suggests that Henryson owed some of the details of Cresseid's trial before a parliament of planets to Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods*. Both Lydgate and Henryson describe a judicial court or parliament of gods. Comparison reveals more points of likeness than seem explicable as coincidences; for example, the plaintiffs base their pleading on very similar points, though, since Lydgate's trial breaks off and arrives at no verdict, the resemblance ceases in the latter part of each poem.

Contact between Lydgate and Henryson is not, as Stearns himself points out, a new idea. It is inherently likely, almost certain, and Lydgate's editor, McCracken, has pointed out similarities in other poems. Extension of 'indebtedness' does nothing to whittle away Henryson's growing reputation. To use Lydgate is a different matter from using Chaucer and it surprises no one that comparison should show the superiority of Henryson's craftsmanship and sense of proportion.

That, however, it is possible that Stearns may, in one context at least, have exaggerated the 'observation of life' element in Henryson's work is the upshot of another article in *M.L.N.* (Nov.), *Cresseid's Leprosy Again*, by Johnstone Parr. Taking up the thesis of a previous article by Stearns (see *Y.W.*, xxv, p. 64) to the effect that Henryson's choice of Saturn and the Moon to bestow leprosy was astrologically correct. Parr notes that the choice of the Moon as Saturn's partner is left unexplained. The clue can be found in certain sixteenth-century astrologers and encyclopaedists—Joannes de Indagine, Franciscus Junctinus, and Baptista Porta—resuming earlier traditions connecting the Moon with leprosy. These traditions in their fifteenth-century stage would give Henryson what he wanted. It is in connexion with the disease itself that Parr finds Henryson more bookish than he appears in Stearns's article. Instead of undergoing the risks of observing leper outcasts in fifteenth-century Scotland, he could find all the symptoms and descriptions he used in the *Testament* in medical works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which drew on the material handed on by classical writers and Arab doctors.

A brief article on the *Testament* independent of the above series is B. J. Whiting's *A Probable Allusion to Henryson's 'Testament of Cresseid'* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.). We are still in need of factual information about Henryson's life and works. This article offers a small frag-

ment of evidence which may, if given full weight, enable us to date the *Testament* as having been written before 10 July, 1492. In a prose piece, *The Spektakle of luf*, part 3 (Asloan MS.) the name Cresseid is given as one of a list of Delilahs. There is no word of leprosy but she died 'in great myssere and pane' which is sufficient to cut this allusion off from the Benoit-Boccaccio-Chaucer tradition. The *Spektakle* dates itself very precisely as completed on the 10th day of July, 1492. If this were all, we could be reasonably sure that Cresseid's 'great myssere' in the *Spektakle* derived from Henryson's tragic conclusion. But there is the complication of a reference in the *Spektakle* to a non-extant Latin original. If this contained 'Cresseid', the date of the *Spektakle* is nothing to the purpose; indeed, the Latin source might antedate Henryson—in which case, if it contained some original for 'myssere', Henryson's independence would be still further limited. Whiting believes that 'the most satisfactory solution' (it is certainly the simplest) is that it was the Scots translator who, having read the *Testament*, added Cresseid to the list.

There are a few Notes on other Scottish Chaucerians to be included here. Bruce Dickins follows up some earlier communication to *T.L.S.* on difficult allusions in *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy* (see *T.L.S.*, 21 Feb. 1924 and 14 Dec. 1935) by a letter (20 Jan.) in which he queries the identification of the persons named in vv. 180 and 186 with the emperors Vespasian and Marcian. Persecutors and opponents of Christianity seem to be demanded by the context, and were, indeed, competitors with saints for notice in literature and art. He suggests for 'Waspasius' (and its variants) Aspasius (persecutor of St. Agnes) and for 'Marciane' (and variants) Marcion of Sinope, founder of a heresy that went by his name.

J. A. W. Bennett's *The Early Fame of Gawin Douglas's 'Eneados'* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) is concerned with the use and reputation of the poem in later times, but may be briefly mentioned here to round off the Scottish Chaucerians.

Work on ME. prose this year concentrates on the beginning and end of the story. On the *Ancrene Riwle* we have a brief Note and a short book. In *M.L.R.* (July), Beatrice M. I. White has a triad of Notes in which *The Date of the 'Ancrene Riwle'* follows whale-

hunting and the barnacle goose. In this Note the evolution in religious art of the figure of Christ crucified is brought to bear in a very interesting way on a passage in Part VII where the author is giving his explanation of the 'parable' of the lady who was besieged in an earthen castle. There is a reference here to the crucified figure having one foot set upon the other foot. Only gradually did realism assert itself in the representation of the crucifixion. Miss White aptly recalls *The Dream of the Rood*, in which, as in contemporary art, the divine hero triumphs on the Cross. It was not until the thirteenth century that the agonized figure, with one foot over the other, both pierced by one nail, was evolved. This is the suffering Christ known to the author of the *Ancrene Riwle* which, accordingly, is not to be dated earlier than 1200.

One aspect of the handling of the prose medium in the *Ancrene Riwle* has received intensive study by Agnes M. Humbert. She devotes the hundred and thirty-odd pages of her *Verbal Repetition in the 'Ancrene Riwle'*[5] to the dissection and illustration of this one device. It must be remembered, however, that the technique of repetition, as set out in medieval *artes rhetoricae*, covered a variety of schemes from the obvious to the fine, that the study of 'amplifying' (of which verbal repetition is only a part) was pursued with an ardour which showed that it corresponded to a need or interest of the period as much as the easy, open, conversational sentence corresponded to the need of a later time. The 'schools' of rhetorical tradition and the diligently practised techniques operative in the actual sermon literature of the period have received considerable illustration in recent years, and, in a literature so largely in the hands of 'clerks', the widespread influence of the homiletic style is, of course, recognized. Except by those who are impatient of detailed stylistic analysis, this close but critical exposition will be found corrective of superficial generalization.

At the other end H. S. Bennett gives us another of his broadly humane surveys of fifteenth-century achievement. His article, *Fifteenth-Century Secular Prose* (*R.E.S.*, Oct.), seeks to redress what he feels to be an undue emphasis on religious and homiletic prose in R. W. Chambers's *Continuity of English Prose*. No one, of course, seeks to deny the overwhelming mass of sacred literature

[5] *Verbal Repetition in the 'Ancrene Riwle'*, by Sister Agnes Margaret Humbert. Washington, D.C. Catholic Univ. of Am. Press, 1944. pp. xii + 137.

compared with profane, but if we are thinking of continuity and development, it is not necessarily bulk that constitutes interest and significance. The stream can flow through narrow channels.

Bennett distinguishes two main groups of writers: first, ordinary people using prose for practical purposes (such as the Pastons, Stonors, Celys); second, writers (not by any means all 'professional') who aim at a wider public like Margery Kempe (through the medium of her recorder) and the William Thorpe who, many years later, drew up an account of his examination for heresy in 1407. Under the latter can be included the increasing number of those who, like Nicholas Love, Pecock and Capgrave, seek to adapt the vernacular to historical, scientific and philosophical purposes.

Bennett is too judicious to claim equally high quality for all of this, though some notable power to wield the vernacular can be found in those furthest removed from the professional. The important things are, first, the prose medium (now definitely forging ahead); second, the vernacular language; third, the secular nature. All these represent achievement.

Bennett remarks that for both groups of writers one great 'obstacle' was removed 'when the balance of opinion turned in favour of a clear and easy prose'. That a plain prose for plain men came into being in Caxton's century we know, but the formation of a critical judgment is involved in the above shift of opinion and about this, in view of the strength of the rhetorical disciplines noted under the last item, we should like to hear more; it is to be hoped that Bennett will tell us.

In the field of drama, Miriam J. Benkovitz offers *Some Notes on the 'Prologue of Demon' of 'Ludus Coventriae'* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) with the object of demonstrating that this Prologue has an important structural function—namely, 'to tie together the heterogeneous plays of the *Ludus Coventriae* into a genuine cycle'. This binding function is performed by the theological content, linking the Prologue with the plays that form part of the core of the cycle. This doctrinal content, whether the source for the actual prologue is Bonaventura or not, is the result of a long evolution of Christian thought; this article claims that, as shown by the treatment, the author of the Prologue was a 'theologian of much originality'.

A transition to bibliographical studies may be made by an article

by Curt. F. Bühler on *The Kelmscott edition of the 'Psalmi Penitentiales' and Morgan MS.* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) in which he points out that MS. Morgan 99 (formerly in the possession of William Morris) has been dogged in all modern mentions by 'a curious fatality of minor errors'. In the semi-modernized Kelmscott edition (edited by E. E. Ellis) Bühler has found more than a hundred instances of minor changes in points of potential dialectical or metrical importance. Owing to the inaccessibility of the Morgan MS. during the war, Mabel Day was compelled to use the Kelmscott edition for comparison in her E.E.T.S. version of the *Psalmi Penitentiales* from the Wheatley MS.; in some eight emendations inspired thereby the Kelmscott edition can be shown to lack authority.

These observations form the Preface to a list compiled by Bühler of all the major instances (omitting the merely orthographical) where the Morgan MS. differs from the Kelmscott edition. His method is a three-columnar collation of Kelmscott E.E.T.S. and Morgan readings, completed by Notes. It may be added that the Psalms in question are the seven penitential psalms thought to be translated by Richard Maydenstoon.

E. Ph. Goldschmidt in '*Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in Print: Two Corrections*' (*Library*, xxv) submits with 'due contrition' two amendments to earlier statements of his in the above-named work (see *Y.W.*, xxiv, pp. 72 and 225–6). First, he makes an apology to the shade of Thomas Wright who is acknowledged to be right in affirming that the *Apocalypsis Goliae* was first published by John Bale (see *Poems attributed to Walter Mapes*, 1841). Secondly, he cites evidence to show that the Ipswich 1534 edition of *Juvencus*, described in *Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in Print* as apocryphal, did exist as a variant of the Antwerp edition of the same date; this is shown by the imprint in some copies.

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A small group of studies appearing this year is concerned with references, reputation, annotations and so on of later date but bearing on the transmission and understanding of medieval works. Two have been mentioned already in this chapter—on the later reputations of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gavin Douglas (see pp. 63 and 70). Of definitely textual and bibliographical interest is Ramona Bressie's *Modern Textual Corruption in MS. Cambridge*

Additional 3470 (*M.L.N.*, April). This MS. of Boston of Bury's *Catalogus Scriptorum* was transcribed *c.* 1700. John Bale's quotations from Bury's *Catalogus* are found to differ frequently from this modern text. It is the thesis of this article that any medieval text which, like this, survives in a unique late MS. will generally prove to have been revised. After clearing the ground by tracing the history of the MS. Bale had before him, the type of 'revision'—by additions, omissions, incorporation of comments in the text—is analysed and illustrated.

In this context may be briefly mentioned J. G. Milnes and Elizabeth Sweeting's *Marginalia in a copy of Bartholomaeus Anglicus's 'De Proprietatibus Rerum'. A new version of the Nine Worthies* (*M.L.R.*, April, to be continued). The material studied here—MS. entries on the margins of a copy of Bartholomaeus printed in 1488—is itself Renaissance.

The study of English names—local and personal—is being actively pursued in Sweden. This year we have from Eilert Ekwall, the pioneer of such studies, a study of variation in personal names in medieval London.[6] This investigation stems from some of the points considered in the author's *Studies on the Genitive of Groups in England* (Lund. 1943). Hereditary surnames had come into use for the middle classes by the latter half of the thirteenth century; some city surnames go back to its beginning. Further study showed Ekwall that variation and change of surname were commoner than he had supposed.

First, he reviews the chief types of alternation, addition and variation of surnames. A local name, for example, may alternate with an occupational: Adam de Bydek may also appear as Adam (le) Tailleur. Generally, it may be noted, less confusion is caused to searchers of records than might be expected because the prevailing tendency illustrated by the examples given in this part of the study seems to have been to add rather than merely vary: thus there is no confusion when 'Ralph de Alegate' is also called 'Ralph de Alegate called Crepyn'.

There is evidence that surnames were actually transferred from one person to another and it is with this evidence that Ekwall is mainly concerned. He considers particularly transfers of the

[6] *Variation in Surnames in Medieval London*, by Eilert Ekwall. Lund: Arsberättelse, 1944–5.

master's name to an apprentice, or adoption of a relative's name other than the father's. It is not at first sight clear why surnames from Christian names are added here. They are, however, examples of transference from the Christian name of one person (generally the father, sometimes the mother) to the surname of another, either by the Williamson or FitzJohn formula or by the Christian name alone ('John Edward(s)'), or in disguised phrases such as Harriman (= Henry's man).

As Ekwall rightly insists, the factors governing these developments are not linguistic; they are social habit or family and economic custom and convenience. The potential relation between master and apprentice is illustrated by the name-transference. Some pleasing light on human characteristics is enshrined in the nicknames, as in the case if 'Thomas de Hertford called Naverathom' (= Never-at-Home).

By the careful sifting of certain from less certain cases, the scientific study of English name-material and background takes another step forward in this short but strenuous book.

The same Scandanavian pre-occupation with onomastic material is represented by Hjördis Bohman's *Studies in the M.E. Dialects of Devon and London*,[7] published in 1944 but received too late for notice last year. It is, though the title gives no indication, a place-name study, and a further demonstration of the usefulness of name-material to the philologist as enabling him to push his inquiries further back than 'literary' or other vernacular documents will take him.

The conjunction of Devon and London is explained in the Introduction. Setting out to investigate the characteristic phonology of Devon in the M.E. period, Miss Bohman was brought up against the influence of official scribes based on Westminster and against the further problem of the relation of their forms to those of the City of London, for local Devon records only cover a portion of the Devon material. She was, therefore, compelled to make a frontal attack on the London and Westminster dialects.

The phonological investigation is limited to the relevant M.E. developments from those O.E. vowels (ǣ, ȳ, etc.) which afford the clearest dialectal criteria. The method is closely analytic and the

[7] *Studies in the M.E. Dialects of Devon and London*, by Hjördis Bohman. Göteborg. Aktiebolaget Pehrssons Förlag, pp. xiv + 363. 19s.

results clarified by summaries and admirable tables. The second half of the book is devoted to indexing the whole of the place-name material used. A feature, in addition to the statistical completeness, to which Miss Bohman rightly attaches importance is the separate and exhaustive consideration of the major place-name elements like 'street', 'hill', bury', etc.

This chapter may fitly close by reference to Sir E. K. Chambers's *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages*,[8] undertaken as the second part of the second volume of the new serial *Oxford History of English Literature*. Chambers represents, as all students of English letters gratefully acknowledge, a great encyclopaedic tradition of scholarship; he has brought massive erudition and disciplined acumen to bear on many fields of literary history, including medieval drama, the lyric and the Arthurian story. In this volume his approach to the last phases of medieval literature is selective; the work concentrates on the drama (of course), on carol and late ME. lyric, on the ballad and popular verse and on Malory. Students of ME. literature, and in general they will need to be advanced students, can now turn to this volume for the winnowed results of Chambers's lifelong work in these fields. To get what Sir Edmund knows on medieval drama, for instance, into a longish chapter required, and has received, masterly compression. Where much speculation still accompanies research, students will find the most scrupulously tested judgments and conclusions.

This work, it must be stressed, comes forward as part 2 of a volume II, presumably to be devoted to ME. literature. It will be obvious from what has been said that many important aspects of late ME. are not represented in it—for example, several branches of religious literature. How adequately the *Oxford History* is to cover its medieval field can only be judged when what is being planned is complete.

[8] *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages*, by E. K. Chambers. *Oxford History of English Literature*, vol. ii, part 2. O.U.P. pp. 247. 12*s*. 6*d*.

VI

THE RENAISSANCE

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

IT is a pleasant duty to open this chapter by calling attention to the article in *S. in Ph.* (July) on *Recent Scholarship of the English Renaissance* by Hardin Craig, who has been the general editor of the valuable bibliographical articles which for more than a quarter of a century have appeared in the April numbers of *S. in Ph.* Though he calls his contribution 'a brief survey' he compresses into it a comprehensive and admirably balanced record of the chief contributions to the scholarship of the English Renaissance since the close of the first World War in 1918. His survey falls into five chief divisions: (1) bibliography, (2) literary history, (3) poets and prose writers, with a special section on Spenser, (4) the drama and the theatres, (5) Shakespeare. On all of these Craig gives a well-proportioned record of additions to knowledge and of newer trends in investigation and criticism. For details students must be referred to the article itself. While fully appreciative of the advance made in various fields Craig gives a warning against certain tendencies in recent Renaissance scholarship, which 'has in many subjects run into fringes'. On some of the larger figures he thinks that too much attention is being devoted to meticulous details, and that speculation has outgrown its proper bounds.

G. P. V. Akrigg, in *The Renaissance Reconsidered* (*Q.Q.*, autumn), asserts that there were no definite time-limits to the Renaissance. It 'did not happen, yet there *was* the Renaissance. Not discreetly, as an isolated phenomenon, but imperceptibly it came into being.' He then turns to single out its chief marks as follows: (1) self-confidence which lay behind 'the anti-Aristotelian ultimatum of Ramus, the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan, the atheism of Marlowe'. (2) awareness, as evidenced in the sensuous elements in the poetry of Spenser and Milton, and proceeding to its extreme in the sensuality of Aretino and others in Italy. (3) individualism. 'The art of the Middle Ages was anonymous, but that of the Renaissance blazes forth the characters

and names of individuals'. (4) the cult of Fame, as a triumph over Death, and of Honour during life. (5) idealism, leading to an exalted conception of the nature of Man and his place in the Chain of Being.

Familiarity with these aspects of the Renaissance, Akrigg concludes, is especially valuable in the present age marked by increasing State-regulations and uniformity.

Some of the less familiar features of the period were the subject of Sir Arthur S. MacNalty's Thomas Vicary Lecture on *The Renaissance and its influence on English Medicine, Surgery and Public Health*, printed in *The British Medical Journal* (1 Dec.). Vicary was Serjeant-Surgeon between 1527 and 1562 to Henry VIII and his three royal successors. He was four times Master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company which he united with the Corporation of Surgeons. He wrote an elementary text-book for students, *A Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Man's Body*, and did much to promote the teaching and practice of British surgery.

Medicine received similar stimulus from Thomas Linacre at whose instigation Henry VIII established in 1518 the Royal College of Physicians of London, following similar precedents in Italy and elsewhere. With Linacre were associated seven other physicians as 'Elects', and no person, except a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, was to be permitted to practise physic throughout England unless he had been approved by the President and three of the Elects. An important development in Public Health policy was the appointment of Commissioners of Sewers, among whom was Sir Thomas More, to whom probably was largely due an improvement in London's water supply. Other public health pioneers were Sir Thomas Elyot, author of *The Castel of Health* (1534), and Andrew Boorde, whose *Dyetary* (*c.* 1542) Sir A. MacNalty calls 'an excellent manual of hygiene'.

Sir Arthur also claims that we owe the preservation of the chief London hospitals less to Henry VIII than to the City Corporation which also took measures to deal with the recurrent attacks of plague and of the mysterious 'sweating sickness' of which there were five outbreaks between 1485 and 1551.

Robert P. Adams discusses *Designs by More and Erasmus for a New Social Order* in *S. in Ph.* (April). He urges that though their

ideals for such a new 'golden age' were mainly set forth in the decade following the accession of Henry VIII in 1509, they 'thought of this new culture-to-be not as an isolated English creation, but as an essential part of the loosely unified civilization of all Catholic Europe'. Their outlook was not national but Continental and cosmopolitan in scope.

For inspiration they went largely back to the Stoic doctrine of a life 'according to reason', as expounded by Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch, in which the ancients came closest to the true Christian way of life. An illustration of this is given by Adams in his account of various publications of Erasmus against war, especially the pamphlet, *Bellum Erasmi* (1517), which anticipated some of the features of More's *Utopia*. In the *Utopia* Adams finds a philosophic unity, with the Stoic doctrine as its basis, but modified by the concession that the Utopians may pursue not only virtue, but pleasure, provided that the latter is not of an anti-social kind.

J. F. Mozley has an informative set of notes on *John Bale* in *N. & Q.* (29 Dec.): (1) He has found in the register of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, the entry of the burial of Dorothy Bale, widow, on 10 November 1584. He thinks that this is probably Bale's wife, Dorothy, who returned with him from exile in 1559. (2) He points out that Bale, in his *Scriptorum*, 1548, claimed to be the author of the English translation (1536) of Johann Bugenhagen's Latin letter to the English. (3) Similarly that Bale claimed to have written *A Christian Exhortation unto customable swearers*, printed in Germany about 1543, but that two short pieces appended are by Coverdale. (4) That the inscription in a British Museum copy of Bale's *Scriptorum*, 1557, 'John Abell's booke' refers to the Marian exile, John Abel. A later owner was probably Richard Capell, a Fellow of Magdalen, who wrote a number of notes in it, several of which Mozley reproduces, including an astrologer's prediction of Catherine Parr's regal elevation and its effect on her mother.

In *Sir Henry Parker, Lord Morley, and Albrecht Dürer* (*M.L.R.*, April) Herbert G. Wright supplies a postscript to his edition of Henry Parker, Lord Morley's translation of forty-six lives from Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* (see *Y.W.*, xxiv, 77). He calls attention to a drawing of Morley by Dürer in the British Museum. It is dated 1523, which shows that they must have met

when Morley visited Nürnberg in that year as head of a mission to confer the Order of the Garter on the Archduke Ferdinand. Wright gives details of the portrait, and remarks 'how closely the quiet scholarly personality revealed by Dürer answers to the dominant characteristics of Morley as we find them in his writings. . . . It is obviously a speaking likeness of an early English man of letters.'

In *A Sixteenth Century Manuscript Translation of Latimer's First Sermon before Edward* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) Elizabeth T. Hastings prints in full side by side this recently discovered Latin translation (MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 104, folios 339–60) of the sermon preached before Edward VI on 8 March 1549, and the English text as it appeared in the volume of seven of Latimer's sermons published by John Daye in 1549. The discovery of the Latin MS. is of special interest because the editor of the 1549 volumes, Thomas Some, states that the text 'is not so exactly done as he did speak it; for in very deed I am not able so to do, to write word for word as he did speak'. The text was based upon 'notes taken by Some while Latimer preached'. Hitherto there has been no means of checking it from an independent source.

The Latin translation was made by John Banks, and Miss Hastings thinks on various grounds that this was probably soon after the delivery of the sermon. The collation of the printed and the MS. versions shows that while they are in general agreement they differ sufficiently in arrangement and in details of addition or omission to make it clear that the Latin translation had another basis than that from which the printed text was taken. Miss Hastings gives numerous examples of the variants, and especially points out 'the failure of the Latin to reproduce short passages of autobiographical and personal comment, all of which are included in the English text'. Other differences are due to the formality of Latin construction as contrasted with the idiomatic informality of English.

But the discrepancies do not involve any major changes, and the comparison suggests that Some did not tamper with the subject-matter of Latimer's sermons. When he spoke of not reproducing them word for word, 'formerly', as Miss Hastings sums up, 'no limits to that inaccuracy could be placed. Now, it appears, the

inaccuracies are limited largely to details affecting style rather than content.'

H. S. Wilson gives an informative account of *Gabriel Harvey's Orations on Rhetoric* (*E.L.H.*, Sept.). Of these three Latin orations *Ciceronianus* was published first in June 1577, and *Rhetor*, which included two, in November of the same year. But *Rhetor* was delivered as a lecture in the spring of 1575, and *Ciceronianus* about a year later, while Harvey was Praelector of Rhetoric in the University of Cambridge. He had retired from this office before their publication. Wilson finds in them the fruit of his mature reflection and experience as a teacher, and striking homogeneity, though *Ciceronianus* is somewhat broader in its scope.

In this lecture he tells his undergraduate audience of his early extravagant idolatry of Cicero, and how he was delivered from this by reading the *Ciceronianus* of Peter Ramus who taught him that the true follower of the Roman master was not one who tried to ape his style but who emulates 'his wide-ranging learning, his ability to think clearly . . . and to clothe his thoughts in the most suitable and impressive tropes and figures'. Harvey was thus led also to a keener appreciation of Erasmus and Sturm of Strassburg. On the other hand, though elsewhere he speaks highly of Ascham, he criticizes unfavourably the *Scholemaster* because, in his opinion, it contained a confused classification of grammar, dialectic and rhetoric. Such an attack, as Wilson points out, may help to account for Harvey's unpopularity in Cambridge.

The first oration in *Rhetor* deals with *Natura*, native endowment, and *Ars*; the second with *Exercitatio*, practice, all of which are required for the attainment of eloquence. Students were to take as their text-books a work on rhetoric by Talaeus, a leading figure of the Ramist school. Harvey thus has the credit of being an educational pioneer in Cambridge, advocating the simple scheme and method of Ramus's logic as against the complexities devised by the Aristotelians. This was, he urged, the true way to follow Cicero and the best of the ancients.

Wilson has also, together with C. A. Forbes, edited *Ciceronianus*,[1] himself supplying an introduction and notes, and Forbes an English translation in idiomatic prose. The general scope of

[1] *Gabriel Harvey's 'Ciceronianus'*, ed. by Harold S. Wilson, with an English translation by Clarence A. Forbes. Univ. of Nebraska Studies. pp. vii+149.

Harvey's lecture has been indicated in the above notice of Wilson's *E.L.H.* article. In the introduction he discusses more fully its technical aspects and the circumstances in which it was delivered. Harvey speaks of composing it hurriedly in five days, but its elaborately polished style implies revision, and in its published form it would have occupied much more time than a normal University lecture. Wilson's notes on the numerous contemporary references are very helpful.

In *Geoffrey Fenton's 'Historie of Guiccardini' and Holinshed's 'Chronicles' of 1587* (*M.L.Q.*, Sept.) Jeanette Fellheimer discusses the relation of Fenton's translation on the one hand to its source, Guiccardini's *Storia d'Italia*, and on the other to Holinshed's *Chronicles*. *The Storia d'Italia* covered the period from 1492 to 1534. Fenton's version in 1579 was not rendered direct from the Italian but from Jérôme Chomedey's French translation (1568 and 1577), which was faithful to its original. Fenton, on the other hand, as Miss Fellheimer points out, departed considerably from his text.

> 'An ardent nationalist, he contrived by omissions and additions to deprecate foreign nations and to increase the glory of his own. A zealous Protestant, he inserted anti-Catholic sentiments. . . . An inveterate moralizer he voiced his disapproval of Italian subtlety and treachery. . . . Fenton's changes were not limited to subject matter, he sought to embellish the style of his original by means of rhetorical elaborations.'

In the 1577 edition of Holinshed the *Storia d'Italia* is never cited, but in the enlarged 1587 edition there are forty-eight references to Guiccardini. For these in every case Fenton's *Historie* is used. The more important of these excerpts relate to the Popes, and here Holinshed's editors followed and stressed still further Fenton's Protestant bias. Miss Fellheimer illustrates these points by a number of cogent quotations, and indicates their importance in helping to shape contemporary Elizabethan hostility to the Papacy.

In passing to poetry mention may be made of Edwin H. Zeydel's article on *Some Literary Aspects of Sebastian Brant's 'Narrenschiff'* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.). This deals entirely with Brant's poem in the original German, but it will be found useful by readers of A. Barclay's translation, *The Ship of Fools* (1509). This is not mentioned by Zeydel, who has himself translated the *Narrenschiff* into

rhyming couplets with an introduction and commentary. This volume (Columbia Press, 1944) has not been available for notice in *Y.W.*

In *Wyatt as a Scottish Poet* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) Frances L. Uttley discusses the relation between the Scottish versions of two of Wyatt's poems in the Bannatyne manuscript (1568) and their English texts. The first poem, 'I am as I am and so will I be', is found in the B.M. Devonshire MS., and Uttley gives a list of the chief variants between its text and that of Bannatyne, which is usually inferior. But in two cases this supports emendations by Miss Foxwell. Bannatyne classed the poem under 'Ballatis of remedy of luve', but Uttley endorses Tillyard's view that it had a wider reference and that it was 'an echo of the Stoical moralizing vein which Wyatt borrowed from Seneca'.

The second poem 'Lo quhat it is to lufe' is found in MS. Egerton 2711. The Bannatyne version omits one stanza, alters the order of the others, and is otherwise garbled. But in two cases it shows that some editorial conjectures are mistaken. Uttley is uncertain why the poem was ascribed in the Bannatyne MS. to Alexander Scott.

George L. Barnett discusses *Gabriel Harvey's 'Castilio sive Aulicus' and 'De Aulica'* and 'their place in the literature of Courtesy' (*S. in Ph.*, Feb.) These two Latin poems were included in the volume of *Gratulationes Valdinenses*, written in celebration of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Audley End, near Harvey's birthplace, Saffron Walden, in July 1578. In *Aulicus* and *Aulica* Harvey drew pictures of the ideal courtier and court lady. He was largely influenced, as 'Castilio' in the title indicates, by Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* in its English translation by Sir Thomas Hoby (1561), in his copy of which Harvey, according to his custom, made numerous marginal notes. But many of these were later than 1578, and Barnett's view is that 'though he may have referred to the book, and to his notes written before 1578, while writing his poems, certainly his reliance was also, and perhaps largely, on his unaided memory'.

However this may be, there are certain features in which Harvey's ideals approximate more closely to Castiglione's than to those of Renaissance humanists generally. Thus he states that the courtier should excel more in arms than in any other respect,

which agrees with Castiglione's view but not with those of Erasmus and Colet, who laid greater stress on education for administrative duties. In the case of the court lady Harvey followed Castiglione in contrast with the chief English humanists in insisting that she should be well born. But it is, as Barnett points out, entirely his own idea to propose for Aulica's attention a list of authors on the subject of love, mainly Latin or Italian.

On other points, in which Harvey is more in accord with the general humanistic ideal of 'courtesy', reference may be made to Barnett's article which would have been even more helpful had he quoted further from Harvey's original Latin verses.

John H. McDowell discusses *Tudor Court Staging: A Study in Perspective* (*J.E.G.P.*, April). He seeks to account for the delay, as he holds, in the introduction of the methods of the Italian Renaissance theatre into England till the time of Inigo Jones. The lack of accurate appreciation in the Tudor age of perspective scenery he ascribes to a generally phlegmatic attitude towards scientific experiment and invention, and undue deference to classical authority. He illustrates this from the various spheres of mathematics and astronomy, architecture and painting, though it may be felt that he over-stresses his point of view.

Turning from these general considerations McDowell states that 'the various aspects of Tudor staging presented a diversified picture of theatrical activities which required in general a different type of stage rather than one with perspective unity'. Playwrights, in his view, had usually a multiple stage in mind. He deals successively with the staging of the earlier masques, Court plays, private and public commercial theatres, drawing his inferences from internal evidence in the plays and from the Revels' Accounts. He contrasts the traditional settings of the Tudor stage with the perspective arrangements of the Serlian stage in the Italian theatres. But he admits that Miss Lily Campbell has drawn different conclusions from the Revels' Accounts, and his article seems to over-simplify a complex problem.

In an article on *Earlier References from John Heywood's Works* (*N. & Q.*, 20 Oct.) Joanna Stevinska gives a list of eighty-one words which she claims to have been used by Heywood at an earlier date than the quotations to which they are first assigned in

O.E.D. The article will be useful to students of English vocabulary, but it must be treated with caution as Miss Stevinska takes 1530 too confidently as her starting-point. Though she speaks of Heywood's 'works' she gives no instance from *Witty and Witless* or from his *Proverbs and Epigrams.*

In *More Sources of Rastell's 'Interlude of the Four Elements'* (*P.M.L.A.*, March) Johnstone Parr brings forward a number of additions to those which have been mentioned by G. B. Parks, M. E. Borish, and Elizabeth M. Nugent (see *Y.W.*, xix, 112–13; xxiii, 97–8; xxiv, 84). From parallels which he cites between passages in *The Four Elements* and in the following works Parr suggests that Rastell may have drawn upon any of them, though it cannot be claimed for certainty that each was a direct source. The list includes Johann Schöner's *Luculentissima quaedam terrae totius descriptio* (1515), John Stobnieza's *Introductio in Claudii Ptholomai Cosmographiam* (1512), oral accounts of Cabot's voyages, Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, *The Kalender of Shepherdes*, and Hieronymo de Sancto Marco's *Opusculum universalis mundi machina.*

B. J. Whiting, in *Diccon's French Cousin* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.), draws attention to a character in a French farce who, he claims, is more akin to Diccon the Bedlam in *Gammer Gurton's Needle* than any Vice in the Moralities from whom he is usually derived. He is Le Badin in *La Farce du Raporteur* preserved in a sixteenth-century MS. There are three other characters in the farce, La Femme, Le Mary, and La Voisinc. Le Badin was interpreted by Cotgrave in his Dictionary, as Whiting points out, as 'A notable coxcombe, an Asse in graine; also a foole or Vice in a play'.

In the *Farce du Reporteur* for the mere fun of the thing, while pretending friendship to them all, he sets by his lies the three other characters by the ears, and produces a fight between the two other neighbours, before his mischief-making comes to light. His slanders are more serious ones than Diccon's in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, and he does not get off so easily in the end, but the conception of the two characters has much in common.

Edwin S. Miller has notes on the caricature of Church ceremonies in two Tudor plays (*M.L.N.*, Jan.). In *The Christening in 'The Three Estates'* he deals with the episode in Lindsay's morality

where three Vices change their names by christening one another. They play the incongruous parts of being at once priests, infants, and sponsors. 'Dissait, who is baptized first, is his own priest in one line, yet in the next has Falset for both priest and sponsor; and similarly Falset, who is baptized second, and Flattery who is baptized third, are their own priests, yet immediately have Dissait for both priest and sponsor.' Miller brings out some other points of parody.

In '*Magnificat Nunc Dimittis*' *in* '*Misogonus*' Miller explains the significance of the lines (242 ff.) in which the gambling priest, Sir John, bids the clerk take the service instead of him. He prescribes by telescoping the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis* 'a slipshod service which is neither the Roman vespers or compline on the one hand nor the Anglican evensong on the other'.

In 1925 Evangelia H. Waller found a possible interpretation of *The Misfortunes of Arthur* in the relations between Mary, Queen of Scots, her son James, and Bothwell (see *Y.W.*, vi, 119). In *Political Import of* '*The Misfortunes of Arthur*' (*R.E.S.*, April) Gertrude Reese detects a different, and more plausible, significance in the 1588 Gray's Inn play in its relation to contemporary personages and events. Arthur and Mordred represent Elizabeth and Mary, but the legendary characters are modified by the dramatists to emphasize the superiority of Arthur as contrasted with the weakness of Mordred. And there is another tendentious departure from Geoffrey of Monmouth's characterization of Arthur. In his Chronicle the King, when he hears of Mordred's rebellion, at once is anxious to take vengeance on him. In the play he makes every effort to win over the rebel, and engages that, on this condition, he'll be 'as prone to grace' as Mordred is to 'ruth'. This might well be intended to symbolize the attitude of Elizabeth towards Mary. During some fifteen years, especially after the disclosure of the different plots by the supporters of the Scottish Queen, Parliament pressed for her execution. But Elizabeth was reluctant to take action against one who was both a sovereign and related to her by blood. It is against such leniency with its direful consequences for the State that Cador protests to Arthur:

> *A King ought alwaies to preferre his Realme*
> *Before the loue he beares to kin or sonne*
>
> . . . .

He teacheth how to sinne, that winkes at sinnes,
And bids offend, that suffereth an offence.

It was to these considerations that Elizabeth had at last to bow. As Miss Reese points out, it was a seasonable time for the Gray's Inn lawyers to present their play before her when the 'offence' against her kingdom was about to culminate in the coming of the Armada.

In *Y.W.*, xxiv, 26–7, the present writer gave an account of James P. Brawner's edition, published in 1942 by the University of Illinois Press, of the anonymous play, *The Wars of Cyrus*. Owing to war conditions the play had been delayed in reaching this country and in attracting the notice of scholars here. Brawner's main object was to claim that this play, acted by the Children of the Chapel and printed in 1594, was not, as usually held, written under the influence of Marlowe, but was from the pen of Richard Farrant and was performed at the first Blackfriars Theatre in or soon after 1576.

In an article on *The Wars of Cyrus* in *T.L.S.*, 31 March, the present writer dealt in greater detail with Brawner's arguments and with the discoveries by previous scholars that had influenced his conclusion, which must still be regarded as doubtful. Two bibliographical points in the article were corrected by W. W. Greg in *T.L.S.*, 14 April.

VII

SHAKESPEARE

By ALLARDYCE NICOLL

DESPITE the grievous interruptions caused to literary research during recent years, 1945 has been fortunate in seeing the publication, mainly in article form, of a number of interesting Shakespearian studies; perhaps, if we read carefully between the lines, some of these studies may be thought to indicate either a changing orientation in the world of scholarship or, at least, a modifying of the trends so clearly marked in the contributions made during the past two decades to the study of the plays.

Of biographical essays there has been none published in 1945, but Rupert Taylor presents the results of an exceedingly suggestive genealogical investigation in *Shakespeare's Cousin, Thomas Greene, and his Kin: Possible Light on the Shakespeare Family Background* (*P.M.L.A.*, March). With commendable modesty he underlines the fact that his research marks merely the beginning of a task which certainly should be carefully pursued; and at the same time he refrains from magnifying his evidence into what it is not. Many another scholar might have been tempted, from the documentary material here unearthed, to startle us by asserting positively that Shakespeare's father was not the son of Richard Shakespeare of Snitterfield: Taylor merely suggests this as a possibility, even although many of his facts point definitely in that direction. It may be observed that in the course of this article appear several items which correct information in Sir E. K. Chambers's *William Shakespeare*, while others link up with material discovered by Professor Leslie Hotson and printed in 1933.

Referring to J. Q. Adams's announcement in 1943 (see *Y.W.*, xxiv, 96) of a likely signature by the poet on the title page of Lambarde's *Archaionomia*, Frank Caldiero (*N. & Q.*, 21 April) draws attention to the fact that this reads 'W. Shakspere' and reminds us that more than a century ago Malone suggested that, if a new

signature were discovered, it would take this form—the author's own spelling of his name.

In *The Humors and Shakespeare's Characters*,[1] John W. Draper has prepared a useful general study of a now familiar theme. His introductory chapter reveals, both directly and indirectly, the contradictions which existed in Elizabethan thought concerning these affections of men: one author, for example, associates the sanguine with the ages of from twenty-five to forty; another is equally sure it belongs to the elder years from sixty to seventy-four. Obviously, with such contradictions apparent in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century thought, any attempt to explain Shakespeare's characters by reference to humour qualities becomes at once easy (since we may select the attributes that best apply to the particular person) and hazardous. Draper himself occasionally demonstrates the dangers in this process: thus, on p. 27, he declares that the sanguine types 'are especially subject to all the miscarriages of love', while on the following pages he assumes that because Bassanio is sanguine, 'of course, he wins the Casket Test and so the lady'. There are other dangers as well—notably the temptation to consider too curiously and to interpret too literally—illustrated in this comment on *Romeo and Juliet*:

> 'That phlegm was most powerful in winter and from the third hour of the evening to the ninth of the night seems to have significance in *Romeo and Juliet*; for at the ball, which takes place during these phlegmatic hours, Old Capulet is able to calm even the fiery Tybalt, who is furious at Romeo's presence.'

Phlegm, Draper declares, characterizes Falstaff: yet elsewhere he asserts that 'the sluggishness of phlegm implied stupidity'. While his volume is clearly of considerable use, it as clearly demonstrates that we must tread delicately in any effort to expound Shakespeare's characters by too strict application of 'humorous' qualities.

The dangers involved are still further to be seen when we compare Draper's account of Richard II with that in John Palmer's *Political Characters of Shakespeare*.[2] According to the former the

[1] *The Humors and Shakespeare's Characters*, by John W. Draper. Durham, North Carolina: Duke Univ. Press. pp. vii+126. $2.00.

[2] *Political Characters of Shakespeare*, by John Palmer. Macmillan. pp. xii+335. 18s.

King is a perfect example of the mercurial type, in which vacillation is a marked feature. This may be true in a sense; but by this method of interpretation only one aspect of the character finds expression, and that in an exaggerated manner. Far better is it to adopt Palmer's broader method of approach: his remarks on the subtle differences between persons of outwardly the same complexion are skilful and sensitive: particularly to be noted in this connexion are his pages on the relationship between Richard and Hamlet. Palmer's is a book which must be read in its entirety, since its essential worth depends on close-packed argument and careful comparison of speech with speech. We may not always agree with his particular interpretations, yet even if we disagree we must acknowledge the stimulating quality of his thought: it would, for instance, be hard to find any essay of similar length which more effectively discusses Shakespeare's purpose in the creation of Henry V. His book abounds in honest and penetrating comment, of the kind which may be exemplified by the following on the vexed question of Richard III's two wooings. After discussing the scenes in detail, Palmer concludes:

> 'We now perceive why the scene in which Richard sets out to persuade Elizabeth to further his suit to her daughter is but a pale reflection of the earlier scene in which he wooed the Lady Anne. The repetition, though it may be found *theatrically* disappointing, is *psychologically* right. The scene, though technically at fault, is dramatically of the highest significance. Richard uses again the arts with which he overcame the scruples of Lady Anne. But the relish is no longer there. The scene has an artificial quality. It is full of ingenious argument and antithetical retort. This artificiality is deliberate. The dramatist falls into verbal conceits because they exactly convey a loss of that urgent, homespun quality which was the secret of Richard's energy in the first flush of his enterprise.'

Various general essays on Shakespeare's dramatic method and on his characters may here be noted. George C. Taylor provides an expansion of Theodore Spencer's conclusions in *Shakespeare's Use of the Idea of the Beast in Man* (*S. in Ph.*, July). He observes that Spencer has neglected to trace the man-beast-god concept in the comedies and suggests that because of his failure to do this the belief that Shakespeare gradually came to see man as basically beast, with goodness a mere seeming, lacks validity. Taylor's general summing-up is that to the end the dramatist never ceased to be conscious of the differences in men: 'Shakespeare never

forgot that some men are instinctively evil, others instinctively good.'

In *Shakespeare's 'Good' and 'Bad'* (*R.E.S.*, April), Leo Kirschbaum tries to prove that normally the dramatist labels his characters morally for us, but perhaps he presses his argument too strictly and does not make sufficient allowances for the operation of Shakespeare's irony. Isabella may be a heroine and 'good', but it is to be doubted whether she can be proved so because she is defended by the Duke, 'who acts within the play as an agent of divine justice'—a most fallible agent, as the plot reveals.

A useful analysis of Shakespeare's use of place and time is given by Arthur Sewell in *Place and Time in Shakespeare's Plays* (*S. in Ph.*, April): his tabulation of the 'rules' governing their manipulation has interest. Sibyl C. Holbrook writes, rather conventionally, on *Husbands in Shakespeare* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.): William B. Gates deals with characters mentioned, but not brought on stage, in *The Reality of Shakespeare's Supers* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.); in *Shakespeare's Mob Scenes: A Re-interpretation* (*H.L.Q.*, May), B. Stirling cites interesting examples of anti-popular propaganda against crowds, and observes how widespread was the current fear of revolt in Elizabethan times.

M. K. Mincoff deals with *Plot Construction in Shakespeare*[3] in a study published in 1941 but not hitherto available for notice in *Y.W.* This is a capably written study and deserves reading: the author concludes that 'not until he had reached the fullest maturity of his powers' did the dramatist begin 'to think of the scene as other than a separate unit, or to build up his plot round the high points of the action'.

R. H. Ball discusses *Cinthio's 'Epitia' and 'Measure for Measure'* in an essay contributed to *Elizabethan Studies . . . in Honor of George F. Reynolds.*[4] He rightly points out that more commentators mention than read the *Epitia*, and proceeds to discuss the parallels in the English and Italian texts. His conclusion

[3] *Plot Construction in Shakespeare*, by Marco K. Mincoff. Annual of the Univ. of Sofia, 1941. pp. 51.

[4] See above, p. 56.

is that Shakespeare had perused and made use of Cinthio's original.

Shakespeare and Apuleius is the theme of D.T. Starnes (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.): he believes that the playwright read Apuleius early in his career, using suggestions for passages in the *Comedy of Errors*, *Two Gentlemen*, *Venus and Adonis*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and that there was a re-reading later, with consequent results in *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*.

In view of recent attempts to prove that Shakespeare's concepts must be interpreted as being the commonplaces of his age, three essays are of special interest. A satirical purpose is seen displayed by the author in *Falstaff and the Art of Dying*, by Kathrine Koller (*M.L.N.*, June), and in *Shakespeare's Comment on Medieval Romance in 'Midsummer Night's Dream'*, by Dorothy Bethurum (*M.L.N.*, Feb.). Miss Koller thinks that the account of Falstaff's death is a deliberate parody of current recipes for making a good end of one's life, while Miss Bethurum, tending to assume that the *Midsummer Night's Dream* is based ultimately on Chaucer, but possibly through the intermediary of a lost play (query, *Palamon and Arcette*, acted in 1594?), argues that he has heightened the irony and consciously ridiculed medieval romantic sentiment.

By far the most important study in this kind is L. C. Martin's article on *Shakespeare, Lucretius and the Commonplaces* (*R.E.S.*, July). His remarks on the dangers involved in assuming that Shakespeare's thought never went beyond the common level of his age are replete with wisdom, and he proceeds to indicate, by reference to his use of Lucretius, how the dramatist's own concepts intruded into the plays. A prime example appears in *Measure for Measure*, III, i, 127:

> *'Or to be worse than worst*
> *Of those that lawless and uncertain thought*
> *Imagine howling. . . .'*

In the implied comment, he stresses, scepticism is apparent.

A somewhat similar orientation is clearly expressed in what must be regarded as one of the most graciously conceived and written contributions of the year—Peter Alexander's British

Academy Lecture on *Shakespeare's Punctuation*.[5] Alexander essays to demonstrate how easily our new methods of approaching the text of Shakespeare may lead us astray. In particular he has accomplished much by emphasizing the necessity of observing the force of 'internal punctuation'—which, when external punctuation is absent, may lead our minds away from the true sense. His remarks on this subject are illustrated by detailed examination of Hamlet's controversial 'What a piece of work is a man' speech. There is much thought in this stimulating paper.

A note on *Shakespeare Concordance Literature* is contributed by W. M. Parker to *T.L.S.* (12 May).

Bibliographical studies issued during the year have, in general, been interesting. Leo Kirschbaum has *An Hypothesis concerning the Origin of the Bad Quartos* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) which essays to discuss 'bad' quartos, not only Shakespearian, as a whole. After examining all the diverse theories concerning the origin of these texts, he puts forward his own theory that most of them were based on memorization, not of what was heard during performance by a spectator from the auditorum or by a minor actor from the tyring house, but of what had been *read* in a theatrical manuscript. Only on such an assumption, he believes, may we explain all the phenomena of the 'bad' texts, the appearance of short passages paralleling those in the good texts, the correctly lined blank verse and the occurrence of stage directions of a type found in such manuscripts.

The same scholar has published a painstaking study on *The True Text of 'King Lear'*.[6] He insists that the 'bad' quarto of this play could have derived only from memorial reconstruction—of the type more fully discussed in his general article. Of particular value is his examination of some seventy passages in the drama, with a minute discussion of their variations. Obviously, any assessment of the validity of his arguments would involve a review far beyond the scope of a notice in *Y.W.*, but it can be said with assurance

[5] *Shakespeare's Punctuation*, by P. Alexander. O.U.P. for the British Academy. pp. 24. 2*s.* 6*d.*

[6] *The True Text of 'King Lear'*, by Leo Kirschbaum. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore and O.U.P. pp. x+81. $1.75; 11*s.* 6*d.*

that, whether his interpretation of the peculiarities of the text be or be not finally accepted, he has accomplished a notable piece of work, demonstrating both accuracy and acuteness in method. This is a first-rate contribution to a vexed bibliographical problem. It may be helpful to mention here two lengthy reviews on this book—by W. W. Greg in *R.E.S.*, and by G. I. Duthie in *M.L.R.*, both July 1946.

By a coincidence two scholars, T. M. Parrott and Hardin Craig, have contributed studies of *The Taming of the Shrew* to the George F. Reynolds presentation volume. The former's essay is entitled '*The Taming of a Shrew*'—*A New Study of an Old Play*. He notes that Alexander's explanation, though adopted by Dover Wilson, has found little favour in the eyes of several American scholars, and expresses sympathy with their scepticism. For himself, he assumes that *A Shrew* is a separate play, to be dated after *Menaphon* but before *The Jew of Malta* (presumably therefore about 1589–90); that it was not written for Pembroke's men; that two hands, one of which is that of Samuel Rowley, are traceable in its composition. His hypothesis is that the work was originally the composition of some university man based on memory of a production of *The Supposes*; this was re-furbished by Rowley and used by Shakespeare as the basis of *The Shrew*.

Hardin Craig's theory is somewhat different in orientation. Writing under the title, '*The Shrew*' *and* '*A Shrew*': *Possible Settlement of an Old Debate*, he believes we should start with the hypothesis of a lost original *Shrew* play, written before 1589, as the basis of both texts: this he thinks was likely to have had a full induction and to have belonged to Strange's men. *A Shrew* was a bad reported version of this original: and it is probable that Shakespeare never saw the printed text. In rewriting the original, Shakespeare blended it with *The Supposes*, shifted the scene to Italy and invented most of the names. Craig, however, while differing from Parrott in his theory, agrees with him that *A Shrew* is not a 'bad' quarto of *The Shrew*.

In a short article entitled *Conjectures about Sixteenth Century Stenography* (*N. & Q.*, 22 Sept.), Morris Morley expresses the view that, even with the poor stenographic methods then available, 'a shorthand note-taker, with wit enough to use a short-hand, would

have wit enough to accommodate the most unpromising system to the realities of his needs'.

In *Shakespeare's 'Harke, Harke ye Larke'* (*P.M.L.A.*, March) Willa McEvans discusses the Bodleian MS. version of this song; interesting notes are added on the interpretation of musical symbols in terms of punctuation. In answer to a query in *N. & Q.*, William Jaggard and James G. McManaway, in *A Shakespeare MS.* (15 and 29 Dec.), refer to the manuscript version of *The Merry Wives* now in the Folger Library.

Frank W. Cady's *Motivation of the Inciting Force in Shakespeare's Tragedies* in the G. F. Reynolds presentation volume is the only general essay of the year devoted to the tragedies in general. In the early plays, he believes, there was purely and wholly objective reaction. From the time of *Julius Caesar* onwards, through the introduction of a second main character (e.g. Cassius, the Ghost, Iago) more complexity was introduced. In the last plays Shakespeare abandoned the use of the second character and substituted the concept of character as shaping ends (e.g. Antony's infatuation, Timon's belief in man, Coriolanus's pride).

Without suggesting that in Hamlet Shakespeare was thinking of Essex, George Williams, in *Shakespeare and the Earl of Essex* (*R.E.S.*, April), draws attention to the Earl's letter of 1600 in which he complains that soon he may be put on the stage, associates this with Cleopatra's reference to the staging of living persons, and suggests that if Essex had heard that Shakespeare was at work on *Hamlet* he might well imagine that he would be a model for the hero.

In *Notes on 'Hamlet'* (*M.L.R.*, July), E. M. Trehern deals (*a*) with Hamlet's supposed earlier entry at II, ii, 159, and (*b*) the 'miching mallecho' of III, ii, 135. He rejects Dover Wilson's idea of Hamlet's disapprobation of the dumb-show. Roland M. Smith, in *Hamlet said 'Pajock'* (*J.E.G.P.*, July), refers to a 1932 article of S. A. Tannenbaum's (see *Y.W.*, xiii, p. 161) and defends 'pajock' as the equivalent of Spenser's 'patchock': this argument Tannenbaum rejects in *Claudius not a Patchock* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.). T. M. Pearce, in *La Misa del Gallo and Shakspere's 'Bird of Dawning'*

(*S.A.B.*, July), associates 'the bird of dawning' in I, i, 158–60 with a Spanish-Mexican Christmas service, 'La Misa del Gallo'. In *The Dram of Eale* (*T.L.S.*, 10 Nov.), E. H. W. Meyerstein defends the reading 'ease'. Thomas P. Harrison, Jr., writes on *Shakespeare's 'Hebenon' Again* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.), discussing the effects of the poison and arguing that the effects of the weed are those of Pliny's hemlock and henbane.

With particular reference to Paul Robeson's Othello, Robert Withington, in the G. F. Reynolds presentation volume, discusses *Shakespeare and Race Prejudice*: he denies the existence of any race prejudice in the play and refers in this connexion to the Moor in the *Merchant of Venice*. V. Walpole, in *And Cassio High in Oath* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.), thinks that editors who follow the bowdlerized Folio text falsify a dramatic point: in the Quarto Cassio is a swearer.

J. I. M. Stewart writes on '*Julius Caesar*' and '*Macbeth*': *Two Notes on Shakespearian Technique* (*M.L.R.*, July), declaring that Brutus exists in two worlds—Plutarch's and one more complex. From this he proceeds to question the value of a too rigid application of Schücking's principles to such plays as these. *The Relation of 'Macbeth' to 'Richard the Third'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) is the theme of Fred M. Smith: he suggests that the former is a deliberate reworking of the latter drama. John C. McCloskey, in *Why not Fleance?* (*S.A.B.*, July), believes that Fleance is intended to carry and extinguish the torch. For 'cyme' in *Macbeth*, V, iii, 55–6, R. M. Smith, in *Macbeth's 'Cyme' Once More* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.), proposes 'ocyme' meaning basil.

George F. Kernodle discusses *The Symphonic Form of 'King Lear'* in an interesting paper in the G. F. Reynolds presentation volume. He argues that the play has a two-fold organization, being built on the 'artistic principle of correspondence or parallelism'. J. I. M. Stewart defends *The Blinding of Gloster* (*R.E.S.*, Oct.) as harmonious with the intensity of the tragedy's concept. *The Fool in 'King Lear'* (*D.U.J.*, Dec.) is examined by John F. Danby, who stresses the reflection in the drama of contemporary social-economic changes. The Fool, he holds, is not really a 'character' at all—'the "corrupt world" is the final clue to the meaning of the

Fool figure. . . . He is the self-consciousness of a particular society.' The Editors of *Explicator* write on V, iii (Dec. 1944) explaining the peculiar ending of the drama as being due to Shakespeare's idea of effective stage business; John E. Hankins (April) defends the introduction of the trial combat on grounds other than purely theatrical. '*King Lear*', IV, iii, 29–32 is discussed by S. W. Moses (*T.L.S.* 24 Feb.): referring to a suggestion put forward in 1944 (see *Y.W.*, xxv, p. 90), he defends the reading 'clamour moisten'd'.

Leonard F. Dean, writing on *Shakespeare's* '*Romeo and Juliet*', II, i, 34–5 (*Explicator*, April) gives notes on Mercutio and medlars. Bernard Jenkin, in '*Antony and Cleopatra*': *Some Suggestions on the Monument Scenes* (*R.E.S.* Jan.) deals, from the producer's point of view, with the perplexing scenes at the end of the tragedy. His theory assumes that the Folio text has confused two entirely different versions. The most important argument in his essay is that Antony is pulled up to the balcony from behind (i.e. out of sight of the audience), but that the action of the monument scenes takes place, not above, but on the inner stage. His reconstruction has the merit of banishing the thought of what would inevitably be a ludicrous dragging up of Antony from the main stage over the balcony rails.

W. W. Greg, in *Shakespeare and* '*Arden of Feversham*' (*R.E.S.*, April) notes—as he observes, for what it is worth—that the compiler of the 1656 'Archer' list evidently intended to attribute *Arden* to Shakespeare.

Writing on *The Origins and Development of Shakespeare's* '*Henry IV*' (*Library*, June), J. Dover Wilson gives a preliminary account of his conclusions regarding this play. *The Famous Victories*, he argues, is nearer to Holinshed than Shakespeare's work and cannot be derived from *Henry V*: it is, in his opinion, a debased version of two plays belonging to the Queen's men which also came into Shakespeare's hands. He is confident that the complaint regarding Oldcastle-Falstaff was made by William, Lord Cobham, not Henry his son. The medley of prose and verse in *Henry IV* he regards as due to the author patching up verse with prose and rewriting certain scenes entirely although leaving fragments of verse embedded in the new dialogue. In effect, but with different argu-

ments, he substantiates the conclusions reached by A. E. Morgan in 1924: that the 'Oldcastle' *Henry V* was mainly in verse, that it was laid aside when it incurred Lord Cobham's displeasure in 1596, and that it was taken up again in 1597, when Oldcastle was changed into Falstaff.

John Lehmann, in *Shakespeare and Froissart* (*T.L.S.*, 3 May), observes that Froissart is directly mentioned in *Henry IV*, I, ii, J. I. M. Stewart discusses *King Cambyses's Vein* (*T.L.S.*, 26 May), and relates the passage in II, iv to the lachrymose character of the king in the *Famous Victories*. With reference to II, iv Richard Flatter and J. Nosworthy comment on *Mad, Made and Maid* (*T.L.S.*, 6 Oct. and 17 Nov.): the former interprets 'made' as meaning 'artificial' or 'counterfeit'. In *The Forced Gait of a Shuffling Nag*, in the G. F. Reynolds presentation volume, Jack D. A. Ogilvy defends the text of III, i, 134 as dependent upon Shakespeare's experiences on horseback. Kathleen Lea and Ethel Seaton, in *I Saw Young Harry* (*R.E.S.*, Oct.), interestingly examine IV, i, 97, identify 'estridge' with 'ostrich' and endeavour to explain Shakespeare's general concept in this passage. Some errors and omissions in the article by A. H. Scouten and L. Hughes (see *Y.W.*, xxv, 91 and 162) are noted by Emmett L. Avery in *'1 Henry IV' and '2 Henry IV' during the First Half of the Eighteenth Century* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.).

Robert Adger Law contributes a valuable paper on *'Richard the Third': A Study in Shakespeare's Composition* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.). From his examination of the use made of Holinshed, he decides that (*a*) as with *Romeo and Juliet*, Shakespeare follows fairly closely the original source order, (*b*) adds a few items of minor import and passes over others, (*c*) deliberately introduces duplication of material, and (*d*) is likely to have composed the first Act after the entire plot had been fully elaborated."

Writing on *Shakespeare's History Plays* (*T.L.S.*, 24 March), K. H. Bell supports E. M. W. Tillyard's plea for the performance of this play and of the three parts of *Henry IV* as a cycle.

Louis Cazamian has published an interesting study of Shakespeare's humour.[7] This is a subtle and sensitively written volume.

[7] *L'Humour de Shakespeare*, by Louis Cazamian. Paris: Aubier. pp. 235.

Shakespeare's humour, he decides, 'est la fleur d'un sentiment du réel que n'en néglige aucune part, et n'en préfère aucune'. It is, therefore, true realism, and Cazamian relates it to the main trends of English philosophy—empiricism and pluralism: 'La nature est suffisante, et la nature est multiple.' Shakespeare shows himself conscious of the infinite contradictions of things, accepts the sovreignty of fact and abhors all excess. In his examination of individual comedies. Cazamian constantly illuminates scenes and characters with his penetrating and sympathetic analysis.

Percy Simpson in a comment on *Pertaunt-like* (*T.L.S.*, 24 Feb.) explains the true meaning of Rosaline's *perttaunt* (as it appears in the quarto). The reference is to the card-game called 'Post and Pair', and 'pertaunt' or 'pur tant' signifies a winning hand. Despite the previous attempts to emendate, the text is justified. F. M. H. Bone interprets *Shoote within* in *Love's Labour's Lost* (*T.L.S.*, 10 Feb.) as originally a stage direction; H. D. Silver discovers *A French Pun in 'Love's Labour's Lost'* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.), arguing that in III, i, 85–123 'oye' means 'goose' and is caught up in '(l'env)oy'. Sister M. Generosa, writing on *Apuleius and 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', Analogue or Source, Which?* (*S. in Ph.*, April), thinks Shakespeare had read Apuleius before writing the play.

John W. Draper discusses *The Tempo of Shylock's Speech* (*J.E.G.P.*, July): he declares that analysis of Shylock's speech shows it to be astonishingly slow and irregularly spaced, suggesting jerky utterance. The nearest to it is the language of Roderigo in *Othello*. Draper wonders if it was appropriate to the style of the actor Thomas Pope. Frederick T. Wood, in *Shylock's 'Fawning Publican'* (*N. & Q.*, 15 Dec.) defends the giving of this phrase to Shylock: it expresses, in his opinion, Shylock's concept of Antonio rather than Antonio's of Shylock.

Shakespeare's '*Twelfth Night*', II, iii, 25–7 (*Explicator*, Feb.) is discussed by R. P. Boas and R. P. Boas, Jr. The Clown's words are interpreted as involving a pun on 'impeticos' and 'petticoats'; 'gratillity' signifies elegant little gratuity; the speaker is hinting he spent all his tip on a girl who wanted a good treat at a good inn. Geoffrey Taylor essays to interpret *The Beetle and the Giant* (*T.L.S.*, 20 Oct.) in *Measure for Measure*, III, i, 76–9. In *The Influence of Environ-*

ment (*S.A.B.*, April), Arthur Heine argues that the description of Angelo's house is a reflection of the typical gardened London dwelling of the time. Thomas P. Harrison, Sr., identifies *The Broom-Groves* in *The Tempest* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.) as thorny bushes of the bramble type; M. A. Shaaber, in *A Living Drollery*, *Tempest*, III, iii, 21 (*M.L.N.*, June), brings evidence to show that drollery means rather an animated grotesque picture than a puppet-show.

Gerald E. Bentley has published two important volumes on seventeenth-century allusions to Shakespeare and Jonson.[8] For the many fresh allusions to the works of both authors now first noted, we remain deeply in Bentley's debt; the skill he has displayed in unearthing references to Jonson particularly testifies both to his keen memory and to the meticulousness of his reading. The second volume contains no less than 14 pages of new allusions to Shakespeare and 274 of hitherto unrecorded allusions to his fellow-playwright. With commendable caution Bentley has set himself exacting standards in dealing with his material: it is all too easy in this field to permit the dragnet to bring up flotsam as well as fish. On the other hand, it may be suggested that the application of these very standards renders doubtful some of the conclusions reached in the first volume. Certainly, the material here presented alters the general judgments on the subject hitherto expressed, but when, for example, we find that Bentley has rejected from the realm of allusions the records of printed texts we realize that the arguments put forward by him regarding the reputations of the two authors may later require to be revised. For what he has done, however, we must indeed be grateful. (See also below, p. 115.)

G. Blakemore Evans, writing on *A Seventeenth-Century Reader of Shakespeare* (*R.E.S.*, Oct.), gives extracts from the diary of an unknown now preserved in the Bodleian; as he observes, these comments of 1688 are interesting as reflecting the views of the ordinary reader of the time.

Arthur H. Scouten discusses 'Shakespeare's Plays in the Theatrical Repertory when Garrick came to London' (*Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, 1944, pp. 257–68): he gives evidence supporting

[8] *Shakespeare and Jonson: Their Reputations in the Seventeenth Century Compared*, by Gerald Eades Bentley. Univ. of Chicago Press. vol. i, pp. vii + 149. $2.50; vol. ii, pp. 307. $6.00.

the view that Shakespeare was already popular on the London stages before Garrick's time and suggests that the comparative paucity of domestic dramas in England is to be explained by the fact that Shakespeare made so deep an appeal to middle-class taste. John R. Moore, in *'The Tempest' and 'Robinson Crusoe'* (*R.E.S.*, Jan.), argues that Defoe used the play for his novel. The confused influence of Shakespeare on Housman is examined by Tom B. Haber in *'What Fools These Mortals Be': Housman's Poetry and the Lyrics of Shakespeare* (*M.L.Q.*, Dec.).

The present-day position of Shakespeare in Russia is summarized in three *S.A.B.* articles: Eugene Blum's *Shakespere in the U.S.S.R.* (July), M. M. Morozov's *Boris Pasternak's Translation of 'Othello'* (July) and the same author's *Shakspere on the Stages of Erevan, Tbilisi, Baku* (July). In *Shakspere en France* (*S.A.B.*, July) Maximilian Rudwin surveys the influence of Shakespeare on France, without, however, presenting anything notably new. Phillis M. Horsley discusses *George Keate and the Voltaire-Shakespeare Controversy* (*C.L.S.*, No. XVI), referring particularly to a poem, *Ferney*, published in 1768. *Shakespeare in Switzerland in the XVIIIth Century* (*C.L.S.*, Nos. XVII-XVIII) is the theme of Claire-Elaine Engel: she asserts that Geneva was the first Continental city to see a Shakespearian play acted in English (*Macbeth* performed by students in 1739). The influence of Shakespeare on Swiss writers is summarized. Halvdan Koht, in *Shakespeare and Ibsen* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.), notes that, although the Norwegian author has but few references to Shakespeare, the influence was far-reaching: Shakespeare helped Ibsen to find the means necessary for the creation of his psychological dramas.

Numerous translations of Shakespeare's works have appeared during the year, testifying to the enduring interest of the plays on the Continent. Those which have been received do not by any means tell the whole story. The comedies and the tragedies by Pierre Messiaen have been attractively printed in a couple of handy volumes.[9] Throughout, this translation is in prose: there are useful, and carefully prepared, introductions. Two additions have been

[9] *Les Comédies* (1939), *Les Tragédies* (1942). *Nouvelle traduction française avec remarques et notes* (by) Pierre Messiaen. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer. pp. 1,479 and 1,557.

made to the excellent *Collection Shakespeare—Timon of Athens* and *Lucrece*.[10] These present the English text opposite verse (and, where appropriate, prose) translations: the introductions are sound and serviceable. In the *Collection Bilingue des Classiques Étrangers* appears J. J. Mayoux' *La Tempête*,[11] a skilful translation, with a good introduction. André Gide's *Hamlet* is issued in New York:[12] this is a noteworthy volume.

The famous Schlegel and Tieck version, now revised by Hans Matter, has been republished in ten attractive volumes in Switzerland.[13] The Sonnets, in the translation of Ilse Krämer, have also been issued there.[14] The English appears here opposite careful renderings into German.

Most notable in this sphere, however, are two recent Soviet publications. It is an important occasion when so distinguished a poet as Boris Pasternak translates *Othello*, and when so outstanding a director as Stanislavski prepares a production-book for the play. Pasternak's translation,[15] vivid and well adapted for the stage, is now the fourth of Shakespeare's plays to appear in his rendering. The production-book for *Othello* was Stanislavski's last stage-work before his recent death.[16] The interest of the volume rests in the manner in which the director has approached his subject. Using the translation of P. Veinberg, he examines plot and characters with the same meticulous care he has devoted to Chekhov. The background of the action is worked out; there is speculation concerning Roderigo's first sight of Desdemona; the psychology of Iago (basically a simple soldier, yet really two men in one) is discussed. Then comes a

[10] (*Collection Shakespeare, publiée sous la direction de A. Koszul.*) *La Vie de Timon d'Athènes* (by) F. C. Danchin; *Le Viol de Lucrèce* (by) Maurice Castelain. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres', 1944 and 1943. pp. 214 and 176.

[11] (*Collection Bilingue des Classiques Étrangers.*) *La Tempête* (*The Tempest*). Traduction et préface de J. J. Mayoux. Paris: Aubier, 1943. pp. 199.

[12] *Shakespeare: Hamlet: Édition bilingue; Traduction nouvelle*, de André Gide. New York: Pantheon Books, ed. by Jaques Schiffrin, pp. 286.

[13] *Shakespeare: Dramatische Werke: Ubersetzt von A. W. v. Schlegel und L. Tieck; herausgegeben und revidiert*, von Hans Matter. Basel: Verlag Birkhäuser, 1943–4. Fr. 68.

[14] *William Shakespeare: Sonette: übersetzt*, von Ilse Krämer. Basel: Verlag Benno Schwabe & Co. pp. 168. Fr. 5.

[15] *Otello, venetsianskii mavr*, translated by Boris Pasternak. Moscow: State Publishing House of Belles Lettres. pp. 140.

[16] *Rejisserskii plan 'Otello'*, by K. S. Stanislavski. Leningrad: State Publishing House. pp. 392.

detailed analysis of the intrigue, an analysis pursued further in the illuminating comments that follow on individual scenes. Although perhaps the famous 'Stanislavski method' has not quite the same appeal to-day as it had twenty years ago, it is much to be hoped that this volume, the record of his ripest thought, will soon be translated into English.

VIII

ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

DURING 1945 no publication of importance dealing with general aspects of the Elizabethan Drama seems to have appeared. Comment and criticism were directed to individual dramatists or to single plays. With the striking exception of G. E. Bentley's two-decker on the comparative reputations of Shakespeare and Jonson in the seventeenth century (see p. 100) studies took the form of articles in periodicals, of which there was a fruitful store, especially on Marlowe, Chapman and Jonson.

In *A Note on Lyly's 'Midas'* (*M.L.N.*, May) Don Cameron Allen explains the origin of the statement (Act II, ii, 7), 'al the earth is an egge'. The metaphor first apparently used by Rabbi Saadia ben Gaon was borrowed from him by Reuchlin, and thus became known among others to Bishop Hall who in *The Invisible World* said that it was 'a concept of Reuchlin' that 'I cannot quite mislike'.

Notable among Marlovian 1945 contributions was J. M. Nosworthy's article in *The Library* (Sept.–Dec.) on *The Marlowe Manuscript*, i.e. the much disputed leaf with an extended version of an episode in *The Massacre at Paris*, first brought to light by J. P. Collier in 1825. The leaf is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, and in 1934 its custodian, Joseph Q. Adams, defended its authenticity as a preliminary or tentative draft . . . written on a bit of blank paper that happened to be at hand' (see *Y.W.*, xv, 1923). Nosworthy goes into fuller detail in defence of the genuineness of the leaf.

He argues that if Collier had forged the leaf he could not have made the blunders in his 1825 transcript, not all of which were corrected in his later version in 1831. And no one else had a motive for forging an episode in a play almost forgotten between its probably last performance in 1602 and its first reprint in 1826. Moreover

a forger would probably have covered entirely both sides of the leaf instead of leaving about three-fifths of the verso blank.

Nosworthy then stresses the remarkable parallelism between words and phrases in the leaf's additions to the octavo version and those in Marlowe's undoubted works, especially 1 and 2 *Tamburlaine*. These include 'frayde out', 'exhalations', 'fyery meteor', 'incenste', 'degestione', i.e. dissolution by heat. And in 2 *Tamburlaine*, ll. 3866–80 are fused a number of elements in the MS. verse speech.

Claiming on these grounds that the leaf is genuine Nosworthy further argues that it is probably in Marlowe's own hand. He ends by suggesting that the faulty octavo version of the play was set up from a report by the actor who played the part of Navarre.

In a letter in *T.L.S.* (22 Sept.) headed *Pampered Jades*, Percy Simpson draws attention to an overlooked remarkable reference to the notorious passage in 1 *Tamburlaine*, Act IV, beginning, 'Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia'.

An unidentified R.M. in *Micrologia, Characters, or Essayes, of Persons, Trades, and Places, offered to the City and Country* (1629) relates that the authorities of Bridewell, in the hope of reducing the number of inmates, made them scavenge the city, while the by-standers jeered at them. R.M. quotes some lines on 'The terror of the new Law':

> *That (yoakt in Carts) they now must purge the streets*
> *Of noysome Garbage, carry Dirt and Dung;*
> *The Beadles following with a mighty throng;*
> *While, as they passe, the people scoffing say,*
> *'Holla, ye pampered Iades of Asia.'*

In *The Genesis of Some Passages which Spenser borrowed from Marlowe* (*E.L.H.*, June) T. W. Baldwin briefly reaffirms his view (see *Y.W.*, xxiii, 139–40) that Spenser was the borrower, in reply to the contrary pronouncement by W. B. C. Watkins (see *Y.W.*, xxv, 97–8).

Paul H. Kocher, in his article, *A Marlowe Sonnet* (*P.Q.*, Jan.), sides with Watkins and seeks to find in Marlowe's adaptations of Spenserian passages support for his contention that the fourteen lines in 1 *Tamburlaine*, V, ii, beginning, 'What is beauty saith my

sufferings, then?' were originally written as a sonnet on the Shakespearian model, and were altered and incorporated in Tamburlaine's soliloquy, not when the play was composed but when it was first printed. It is true, as Kocher points out, that the sequence of thought in the speech is clearer without these 'subjective' lines, and that they make it longer than any other utterance of Tamburlaine. And the two last lines ending in 'least' and 'digest' make a true Elizabethan rhyming couplet. But as there is no evidence that Marlowe ever wrote a sonnet Kocher's conclusion, though it raises interesting points, is far from convincing.

In *Another Allusion to Tamburlaine before Marlowe* (*C.L.S.*, No. xx) B. L. Joseph draws attention to William Bavand's translation *Touchynge the good orderynge of a common weale* (1559), of the *De Republica bene instituend Paraenesis* by Joannes Ferrarius. In chapter three of the eighth book 'Tamerlane, the great prince of Tartaria' is cited as an instance of a 'naughtie magistrate', who carried his prisoner Bajazeth about in a cage 'as a spectacle of manne's mutable estate'. When he was asked why he used such cruelty, he answered, 'Thou judgest madlie to thinke me to bee a man, I am the anger of God, and the destruction of the whole world'.

Joseph points out that Bavand, a member of the Middle Temple, dedicated his book to the young Queen Elizabeth to whom Tamburlaine would be an example of one of 'the forms in which divine wrath could fall upon a nation whose ruler did not restrain its people from godless excesses'. Tamburlaine was thus seen 'not as a monstrous phenomenon . . . but as a warning and as a terrifying example to illustrate the truth of religious admonitions in real life'.

In *E.L.H.* (March) Francis R. Johnson has an informative article on *Marlowe's 'Imperiall Heaven'*. 'The term', he states, 'had a precise technical meaning in Renaissance astronomy. The *coelum empyreum* or empyrical heaven was the immovable heaven lying just beyond the outermost moving sphere (the *primum mobile*) and enclosing within its concavity all the movable celestial spheres.' Hence Johnson rejects the modernized spelling 'imperial' adopted by Una Ellis-Fermor in her edition of *Tamburlane I and II*, and by the present writer in his edition of *Doctor Faustus*, and he further corrects the interpretation there given of the astronomical

details in II, ii, 59–62. Johnson illustrates his description of the Renaissance astronomical scheme by reproducing a diagram from Apian's *Cosmographia*. Apian had ten moving spheres while Marlowe accepted only eight, but with both the empyreal heavens was conceived as the highest sphere, above the *primum mobile*, 'the infinite and immovable abode of God, the angels, and the spirits of the blessed'.

The article by J. C. Churchill on *Keats and Marlowe* (*Contemporary Review*, March) has little concern with any relation between them except for their premature deaths. Churchill is chiefly engaged in speculating on how either's art would have developed had his life been prolonged. In the case of Marlowe, Churchill starts from T. S. Eliot's view of *The Jew of Malta* not as a tragedy, but as a 'farce of the old English humour, the terribly serious, even savage, comic humour'. He finds in *Troilus and Cressida* the Shakespearian play that is most akin to it, and rejects any affiliation between *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Jew of Malta*. Leaving *Tamburlaine* and *Edward II* entirely on one side Churchill seeks to find something analogous to Eliot's view of *The Jew of Malta* in *Doctor Faustus*. 'We do not "really" believe today that Faustus has gone to eternal torment, so our reaction . . . partakes of some of that "quaintness" which we associate with all medieval plays. . . .' Churchill writes in good style but he does not convince the present writer. (See also p. 190.)

In a discussion of *Mephistophilis and the Lost 'Dragon'* in *R.E.S.*, July 1942 (see *Y.W.*, xxiii, 129) Leo Kirschbaum maintained that Mephistophilis first rose in the shape of a stage-property dragon through a trap-door, and that the illustration on the 1616 title-page represents this. In *R.E.S.*, July 1945, under the same heading, he finds confirmation of his view in some later plays, where the scene in *Doctor Faustus* seems to be imitated. In Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*, IV, ii, when the Friar is about to raise a spirit Tamyra cries:

> *Good father, raise him in some beauteous forme*
> *That with least terror I may brooke his sight.*

And the stage-directions for the appearance and departure of Behemoth are '*Ascendit*' and '*Descendit*', pointing to the use of a

trap-door. 'It is almost as though Tamyra were remembering a contemporary performance of Marlowe's play.' Kirschbaum cites further supporting evidence from stage-directions in Heywood's *The Brazen Age*, Barnes's *The Devil's Charter* and Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey*.

In *Rowley, Foxe, and the 'Faustus' Additions* (*M.L.N.*, June) Leslie M. Oliver makes a valuable contribution to the elucidation of the episodes in the 1616 text of *Doctor Faustus* concerning the Emperor and his candidate 'Saxon Bruno' for the papal chair. Oliver shows that Rowley, the author of this addition, was here indebted to John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, though names and other details were changed. Foxe relates that when Pope Alexander III was elected the Emperor set up a rival pope, Victor IV. But the Emperor, when his son was made captive by Alexander, was forced to make his submission and to kneel at the Pope's feet. Foxe continues:

> 'The proud Pope setting his feet upon the Emperor's neck, said the verse of the psalm. *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis.* . . . To whom the Emperor answering again, said, "Non tibi sed Petro", that is "Not to thee, but to Peter". The Pope again: "Et mihi et Petro"; "Both to me and to Peter."'

Rowley closely echoes this, substituting Bruno for the Emperor (III, i, 89–95):

> *Pope.* Cast down our footstool.
> *King Raymond.* Saxon Bruno, stoop,
> Whilst on thy back his Holiness ascends
> Saint Peter's chair and state pontifical.
> *Bruno.* Proud Lucifer, that state belongs to me;
> And thus I fall to Peter, not to thee.
> *Pope.* To me and Peter shalt thou grovelling lie.

Later in the scene the Pope quotes the precedent of his 'progenitor' in similarly humbling the Emperor; though here Rowley puts Adrian after Alexander instead of *vice versa*.

In the *Murdered Substitute Tale* (*M.L.Q.*, June) Ernst G. Mathews, after noticing Oriental and medieval versions of the story, seeks to show that Middleton and Rowley found material in the form of it translated by Leonard Digges in 1622 from a Spanish *novela* by Cespedes, which they blended with the weaker

portraiture of De Flores by John Reynolds to produce the passionate scenes between him and Beatrice-Joanna in *The Changeling*.

In *R.E.S.* (July) Michael H. Higgins discusses *Chapman's 'Senecal Man'*, as 'a study in Jacobean psychology'. To a unique degree among contemporary professional playwrights 'Chapman is interested in problems of fundamental justice in the nature of sovereignty and the origin of Law. His plays illustrate the qualities of the just ruler, the character and duty of an upright subject, and the relationship of the Governor to the Governed.' On these problems he found inspiration in the classical Stoic creed from which he drew maxims applicable in the political as well as in the moral sphere. They are in the tradition of classical republicanism as contrasted with the Stuart theory of the divine right of Kings.

Higgins cites in illustration Chapman's 'three examples of stoic perfection realized in human form'. They are Cato, the true hero of *Caesar and Pompey*; Chabot, to whom justice is sacrosanct; and Clermont, the complete 'Senecal man', in *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*. The comparison and contrast between Hamlet, in whom reason strives with passion for mastery, and Clermont, in whom reason alone is dominant, adds to the interest of this suggestive essay.

In *A Catullian Echo in 'The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois'* (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) Bertram J. Cohon suggests a further source for the passage, I, i, 351–74, describing how 'the splenative philosopher, Democritus, laughed at all objects, were they ne'er so full of tears'. Editors have found a source of the lines in Juvenal's account of Democritus in *Satire*, X, ll. 33–55. But Cohon points out a closer resemblance to Catullus, *Carmen, XXXIX* ll. 1–7, though the reference there is not to Democritus but Egnatius. In addition to some verbal echoes Cohon points out that Chapman retains throughout the structure which Catallus employed, substituting for '*Renidet ille*' 'he stood and laugh'd'. Support is given to Cohon's suggestion by the fact that in the same play Chapman adapted *Carmen XXII* of Catullus in Act II, i, 184–92.

In *R.E.S.* (July 1925) G. Thorn-Drury drew attention to an inscription in a copy in the Inner Temple Library of Chapman's

The Crowne of all Homer's Worckes, Batrachomyomachia (see *Y.W.*, vi, 183). Chapman here

> In desire to celebrate and eternize
> The Noble Name and House
> where his youthe
> was initiate

inscribes this work to 'Raphe Sadler, Esquire', grandson of the diplomatist, Sir Ralph Sadler, who besides his main residence at Standen had a manor house at Temple Disney in the Hundred of Hitchin, near Chapman's birthplace. Jean Robertson in her article, *The Early Life of George Chapman* (*M.L.R.*, July) defends this inscription on stylistic grounds against S. A. Tannenbaum's dismissal of it as a forgery.[1] She also brings documentary evidence in support of the inscription to Ralph Sadler.

Chancery Proceedings, Series I, James I, C 25–65, in the Public Record Office, consist of a Bill of complaint brought by Chapman against John Wolfall, and the defendant's answer. The Bill was presented on 17 April 1608, and in it Chapman claimed the return of bonds into which he had entered with Wolfall's deceased father (also named John) and others as security for debts which he had discharged. Chapman stated that he had borrowed the money about twenty-five years ago, i.e. about 1583,[2] in order to furnish himself properly for attendance upon the then Sir Ralph Sadler, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and one of Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council. The statement in the inscription is thus confirmed.

Wolfall in his answer declared that Chapman had not paid the security and that his father had had him arrested and imprisoned in February 1599–1600. One of the reasons why the elder Wolfall, according to his son, had forborne for so long taking action was, Chapman's 'absence . . . beyond the seas'. This establishes the fact that he was for a time out of England, probably at some date between 1585 and 1594, after which he was active in London as poet and dramatist. Miss Robertson favours the supposition that 'he went to the Low Countries as a volunteer, like Ben Jonson, during 1591–2; and that the account of Sir Francis Vere's strategic

[1] In a parallel but fuller article on *Chapman's Early Years* (*S. in Ph.*, April 1946), which will be noticed next year, Mark Eccles also claims the calligraphy as genuine.

[2] Wolfall however dates the bond in his possession 12 July, 27 Eliz. (1585).

victory on the river Waal outside Nimeguen in the *Hymnus in Cynthiam* was that of an eye-witness of a recent event'.

In a note on *Chapman and the Grevilles* (*N. & Q.*, 17 Nov.) H. W. Crundell points out that John Reed, to whom Chapman dedicated *The Widow's Tears* in 1612, and his brother Giles were admitted to the Inner Temple in 1597 and 1592 respectively. Their mother was by birth a Greville and they were thus related to Fulke Greville, Lord Broke.

To *E.L.H.* (June) Roy W. Battenhouse contributes a subtle study of *Chapman and the Nature of Man*. His main contention is that 'the religious concepts of Hellenistic philosophy rather than the definitions of Christian orthodoxy furnish Chapman the premises of his view of man'. Through the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Resurrection Christianity had glorified the body which to classical thought had been the prison of the soul. It is to the classical view that Chapman leans. Man's period on earth is therefore a time of struggle with his lower nature, and two divergent courses are open to him, either to become a slave of passion or an exemplar of calm. Bussy and Byron take the one course, Clermont and Cato the other. Of the aspirations of Bussy and Byron, with their analogies to Hercules and Prometheus, Battenhouse gives a detailed analysis. With Clermont and Cato he deals briefly and with some lack of appreciation. But whatever view may be taken, his article needs and deserves to be studied in full.

In 1921 the anonymous MS. play in the Cardiff Public Library, *The Welsh Embassador*, was edited for the Malone Society by H. Littledale and W. W. Greg, who made no conjecture about its author (see *Y.W.*, ii, 92–3). In *R.E.S.* (July 1927) Bertram Lloyd drew attention to many similarities between this play and *The Noble Soldier* (1634), and claimed that they were both mainly the work of Dekker. Among Lloyd's papers since his death was found an article on *The Authorship of 'The Welsh Embassador'*, which has been published in *R.E.S.* (July 1945). In it Lloyd gives in fuller detail his reasons for attributing the bulk of the play to Dekker and two scenes to Ford, who between 1620 and 1625 was collaborating with Dekker.

Lloyd quotes from the play a large number of Dekker's 'char-

acteristic phraseology, puns and "word-volleys" ', and of 'his careless, clumsy inversions'. On the other hand, Act III, iii and V, i, which are mainly in verse, are distinguished by their pathos and seriousness, the movement of the lines, and adjurations and repetitions, all in the style of Ford.

Lloyd's conjecture on internal evidence concerning Dekker has been confirmed by the entry 'the Welch Embassador or a Comedy in disguises Tho. Dekker' in a MS. list of plays by Abraham Hill, about 1678. This was published in *The Library*, June 1939 (see *Y.W.*, xx, 89–90) by J. Q. Adams who supported the attribution to Dekker. Greg now agrees that it was at least substantially by him.

Another attribution of an anonymous play to Dekker was made by W. A. Abrams in his edition of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (see *Y.W.*, xxiii, 133–4). In a very detailed critical review article on this edition in *The Library* (Dec. 1944–March 1945) Greg states that Abrams 'seems to make out a strong case'. He agrees with Abrams that the play originally contained scenes now lost that paralleled episodes in the chapbook, *The Life and Death of the merry Deuill of Edmonton*, by T.B. But he dissents from the view that the chapbook was based upon the play and thinks it probable that 'there was a body of Fabell-Smug tradition upon which the play and the chapbook were able to draw independently'. Greg also gave reason for identifying T.B. with Thomas Brewer rather than Anthony (Tony) Brewer. His article contains also important bibliographical and textual material.

In *Robert Browne and the Date of Heywood's 'Lucrece'* (*J.E.G.P.*, April) Allan Holaday suggests that *The Rape of Lucrece* was first written in 1594 and revised by Heywood for Robert Browne in 1607. In the abundant use of rhymed couplets in some of the scenes and the extravagances of diction Holaday finds evidence of Heywood's immature technique. He believes that it was largely inspired by Shakespeare's poem, and that it was to a performance of this play that Drayton referred when he spoke in the *Legend of Matilda* (1594) of Lucrece 'acting her passions on our stately stage'.

While the inequalities of the play give support to Holaday's theory of a later revision his association of this with Robert

Browne rests upon a number of doubtful conjectures. In his Continental tours Browne introduced a considerable musical element into his company's performances, and Holaday believes that when he returned to London in 1607 in financial straits Heywood polished up for him the part of Valerius, with its set of inappropriate songs. Valerius is said to be 'Germanized' and this might apply to Browne. But could so well-known an actor be described as 'the stranger that lately acted Valerius his part', even if at the time he did not belong to the Queen's Company? Holaday's attempt to meet this point is not convincing.

Kathlyn A. McEwen, in *Jonson and Juvenal* (*R.E.S.*, April), illustrates the parallelism of attitude between the English playwright and the Roman satirist. That Jonson thought highly of Juvenal is proved by his possession of both a printed and a MS. copy of the Satires, and by his commendation of him twice in the *Conversations* with Drummond. In her article Miss McEwen goes for her examples to the three comical satires, *Every Man Out of his Humour*, *Cynthia's Revels* and *Poetaster*, especially the first. In the induction to it Jonson in the character of Asper declares that he will 'strip the ragged follies of the time', after the same fashion as Juvenal had unmasked the vices of the Rome of his own day. In his attack on hypocrites he even borrows some of the words of the second Satire. In her attribution of Juvenal's influence on a number of the characters in *E.M.O.* Miss McEwen tends somewhat to overplay her hand. But Ovid's denunciation in *Poetaster* of an age which worships wealth and couples 'wit' with want echoes well-known passages in the Satires. And in *Cynthia's Revels* similar echoes are found in speeches by Crites and Mercury.

The article on *The Art of Ben Jonson*, by Percy Simpson, in *Essays and Studies*, vol. xxx, is of special importance as an outcome of his work as an editor of the *Oxford Ben Jonson*. He begins by quoting dicta of Jonson which show that with all his reverence for the classical models he was never inclined to be merely subservient to them. 'For to all the observation of the ancients we have our own experience. . . . It is true they opened the gates and made the way that went before us; but as guides, not commanders.' Thus Jonson did not keep strictly, as did some of his contemporaries, to the unities of time and place. As Simpson points out, with illustra-

tions, 'he wrote plays which observed them, but not pedantically or at the cost of probability'. What he objected to was such undue licence, as he considered it, as in *The Winter's Tale*.

The object of Comedy was to 'sport with human follies', especially in the form of eccentricities of character, or humours, all running one way. The result is that in his character studies 'there is no light and shade; the cross-play of motives is apt to be neglected; and above all he misses the inconsistency which is so powerful an element in the nature of us all'. The consequence of this, which distinguishes Ben from his fellows, is emphasized by Simpson. 'Concentrating on humours he necessarily invented his plots. With characters more or less determined at the outset . . . the author was bound to build up a plot which suited them; they could not develop themselves.'

Other points in Jonson's technique to which Simpson draws attention, with significant examples, are his systematic setting of scenes in London, his incisive satire and his 'trick, as the play is moving towards its catastrophe, of complicating it by some counter-movement'. Studies of some typical characters and comments upon aspects of the two Roman tragedies add to the weight of an essay which will be of value to every student of Jonson.

Ernest W. Talbert discusses at considerable length in *S. in Ph.* (April) *The Purpose and Technique of Jonson's 'Poetaster'*. His aim is to show that the play is not mainly a satirical contribution to the 'poetomachia', nor a dramatization of the relations of Ovid with Julia, but that it is intended to be '*primarily* a dramatic defense of poetry, a theatrical and effectively written *ars poetica*'. From this standpoint he goes through the play virtually scene by scene, seeking to fit both major and minor figures into his concept of Jonson's purpose, and arguing that the *Poetaster* thus acquires a unity which has usually been denied it. In a *Y.W.* notice it is only possible to outline briefly Talbert's approach to the play and to refer readers to the article itself.

Johnstone Parr's article on *Non-Alchemical Pseudo-Sciences in 'The Alchemist'* (*P.Q.*, Jan.) is mainly an annotation on Act I, iii, 43–57 of the play, in which Subtle, to convince Abel Drugger that he will be successful as a tobacconist, parades a knowledge of metoposcopy, physiognomy, chiromancy and astrology. Parr

quotes from a work by Richard Saunders on the three first of these 'sciences' (1653), which draws on earlier treatises, and which has close parallels to Subtle's observations. In his astrology Subtle deviates somewhat from the accepted lore of the period. Future editors will find Parr's article valuable.

Parr has also a note on *The Staple of News* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) explaining III, iv, 1–2:

> *How now? I think I was borne under Hercules starre!*
> *Nothing but trouble and tumult to oppresse me.*

Hercules is a fixed star in the sign of Gemini and its astrological influence is similar to that of Mars, which causes every kind of disaster.

Gerald E. Bentley's two volumes on *Shakespeare and Jonson: Their Reputations in the Seventeenth Century Compared* have been noticed in the preceding chapter of *Y.W.* (see p. 100). It may be here added that among the reviews that have appeared of Bentley's work attention may be drawn to those by Alfred Harbage in *M.L.N.* (June) and Percy Simpson in *R.E.S.* (Oct.) which supplement or correct some details. Simpson draws the conclusion that 'throughout the century Shakespeare's plays were esteemed for their acting value, but Jonson's as the work of a master'.

An edition *de luxe* of *The Duchess of Malfi*,[3] coinciding with the performance of the play in a London theatre, appeared with the text of F. L. Lucas, and two introductory essays, and illustrations by Michael Ayrton.

Johnstone Parr discusses in detail in *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.) *The Horoscope in Webster's 'The Duchess of Malfi'*. It is the horoscope which Antonio casts on the birth of his son by the Duchess, which he drops during an argument with Bosolo, and which the latter reads aloud as signifying a short life and a violent death. After an elaborate examination of the passage (II, iii, 72–80) Parr concludes that Webster 'knew enough of the technicalities of horoscopy to give his remarks on young Antonio's nativity a considerable amount of "scientific" verisimilitude'.

[3] *The Duchess of Malfi*, by John Webster, ed. by George Rylands and Charles Williams. The Sylvan Press. 12*s.* 6*d.*

In *Lewis Theobald and Webster* (*C.L.S.*, Nos. xvii–xviii) B. L. Joseph quotes from a letter of Theobald to Warburton, 18 Dec. 1731, Theobald gives an account of the plot of *The Duchess of Malfi*, as if it were a play of his own, and gives two specimen soliloquies embodying a number of Webster's lines which Warburton seemingly would not recognize.

Leo Kirschbaum published in *R.E.S.* (May 1928) a *Census of Bad Quartos* (see *Y.W.*, xix, 124 and 131). To the twenty there listed he has now added the 1605 quarto of *The Faire Maide of Bristow* (*M.L.N.*, May), played at Hampton Court before the King and Queen, and published by Thomas Pavier. Kirschbaum quotes a number of passages in support of his view that the quarto is faulty in many respects and is the product of memorial reconstruction.

In *Prolegomenon to the Anonymous 'Woodstock' (alias 'I Richard II')* (*D.U.J.*, March) A. P. Rossiter summarizes material with which he has dealt more fully in his edition of the play which has been published in 1946. This will therefore be noticed in the next volume of *Y.W.*

In a note on *Lady Perfect and Sir John Loveall* (*N. & Q.*, 1 Nov.) William Peery states that the editors of Nathan Field's *Amends for Ladies* are mistaken in identifying the virtue-testing husband of Lady Perfect with Sir John Loveall. In the quartos he is simply referred to as husband, and the single mention of Sir John Loveall is in a scene unconnected with her. The identification arose out of an error by J. P. Collier.

In *The Library* (June) Joseph Quincy Adams, whose death in the latter part of 1946 was a severe loss to international scholarship, described *The Author-Plot of an Early Seventeenth-Century Play*, which since 1923 has been among the MSS. in the Folger Shakespeare Library. The word 'plot', as Dr. Greg has shown, was a specialized term in Elizabethan theatrical circles. It described (1) the skeleton outline of the production of a play hung in the tiring-room as a guide to the actors and stage-hands, (2) an author's guide for the composition of a play.

Adams quotes from Henslowe's *Diary* and *Papers* the various

allusions to author-plots, but hitherto no example had been known to be preserved. Nor is it a complete one for, though the MS. has twenty-four pages, the plot occupies only the first six, and extends only through the first three Acts. But it reveals in considerable detail a complicated set of cross-currents of love and jealousy, in which a King of Thrace, his sister and her lover, and a King of Macedon, his wife and daughter are the chief figures. The article is accompanied by a plate reproducing the page in the MS. which contains the plot of the first seven scenes and the beginning of the eighth of Act III. Adam points out that the author's marginal note, 'Specde in Greece', is a reference to John Speed's *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*, which seems to have been first published in 1627. The plot therefore cannot have been earlier than that date.

In the same number of *The Library* James G. McManaway discusses *Latin Title-Page Mottoes as a Clue to Dramatic Authorship*. He begins by reporting his discovery that *Dick of Devonshire* in MS. Egerton 1994 and the MS. supplying H2 and H3, which are missing from the Folger copy of the quarto of *Blurt, Master Constable*, are in the same hand, of which two plates are given in illustration. McManaway dissents from W. W. Greg's view that the Latin motto on the fly-leaf of the MS. of *Dick of Devonshire* suggests a purely literary intention. He instances various dramatists whose acted plays had Latin mottoes on the title-page. Among them is Heywood whose plays after 1612 generally had some variant of 'Et prodesse solent et delectare'. McManaway therefore questions the ascription by A. M. Clark of *Dick of Devonshire* to Heywood, as the motto on the MS. is 'Hector adest; secumque dcos in praelia ducit'. This motto also appears on the title-page of *The Bloody Banquet*, printed in 1639, and McManaway suggests that it and *Dick of Devonshire* are by the same author, who, he thinks, was probably Robert Davenport. Whatever may be thought of this and some more general conclusions he has suggested an interesting side-line of investigation.

The same number of *The Library* contains also an article by R. C. Bald on *The Foul Papers of a Revision*. From a detailed analysis of the inconsistencies, omissions and insertions in the buarto texts of Middleton's *Your Five Gallants*, and J. D.'s *The*

Knave in Graine, New Vampt, he concludes that these were printed not from prompt or fair copies but from the 'foul papers' of revisions, in the first case by Middleton, in the second by someone other than J.D.

In *A Tragi-comedy of Humours: Fletcher's 'The Loyal Subject'* (*M.L.Q.*, Sept.) Eugene M. Waith attaches somewhat excessive importance to his detailed discussion of this play. He compares Fletcher's treatment of the story with that of Bandello (in Painter's version) and of Heywood in *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject.* Fletcher simplifies the character of Archas and conceives of his family 'as a unit, expressing collectively the virtue of honor, which he represents. . . . With this group of characters he contrasts . . . the Duke and Boroskie, who form a smaller unit, expressing the idea of materialism.' Waith suggests that a similar pattern of contrasts can be traced in Fletcher's other tragi-comedies, in spite of inconsistencies in characteristics.

The edition of the Trinity College, Cambridge, play, Thomas Tomkis's *Albumazar* (1615) by Hugh G. Dick was noticed last year (see *Y.W.*, xxv, 106–7). In his introduction Dick made additions to the biography of Tomkis especially in his later years. These have been supplemented by Gerald P. Mander in *T.L.S.* (31 March). Tomkis was a Fellow of Trinity from 1602 to 1610, when his fellowship lapsed because he did not take Orders. He was also required by statute to be celibate during this period, but Mander quotes a statement by the present Master of Trinity that in the eighteenth century some of the Fellows 'kept their wives hidden away in neighbouring towns', and he suggests that this may have been so also in the time of James I. If so, the playwright could be identified with the Thomas Tomkis of Willenhall, a chapelry of Wolverhampton, who married Margaret Brindley of that place in or about 1603, and who had three children, all mentioned in his will in May 1634. A clause in the will accords with the description of Tomkis as 'one of the attorneys of the Court of the King's Bench'.

As a footnote to a letter (*T.L.S.*, 24 Feb.), *Swinburne on Middleton,* Kenneth Muir proposes two emendations in Bullen's text of Middleton. In *The Phoenix,* I, ii, 78–84, ll. 79–81

belong not to the Captain but to Castiza, and in *Michaelmas Term*, IV, i, 63, the line should be given not to Quomodo but his wife Thomasine.

The detailed article by Allan H. Stevenson on *Shirley's Publishers: The Partnership of Crooke and Cooke* (*The Library*, Dec. 1944–March 1945) is noticed under 'Bibliographica' (p. 234), but reference may be made here to the light it throws on some problems of authorship. Except Shirley's own plays the only others published by Crooke-Cooke were *Chabot*, *Wit Without Money*, and *The Night-Walker*. Hence it is to be inferred that Shirley had rights in them. This supports the conjecture of editors that Shirley revised Chapman's *Chabot* for performance by Queen Henrietta's men. The appearance of Chapman's name with Shirley's in *The Ball* seems to be due to the fact that Shirley sent to the publishers a MS. volume containing both *Chabot* and *The Ball* which was registered as one book, and led to the mistaken idea that Chapman had a hand in both plays. As Sir H. Herbert records that Fletcher's *The Night-Walker* was 'corrected' by Shirley, and as it and Fletcher's *Wit Without Money* were entered for publication on 25 April 1639, together with three plays by Shirley, it suggests that he had also 'corrected' *Wit Without Money*.

In 1931 and 1933 Madeline Hope Dodds gave descriptions of some of the MS. plays and epigrams of William Percy, third son of the eighth Earl of Northumberland (see *Y.W.*, xii, 179 and xiv, 210–11). In 1938 H. N. Hillebrand amplified her account and gave a summary of two of the plays (see *Y.W.*, xix, 145–6). One of these was *A Forrest Tragaedye in Vacunium*, dated 1602, with which Miss Dodds has now dealt in greater detail in *M.L.R.* (Oct.).

The main plot is an adaptation of the story in the *Decameron* which had already been dramatized in *Gismonde of Salerne* and *Tancred and Gismunda*, and was to have a later version in *Ghismonda* (see *Y.W.*, xxv, 109). Miss Dodds shows that Percy was indebted in some respects to *Tancred and Gismunda*, and also probably to the Italian tragedy, *Filostrato e Pamfila*. But he makes an important change in the relationship of the three protagonists. In Boccaccio's tale and in the plays that have been mentioned it is a royal father whose fury at his daughter's intrigue with a lover below her in status brings about the catastrophe. Percy turns this

into what Miss Dodds terms 'the more commonplace triangle of husband, wife and lover'. He also adds a sub-plot of which Florimel, the heroine's daughter is the centre. She shares the alleged fate of Henri IV's mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, who died on the eve of her marriage to the King, as was currently believed, from eating a poisoned lemon.

At the end of each Act two choruses of tragic lovers crossed the stage, 'waites playing as they passed along'. After the second chorus, according to the stage-direction, 'the consort is knocked up', which Miss Dodds interprets as 'the signal given for the orchestra to play, from which it appears that the play required two orchestras, the waits and the consort. The most important point about the chorus is that the music was to play while its members spoke their lines, as this is an early example of *recitativo* at a time when it was beginning as an experiment in Italy and was almost unknown in England.' Percy seems to have written his plays for performance in the Northumberland household, but he notes that if *A Forrest Tragaedye* were acted by the Children of Paul's, the double chorus was to be omitted.

IX

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE

I. THE LATER TUDOR PERIOD

By D. J. GORDON

1945 saw the appearance of another volume of the Variorum Spenser, A. C. Judson's *Life* of the poet.[1] There has been no full-length life of Spenser since Grosart's in 1884 and Judson's contention that 'The need of a new life scarcely admits of argument' may well pass unquestioned. Since that date generations of scholars have laboured assiduously to unearth new facts, and all the strenuous exercises of record-searching known to this century have been devotedly performed. Here the results—and Judson himself contributed to the gathering of them—are put together. But what emerges? The general impression left by this book must be one of disappointment. All this work has produced so little that is new; and what is new hardly takes us forward, hardly helps us to a fuller understanding of Spenser's personality, mind and poetry. We know now that Spenser as a young man was in the household of the Bishop of Rochester, that Elizabeth Boyle may have had a predecessor with a remarkable Christian name—but we are little the wiser for the knowledge. We do now know a good deal about Spenser's activities in Ireland, his official duties and his dealings in land—and Judson's chapters on this are perhaps the most valuable in his book—but this is only peripheral knowledge. The sad truth is that we have still no 'Life' of Spenser. The materials are not here. This being so Judson has been driven to incorporate much material of doubtful relevance in the way of 'When Spenser was going between X and Z he must have seen Y', and intricate accounts of people with whom Spenser may at best have had little contact. Thus the first chapter is given up to telling us about the Spencers of Althorp and goes into detail about their

[1] *The Life of Edmund Spenser*, by Alexander C. Judson. Johns Hopkins Press and O.U.P. pp. xii+238. $4.50.

fortunes before and after the reign of Elizabeth—and is illustrated, somewhat irrelevantly, with the reproduction of an engraving of Althorp House as it appeared after it had been reconstructed in the late seventeenth century. But Judson says that he has 'undertaken to place him (Spenser) in his environment, surround him with his friends and associates, and study the influences both physical and human upon him'; and the introduction of such material is presumably part of this endeavour.

We may collect here some minor notes on Spenser's life. In *Spenser's Two Marriages* (*N. & Q.*, 7 April) W. H. Welply suggests that a passage in *Amoretti*, Sonnet XXXIX, may contain a reference to Spenser's desolation on the death of his first wife.

How did Spenser come in contact with Andrew Reade, from whom he got Kilcolman? And is there any truth in the story recorded by Aubrey, on the authority of Samuel Woodford, that Spenser spent some time in Hampshire? Leicester Bradner suggests answers to both questions in *Spenser's Connections with Hampshire* (*M.L.N.*, March). Reade was a Hampshire man. Spenser probably got to know of him through a Hampshire neighbour, Sir Henry Wallop, who had served as an official in Ireland and whose wife is praised in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*. Wallop may provide the link with both Reade and Hampshire. Spenser may perhaps have visited him at his house in that county during his English visit of 1589–91, when Sir Henry was also in this country.

We learn more about *Samuel Woodford and Edmund Spenser* from A. C. Judson's note in *N. & Q.* (3 Nov.). Woodford was himself a minor poet and an admirer of Spenser's.

To turn to the minor poems. Argument about who 'E.K.' was continues. In *Spenser and E.K.: an Answer* (*S. in Ph.*, April) Robert W. Mitchener replies to an earlier article in the same periodical (April 1942. See *Y.W.*, xxiii, 139–40) in which D. T. Starnes had argued that Spenser was his own commentator. Starnes had adduced parallels in phrase and image between the commentary and Spenser's acknowledged works; beside these, to discount this evidence, Mitchener now places parallels from other contemporary writers. And that there are mistakes in mythology common to 'E.K.' and Spenser is not, Mitchener holds, a conclu-

sive argument: similar mistakes can be found in other works of the period. He also points out that if poet and commentator were working together it is reasonable to assume that they would share common sources.

Raymond Jenkins, who is firmly convinced that Spenser was 'E.K.', continues and concludes in *S.A.B.* (Jan. and Aug.) his paper on *Who is E.K?* (see *Y.W.*, xxv, 117). Jenkins here writes about how useful this 'mask' would have been to Spenser: how it would enable him to reveal and conceal what he thought proper. To heighten the illusion Spenser, he suggests, endeavoured to give 'E.K.' as definite a personality as possible: thus we have the notes in which E.K. feigns ignorance. These are, for Jenkins, 'palpable blinds' enabling Spenser to safeguard himself—by giving, for example, only partial explanations of his ecclesiastical allusions. He uses the article by Starnes referred to above, finds evidence in the Spenser-Harvey letters, and adduces coincidences in error and ideas between Spenser and 'E.K.'.

In *N. & Q.* (27 Jan.) James Sledd suggests that the phrase *'Chamfred Browes' in Spenser's February Eclogue* may have come from reading a passage in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* with the help of Cooper's Thesaurus.

There are two articles on *Muiopotmos.* Writing on *Spenser and Leicester* in *S. in Ph.* (April) William R. Orwen seeks to show that this poem is an allegory of the contest between England and Spain; that Clarion, agent of Minerva's victory, is Leicester who was popularly received as the outstanding Protestant champion; and that the ugly Aragnoll who kills Clarion is Burghley, suspected at the time of being in touch with Philip of Spain. William Wells, on the other hand, will have it—in his *To Make a Milde Construction: the significance of the opening stanzas of 'Muiopotmos'* (*S. in Ph.*, July)—that efforts to read the poem as an allegory or as a mere *jeu d'esprit* are equally mistaken. He considers that the belief that we must search for allegory rises from a misinterpretation of the opening stanzas; and that the poem is essentially a 'complaint', a 'harmony of the medieval tragedy and the classical mock-heroic', points that he argues with some subtlety.

The rest of the year's articles on Spenser are devoted to the *Faerie Queene*. Fredson Bowers finds new *Evidences of Revision in 'The Faerie Queene', III, i, ii* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.). Britomart is travelling with Arthur, after leaving the house of Malecasta where they have been together. But at one point, III, ii, 4, Guyon is given as her companion. This seems to have been considered as only a momentary slip. Bowers, however, thinks that it is evidence of an earlier state of this canto in which Guyon was in fact Britomart's companion; and he cites some pieces of evidence in support of this view. It would follow that Guyon not Arthur had been in Malecasta's house with Britomart; and Bowers holds that this would have been appropriate from the point of view of the allegory and suggests several reasons which may have induced Spenser to change his plan.

To re-examine and define the use Spenser makes of the Book of Revelation in Book I of the *Faerie Queene* is the task John E. Hankins sets himself in *Spenser and the Revelation of St. John* (*P.M.L.A.*, June). His approach is based on a study of the interpretations of Revelation contained in the scriptural commentaries available to Spenser; and in particular he seeks to show the relevance not only of the texts from this book themselves but also of the other material in the Scriptures to which these texts are related by the commentators. Working in this way Hankins finds new evidence of extended borrowings, in imagery, action and allegory, moral and political. His analysis is detailed and complicated. His conclusion is that these biblical influences are 'pervasive and decisive' and that the Revelation of St. John and the related material 'provide Spenser's basic pattern and much of his imagery'.

According to Isabel E. Rathbone *The Political Allegory of the Florimell-Marinell Story* (*E.L.H.*, Dec.) shadows forth two aspects of England's imperial destiny which interested Spenser very much: the civilizing of Ireland; and the destruction of Spanish sea-power with the accompanying expansion of England in the new world. Two themes which were connected (as Hakluyt saw) because of the geographical position of Ireland and the Spanish intrigues there. In this view Marinell is sea power (the development of a suggestion made by an earlier scholar), and his defeat by Britomart represents the shifting of sea power to English hands after

the defeat of the Armada. Marinell's father, Dumarin, is Columbus, his mother, the Nereid Cymodoce, is the islands of the new world (parallels in contemporary works are adduced to justify this reading): from their conjunction Spanish sea power took its rise. Florimell, who was brought up by the Graces, represents Civility, and her rescue by Artegall the civilizing mission of England in Ireland. Into this general scheme Miss Rathbone fits the other details.

In *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.) Kerby Neill takes up the question of the relationship between *Spenser's Acrasia and Mary, Queen of Scots*. He offers evidence to show that contemporaries did in fact regard Mary as a personification of intemperance because of her ambition, incontinence and cruelty, and that she was even referred to as Medea and Circe. Acrasia, then, the evil enchantress whose story is told in a book whose main theme is the virtue of temperance, could easily be related to the Queen of Scotland; this would not, Neill concludes, be an unfamiliar representation of her.

Roy Harvey Pearce's *Primitivistic Ideas in 'The Faerie Queene'* (*J.E.G.P.*, April) is about Spenser's interest in that primitive Golden Age from which man has progressively declined, and in pastoral and savage life. Pearce is mainly concerned with setting out the way in which Spenser uses savage life to bring out, by contrast, what the proper life of man is: the life of the gentleman under the disciplines of reason and self-knowledge, which is the main theme of the poem. He discusses how Spenser's savages stand in relation to current notions about the nature of man and to accounts of primitive people given by the travellers.

We turn to work on the other poets and poetry of the period: There is a long and interesting article by Theodore Spencer on *The Poetry of Sir Philip Sidney* in *E.L.H.* (Dec.). Spencer insists that Sidney's poetry is important not only historically but in its own right as a striking example of 'the relation between form and content, convention and passion, experiment and accomplishment'. Art, Imitation, Exercise: the three words which sum up so much current theory also sum up the needs of English poetry in Sidney's time and describe the scope of the first part of his poetic career.

Up to the time when the first draft of the *Arcadia* was finished Sidney devoted himself to exercising his art through assiduous experiment; and thus provided a school for English versifiers. We can see him at work in this way in his metrical version of the first forty-seven psalms and in the poems inset in the *Arcadia*. Spencer emphasizes the importance of these poems. In them Sidney uses 'at least forty-five different metrical devices or stanzas: English, classical and Italian'—an ambitious attempt to extend the field of English poetry. The experiments in classical measures had their value too: they taught valuable lessons in 'variation within the line', in how to break up the prevailing 'iambic monotony' of contemporary verse. The imitation of Italian forms brought instruction in the art of managing movement of a broader kind, in managing stanzas, in training the ear 'in a more elaborate harmony and counterpoint'. The *Astrophel and Stella* is of course the crown of Sidney's work. Spencer points out how Sidney uses the lessons he has already learned, discusses the relation between 'form and content' and 'expression and convention' in these poems, and gives a sensitive analysis of the main qualities Sidney displays: his sincerity and strength, his dramatic power, his capacity to control movement.

Paul N. Siegel in *The Petrarchan Sonneteers and Neo-Platonic Love* (*S. in Ph.*, April) examines the attitudes to love assumed by the writers of the sonnet sequences. He thinks that we have too commonly accepted a rather vague assumption that all the sonneteers are more or less 'Petrarchan' and that 'Platonic Love' for an idealized mistress is part and parcel of this 'Petrarchan' attitude. Siegel would deny that this is so. He believes that the sonnet sequences can be divided into two groups: those which are really 'Petrarchan' and those which are really Neo-Platonic in inspiration. The difference is that 'Petrarchan' love still preserves the tradition of *amour courtois* from which it came: its basis is frankly physical desire. The Neo-Platonic outlook, however, shows the genuine moral and religious idealism of its Italian creators, its profound belief in the discipline of love. As examples of the 'Petrarchan' sonnets Siegel chooses, mainly, the work of Watson, Barnes, Lodge and Constable; the great exemplars of the other kind are Sidney and Spenser.

The 1595 Translation of Du Bartas's 'First Day' is the subject of a note by Ernest A. Strathmann in *M.L.Q.* (Feb.). No author's name is given on the title-page, and it appears that a commonly accepted ascription to Sylvester is not justified. This version and part of Sylvester's *Second Week* (1598) are dedicated to Bacon; Sylvester's dedication makes it clear that this is the first time he has dedicated a book to Bacon and that he knows of an earlier translation dedicated to him. Strathmann has no suggestions to make about the authorship of the translation.

In *Drayton's Tidy and Chaucer's Tidif* (*R.E.S.*, April) Charlotte Macdonald argues that the bird of this name in Drayton is most probably to be identified with the great tit.

In *Dyer at Woodstock* by Sidney H. Atkins (*T.L.S.*, 3 Feb.) the 'Volcatius' in Lodge's *A Fig for Momus* is identified with Dyer; and the passage in question is seen as a reference to the famous song addressed to Elizabeth from the oak at Woodstock in 1575.

Jean Robertson's article on *The Early Life of George Chapman* (*M.L.R.*, July) has been noticed above (Chap. viii, pp. 110-11), and also Roy W. Battenhouse's *Chapman and the Nature of Man* in *E.L.H.* (June). He finds that Chapman's views are rooted in the ideas of late Antiquity as revived by the Renaissance rather than in Christian doctrine. Battenhouse uses the poems to provide illustrative material, but more important for his purposes are the tragedies which show man working out his fate.

There is a discussion of *Jonson's 'Execration' and Chapman's 'Invective': their place in their authors' rivalry* by Robert Boies Sharpe in *S. in Ph.* (July). He thinks that Chapman's poem was not circulated and was not the product of a sudden rivalry, but was prompted by a long-standing feeling of envy and exasperation stirred to life by the appearance of the 'Execration'.

From America comes a book by George Burke Johnston on *Ben Jonson: Poet*[2], the only attempt yet made, it would seem, to deal with Jonson's poems as a whole. Johnston's intentions are

[2] *Ben Jonson: Poet*, by George Burke Johnston. Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. viii+175. 13*s.* 6*d.*

admirable: 'to find out what kind of a poet Jonson is, what his conception of poetry was, what kind of materials he used (that is, what he considered poetic), and if possible why he was a poet'. Johnston ties the poems together into bundles—sometimes arbitrarily—and discusses them in turn, with something about sources, theory, relations with contemporary writers, influence of the Masque and so on. It cannot be said that any topic is exhaustively studied. Johnston's main thesis is that Jonson as a poet is as much in the 'native' tradition as in the 'classical' and that the presence of 'classical' elements has been over-emphasized; but to the end it remains uncertain what is meant by 'classical' and what by 'native'.

Homer Nearing, Jr., has produced a competent survey of *English Historical Poetry, 1599–1641*.[3] Daniel and Drayton are by far the best of the poets who have to be considered; for indeed few good poets worked in this vein. Drayton was acutely aware that his later works were not what the age demanded; and the later poems discussed do seem curiously old-fashioned. Nearing devotes three chapters to the 'School of the *Mirror for Magistrates*': and it is curious to see how—even apart from the *Mirror*—older patterns in subject and treatment persist. Such modifications as Nearing indicates are slight, though he concludes that satire and greater concern for historical fact appear in such poems as the century goes on.

There was little work on the prose of the period to be chronicled. We have recorded earlier articles showing Dorothy F. Atkinson's interest in that vast romance *The Mirror of Knighthood* and in its connexions with *The Faerie Queene* (see *Y.W.*, xxi, 152; xxv, 113). In two articles published in *M.L.Q.* (March and June) Miss Atkinson now tries to settle questions about the authorship of the translation. In the first, *One 'R.P.'*, she decides that the 'R.P.' responsible for translating parts 2–6 of the *Mirror* is to be indentified with the Robert Parke, known to be the translator of Mandoza's *Historie of China*. Her conclusion is based on coincidences in vocabulary and style between the two works. In the second paper, *The Authorship of 'The Mirror of Knighthood', Part Nine*, she seeks to show

[3] *English Historical Poetry, 1599–1641*, by Homer Nearing, Jr., Univ. of Pennsylvania. pp. 222.

that the author of this part was not the 'L.A.' responsible for parts 7 and 8, as has been commonly assumed, but was, again, Robert Parke. Evidence is again, for the most part, internal and stylistic.

A study of *The Mathematical and Military Works of Thomas Digges, with an Account of his Life*, by Henry J. Webb, is published in *M.L.Q.* (Dec.). Webb tells us what the various works contain and how they stand in relation to contemporary opinion and adds something of Digges's experiences and trials as Muster Master General of Her Majesty's forces in the Low Countries and of other incidents in a busy life.

In *Arthur Golding and the Earthquake of 1580* (*P.Q.*, 2 July) Llewellyn M. Buell indicates some bibliographical puzzles connected with Golding's prose tract, *A Discourse upon the Earthquake*. It may, he concludes, have appeared under as many as five reincarnations. The oddest feature of the case is that the tract appears as *A Godlie Admonition* in the official order of prayer composed and published for the occasion.

Lisle C. John's *Elizabethan Letter Writer* (*P.Q.*, 2 April) is a brief account of Richard Brackenbury, a gentleman usher at Elizabeth's court, and the news letters he wrote to the Earl of Rutland and others.

Forty-three pages of *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.) are taken up by A. Philip McMahon's paper on *Francis Bacon's Essay 'Of Beautie'*. Surely none of the *Essays* has ever been studied in such detail: detail which cannot be traced here. McMahon aims at clarifying the meaning of the essay through close examination of the sources. His method is to take each sentence (and he includes the Latin version which he takes to have been the work of Bacon himself) and to set it against its background of ideas. He tracks Bacon's ideas through classical antiquity and contemporary writing. Particularly interesting are his investigations of the connexions between Bacon's ideas and those of contemporary theorists of art.

The influence exerted by Bacon on the work of Daniel Tuvill the essayist is the subject of *Tuvill's Advancement of Bacon's Learning* by John L. Lievsay in *H.L.Q.* (Nov.). This can be traced in Tuvill's

Essaies Politicke and Morall (1608) and *Essayes, Morall and Theologicall* (1609), but is more important in *The Dove and the Serpent* (1614), a 'book of policy and civil discourse' influenced not only in detail but in its very inception by *The Advancement of Learning*.

Robert Parsons' statement that Ralegh was the moving spirit of a 'school of atheism' is familiar and constantly quoted. In *Ralegh and the Catholic Polemists* (*H.L.Q.*, Aug.) Ernest A. Strathmann reminds us of the need to see this accusation in its context. The tractate in which it appears was, although the most widely read, only one of a number of such polemical pamphlets that appeared in answer to the Queen's proclamation of 1591 against Jesuits and 'Seminarie Priests'. The Catholic authors mainly attack Elizabeth herself and the Protestant leaders in the Privy Council, notably Burghley. The attack on Ralegh, though made by others than Parsons, is not a main issue. As for the specific charges brought against him—Burghley himself, according to Parsons, is as much an atheist as Ralegh. As Strathmann says, 'it would be unreasonable to accept one charge as fact and the other as a libellous fiction'. Ralegh would be chosen for attack partly because he was associated with the extreme Protestant party and partly—possibly—because he had shown some antipathy to Jesuits; but mostly because he was the Queen's favourite and because he was so notoriously, and dangerously, anti-Spanish. The charge of keeping a 'school of atheism' is in fact not to be taken as 'independent historical evidence' but as a 'footnote' in a protracted religious and political dispute.

The same writer raises the question of *An Epitaph attributed to Ralegh* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.). This is the famous epitaph on Leicester ('Here lyes the lord of Leicester that all the world did hate'). It is known from several sources. J. P. Collier, however, printed it from a Bridgewater MS. 'of the time of James I' and appended the signature 'Wa.Ra.' to his transcription. This MS. is now in the Huntington Library and does indeed carry the attribution to Ralegh—although Collier's transcription is otherwise careless. Apart from those versions already known the epitaph appeared in print in 1592 in a Catholic treatise probably written by Richard Verstegen. But no author is named. So far, then, the only authority

for attributing the piece to Ralegh is this MS.—a seventeenth-century commonplace book.

Essex finds a vigorous apologist in E. P. Kuhl who contributes a note on *The Earl of Essex and Liberalism* to *P.Q.* (April). According to Kuhl, Essex was, like Giordano Bruno, a martyr 'to science, reason, liberty'; he was the protagonist of a new, enlightened order brought down by the representatives of an old and decadent world; he was the 'leader of forward minds, of commercial enterprise and colonization, of liberal clergy'.

Samuel C. Chew has two articles on Iconography and emblems. In *H.L.Q.* (May) he writes on *The Iconography of a Book of Christian Prayers* (1578). He analyses the illustrations, indicates the models followed, shows the changes made from Daye's earlier *Christian Prayers and Meditations* (1569) and some possible reasons for making them, and traces the curious later history of four of Daye's allegories of the virtues.

Chew also writes on *Richard Verstegan and the Amorum Emblemata of Otho van Veen* (*H.L.Q.*, Feb.). There were two editions of van Veen's *Amorum Emblemata* published at Antwerp in 1608. One of these carries a dedication, in English, to William, Earl of Pembroke and Philip, Earl of Montgomery; there is a set of commendatory verses in English signed 'R.V.'; and the poems that accompany the emblems are in Italian and English. Chew suggests that 'R.V.' was Richard Verstegan, the English Roman Catholic exile, who was resident in Antwerp, was himself a publisher and the associate of artists and engravers. He suggests too that Verstegan was probably responsible for the English versions, for he appears elsewhere as the author of translations and paraphrases, and other works of his show his interest in emblems.

Morris Morley contributes some *Conjectures about Sixteenth-Century Stenography* to *N. & Q.* (22 Sept.) and follows this up (1 Dec.) with an elaborate study of *John Willis: Elizabethan Stenographer*. Willis's *Art of Stenographie* was published in 1602.

In his general consideration of *English Proverbs and Dictionaries*

of Proverbs (*The Library*, June) F. P. Wilson devotes most of his attention to the sixteenth and seventeenth century collections.

To Wilson also we owe a small but packed and valuable book, *Elizabethan and Jacobean*, some chapters of which deal with our subjects.[4] In his general chapters Wilson is careful to insist on the continuity of the tradition, on the interests shared by 'Elizabethans' and 'Jacobeans' alike, on the dangers and difficulties of trying to isolate two separate periods distinguished by these adjectives, and on the particular dangers of talking about 'Jacobean melancholy' as opposed to 'Elizabethan optimism': this last a vulgar error. It is still necessary to state emphatically that 'the main preoccupations of Elizabethans and Jacobeans alike were with religion, theological controversy, and what may be called compendiously if loosely moral philosophy'. And here the emphasis is right: 'What distinguishes the Jacobean from the Elizabethan Age is its more exact, more searching, more detailed inquiry into moral and political questions and its interest in the analysis of the mysteries and perturbations of the human mind.' And Wilson stresses the importance for this age of the moralists of the Silver Age and of writers like Machiavelli, Montaigne, Bodin and Lipsius. Good general surveys of the prose writing of this age (or of the earlier, for that matter) are rare, so Wilson's chapter on the prose is the more welcome, with its succinct statement of the new stylistic ideals and the new models proposed, and its reminder of the variety of styles existing at various levels of writing, both under James and under Elizabeth. There is a wealth of illustration from sources that will not be very familiar even to a scholar well read in this period.

Elizabethan and Jacobean, by F. P. Wilson. O.U.P. pp. vi + 144. 7*s*. 6*d*.

X

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE

II. THE EARLIER STUART AGE AND THE COMMONWEALTH

By L. C. MARTIN

THE first volume of the new *Oxford History* to appear falls almost entirely within the scope of this chapter and is welcomed at the outset as an important work of a general character. As in former years nearly the whole of the Milton material, which still greatly preponderates, is reserved for notice in the later pages of the chapter: otherwise the order generally followed is (1) the prose and (2) the poetry of the period.

The period 1600–60 was in need of fresh historical examination. The nearest recent analogue to the volume now supplied by Douglas Bush[1] is V. de Sola Pinto's Introduction to *The English Renaissance* (1938), but that is a briefer account of a much larger field, 1510–1688, and it finds room for the drama, which Bush omits. The authority of many earlier estimates has lost something of its original brightness, and a comprehensive reviewing is the more timely because of the extensive contributions made during the present century to our knowledge and understanding of Jacobean and Stuart literature, and the relative lack of attempts to give them co-ordination and proportionate assessment.

In some formal respects Bush's work may recall Elton's three Surveys, in the restriction to about fifty years, the careful documentation, and the method of grouping authors in chapters devoted to ways of thought and kinds of writing. The subjects thus marked out range from Popular Literature and Translation to Essays and Characters, and from the Literature of Travel to that of Political, Scientific, and Religious Thought. A chapter is given to each of these last three categories, and Bush appears to be

[1] *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600–1660*, by Douglas Bush. O.U.P. pp. vii+621. 21*s*.

specially interested in the thought of the time, although there are many cursory reflections on manner and technique, especially where the poetry is in question. Nor is prose style altogether neglected, but we are reminded, not without reason, that 'most great prose of the period was didactic and utilitarian', and on the whole we learn more about what each writer said than how he said it. It may be significant in this connexion that there is no chapter on literary theory and critical practice, although here again there are incidental references, and some further justice is done in the valuable and up-to-date Bibliography, covering 170 pages in all. Indeed the volume would be worth having for this descriptive list alone.

A historian of literature is none the worse for having a point of view, if therefrom he sees widely and heedfully enough. For no thinker or writer treated here has Bush a deeper admiration than for Milton, of whose *Paradise Lost* he is one of the latest and by no means the least doughty of apologists (see below, p. 145). In the *History* perhaps the best chapter is that on Milton (which includes Milton's post-Restoration activity), and in this, as in the initial chapter on the Background of the Age and in the retrospective Conclusion, it is made clear that Bush looks to a revival of Christian Humanism, with its 'passion for order and righteousness', as a chief means to the saving of modern civilization. This he opposes to 'the naturalistic passion and irresponsibility of Donne', and he glances unfavourably at 'the defeatism of the "Armistice" period' 1918–39. But when the old order changeth, yielding place to new, contention and rebellious disruption are themselves in the order of things until stability is re-asserted; and when we are asked to admit that 'modern "defeatist" literature was largely the product of sophisticated coteries' we may recognize also that sophistication and wisdom are not always easy to distinguish; nor perhaps defeatism and the bravery of the last ditch.

Bush ends with a chastening thought for historians, apt as they are to generalize too easily about the relations of literature to the alleged spirit of the age. 'A Jacobean reader of the contemporary literature of discontent might have felt that Englishmen had sunk far below their fathers and grandfathers, and might have denied the existence of the resolute beliefs and high passions and energies which were to bring about the civil war.' The modern parallel is duly drawn. Yet in spite of the implied 'lesson of humility' it must

be said that whoever wishes to take the full measure of seventeenth-century literature up to the Restoration will be well advised to give some days and nights to Bush's learned and often revealing discussion.

The same period is considered in *U.T.Q.* (July) by Roy Daniells, who writes on *Baroque Form in English Literature*, seeking, with due caution and reservation, to show how far, and with what profit, the principles of baroque art, as defined by Wölfllin, can be traced also in English literature of the seventeenth century. Daniells's account of certain prose-writers and of the poetry written by Donne, Crashaw, and Milton is illuminating and lends weight to his argument that the term 'baroque' might be more extensively adopted to delineate some features of conception and style which are common to these and other writers of the time.

That the anatomist of melancholy deserves to be taken much more seriously than he usually has been is a thesis well expounded by Bergen Evans in a volume[2] which came to hand too late for notice last year. Evans favours the view that Burton really suffered from melancholy himself and thus wrote his book not out of his learning alone, but out of personal experience; and an analysis of Burton's own case is part of the enterprise, which also entails descriptions of Burton's ideas about the symptomatology, etiology, and therapy of the disease. He was more willing than others, before and since, have been, to see the root cause in the mind or imagination, though he recognized the close relation between mental and physical determinants. He thought of the morbid phases of melancholy as the excess of normal emotional states, and traces the melancholy disorder to three main factors: heredity, lack of affection in childhood, and sexual frustration. He appreciated, moreover, the part played by the maladjustment of the individual to a social environment and vice versa. Among all his remedies the most important was the opening of the mind to a friend or physician having the right gifts of knowledge, assurance, and honesty: there is also his account, in his address to the reader and elsewhere, of the kind of society in which melancholy would less frequently

[2] *The Psychiatry of Robert Burton*, by Bergen Evans in consultation with George J. Mohr, M.D. (1944). Columbia Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xi+129. $2.00. 13*s.* 6*d.*

occur. In such ways he can be regarded as a precursor of such a modern psychologist as Havelock Ellis; but Evans wisely refuses to take Burton out of his own time or to dissociate him from the many inquiries which had been made before. The *Anatomy* serves to show how much was actually known three hundred years ago and how carefully some psychopathic conditions had been observed. At the same time it was a real contribution to knowledge and is still something much more than a quaint encyclopedia of exploded doctrine.

A. C. Howell writes on *Sir Thomas Browne as Wit and Humorist* in *S. in Ph.* (July), arguing at length that the term 'wit' has often implied an element or flavouring of pleasantry and mirth, and that Browne's wit is frequently of the mirth-provoking and not merely of the 'funny-peculiar' variety.

The first two of the projected four volumes of Cromwell's speeches and writings, edited by Wilbur C. Abbott were noticed in *Y.W.*, xxi, 165. The third volume, larger than either of its predecessors, though covering but two years of Cromwell's life, has now appeared.[3] The two years are of the Protectorate, 1653–5; the method is continued of presenting the material in chronological order with running explanation and comment; and the whole constitutes a full record of Cromwell's character, circumstances and actions at the time as revealed by the extant documents. To obtain this record Abbott has cast the net widely and drawn up revealing accounts of Cromwell's conversations with Quakers, Fifth Monarchists, foreign ambassadors, and other visitors. Much of the material has not been brought together before and much is published or translated for the first time. During these two years, though tired, ill, and harassed, and not seldom cross, Cromwell maintained his vigour and determination, imposing his regime upon a people who accepted rather than loved it and who were really in no mind to put up with it longer than they must. Abbott rightly deprecates the labouring of parallels between Cromwell's dictatorship and modern instances; nevertheless, 'there may be

[3] *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with an Introduction, Notes and an Account of his Life*, by Wilbur Cortez Abbott, with the assistance of Catherine D. Crane and Madeleine R. Gleason. Vol. iii, *The Protectorate, 1653–1655*. Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. xvi+978. $5.00. 28*s*.

drawn certain comparisons of interest, even of importance, between that age and our own'. It is good to learn that the concluding volume of this monumental work is in hand.

In *M.L.N.* (Nov.) Lillian H. Hornstein gives, by way of supplement to Caroline Spurgeon's collection, *Some Chaucer Allusions by Sir Edward Coke* (see above, pp. 59-60).

H. W. Garrod, in *R.E.S.* (July), examines and adds to what is known about the friendship between *Donne and Mrs. Herbert*, commenting particularly upon certain conjectures to the effect that in the poems addressed by Donne to this lady 'there is blended with the respectful flattery of the dependant not a little of the tone of warmer feeling permitted to the "servant" by Troubadour convention'. After a very close sifting, Garrod concludes that there is no evidence to suppose that some poems which have been connected with this friendship were in fact addressed to Mrs. Herbert, and no warrant at all for thinking that the relationship was other than it is described by Walton, 'an Amity', like that of St. Chrysostom to Olimpias or of St. Jerome to Paula, 'made up of sutable inclinations and vertues'.

In *R.E.S.* (Jan.) the same writer surmises the date (1612) and provides a new interpretation of *The Latin Poem Addressed by Donne to Dr. Andrews*. Among various other corrections of earlier comment it is made clear that whoever was addressed it was not Lancelot Andrewes, as Gosse too easily concluded. Some things remain unexplained, but Garrod has substantially assisted the understanding of those verses.

In *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) Elizabeth L. Wiggins writes fully and cogently on *Logic in the Poetry of John Donne*, showing how considerable a part his studies of formal logic, its terms and processes, played in making his poetry what it was, even when this influence is not immediately recognizable. Much of the article is devoted to facilitating such recognition, and to illustrating how the influence gives to the poetry an 'added richness of logical connotation'.

Thomas O. Mabbott comments in *M.L.N.* (May) on the suggestion of D. C. Allen (see *Y.W.*, xxiv, 145–6) that Donne may have been indebted to Valeriano for his remarks on the symbolic meaning of the Darius coinage.

To *M.L.N.* (Jan.) Don Cameron Allen brings, with reference to Hebrew legends, a note on *John Donne's 'Paradise and Calvarie'* as these are associated in his 'Hymne to God my God, in my sicknesse'.

George R. Potter[4] prints the Harvard MS. version of Donne's Sermon on Psalm xxxviii, 9, which Mrs. Simpson gives from the Dowden MS. in an appendix to her *Study of the Prose Works.* Potter is much impressed by the superiority of the Harvard text, and better it is at a number of points. Not all scholars, however, are likely to agree with him in his preference of some Harvard readings as being clearer, or more logical, or more characteristic of the author. Nor is his modernizing of the text to be welcomed as much as his careful introduction and notes.

Potter also writes in *J.E.G.P.* (Jan.) on *Hitherto Undescribed Manuscript Versions of Three Sermons by Donne* in what is now 'Nor 4506' in the Harvard Library. The first is that which Potter publishes separately. The second is of 'A Sermon of Valediction at my Going into Germany' and it appears to present no variants of great importance. The third sermon, which in *Fifty Sermons* is dated 21 February 1611 is now credibly ascribed to 1619, and from a discussion of variants the conclusion is drawn that in this instance 'Nor 4506' goes back to a manuscript not used for the early printed texts.

Herbert H. Umbach, in *E.L.H.* (June), considers *The Merit of Metaphysical Style in Donne's Easter Sermons,* illustrating therefrom the various qualities of 'metaphysical' sermon-writing, and deciding that Donne does not exaggerate them.

In *H.L.Q.* (Feb.) Samuel C. Chew associates *Richard Verstegan and Amorum Emblemata of Otho van Veen,* identifying Verstegan as the R.V. who writes the commendatory quatrains and probably the rest of the English matter contained in one issue of the original volume (1608). Verstegan thus takes a place among the English emblematists. (See above, p. 131).

Robert Boies Sharpe (*S. in Ph.*, July) considers *Jonson's 'Execration' and Chapman's Invective: Their Place in their Author's Rivalry,*

[4] *A Sermon Preached at Lincoln's Inn by John Donne,* ed. by George Reuben Potter. Stanford Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. vi + 71. $2.00.

seeking to explain Chapman's attitude to Jonson here as the result of a resentment which had long been accumulating and which, as Sharpe thinks, was finally touched off by Jonson's claim to eminence in Chapman's own field of non-dramatic classical learning.

To *M.L.Q.* (March) Allen R. Benham contributes an article entitled *Sir John Suckling, 'A Sessions of the Poets': Some Notes and Queries*, which turns upon such matters as the purpose of the poem, the status of the laureateship in 1637, and the reasons why some poets are mentioned by Suckling and not others.

Under heading *An Early Lovelace Text* in *P.M.L.A.* (June) Willa McClung Evans compares the 'Sonnet' 'When I by thy faire shape did sweare' as first printed and as it appears in a manuscript collection of songs in the New York City Public Library. There are differences of wording, in one instance amounting to a whole line, and in Miss Evans's opinion these suggest that Lovelace took great care in revising his work.

In *R.E.S.* (Jan.) E. L. Marilla argues that *The Religious Conversion of Henry Vaughan* was not, as has often been supposed, complete by 1650, when the first part of *Silex Scintillans* was published, but that the 'gradual deepening of religious sentiment' perceptible in his writings from 1646 onwards did not culminate until about 1654 when he wrote the 'Author's Preface' to the second *Silex*. Many reasons for this view are put forward, but Marilla is inclined to think that the political developments of the time were the chief factor in sending Vaughan so far in an other-worldly direction. It is also suggested, with reference to *Thalia Rediviva* (1678) and other evidence, that Vaughan became less ascetic again with the improvement of his health and with the satisfaction enjoyed by Royalists at the Restoration.

In *N. & Q.* (25 Aug.) J. A. W. Bennett points out that Thomas Traherne appears in *The Brasenose Book of Benefactors* (vol. ii, 1909) as having contributed to the cost of the College new buildings.

M. F. E. Rainbow in *D.U.J.* (Dec. 1944) writes on *Marvell and Nature*, seeking to define what is individual in Marvell's nature-poetry as distinguished from that of other seventeenth-century poets.

As we look back on the achievements of Milton scholarship and criticism during the last twenty years nothing seems more salient than the freshness and range of the work done with a view to interpreting the poet's mind and art, whether largely or with reference to particular poems and passages. This work, as will appear below, still goes forward. The student has also been helped, not least by the *Columbia Milton*, to know more exactly than before what Milton actually wrote and wished to have printed. But in this regard a special welcome is deserved by the magnificent enterprise undertaken by the University of Illinois Press in publishing on a very generous scale an edition by Harris F. Fletcher of Milton's complete poetical works in photographic facsimile.[5] It has never before been made so easy for all to see the relations between manuscripts and printed texts, between one edition and another, and between variant copies of individual editions. Half the work is done, two volumes out of four having now appeared.

The initial volume, containing the shorter poems, was published in 1943. Here is first reproduced the edition of 1673 and then that of 1645, followed by *Comus* 1637, various manuscripts, and other material. The Bridgewater MS. is reproduced for the first time. The remaining smaller pieces are given as they were first printed, and finally we have all the relevant pages of the Trinity College MS. (a little smaller than the original, the pages of the present edition measuring 12 x 8½ inches) and the MS. of 'Ad Joannem Rousium'. Each document is precisely but adequately introduced, and much more bibliographical detail provided than anyone else has been at the pains to assemble.

The wealth of material in Fletcher's second volume, concerning the first edition of *Paradise Lost*, is not easily epitomized. There are two parts, of which the second reproduces the text. Part I (216 pages) deals with the composition and the first printing and publication, including full accounts of the paper and its watermarks, the signatures, each letter of the type, the title-pages, and the various states in which the edition is still found. All these things are lavishly illustrated.

[5] *John Milton's Complete Poetical Works Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile*, ed. by Harris Francis Fletcher. Vol i (1943), *Poems, &c.*, pp. iv+465. Vol. ii (1945), *The First Edition of Paradise Lost.* pp. iv+634. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press. $20.000 each volume.

Fletcher has examined between thirty and forty actual copies of *Poems* 1673 and over twenty of *Poems* 1645. For *Paradise Lost* he has used fifty-three actual copies (nearly all owned by the University of Illinois) and about a hundred photographic ones. The process, aided where necessary by magnification, brings out such facts as the existence at one stage of a full-stop in some copies where others show it faintly or not at all. Some of the variants have nothing but typographical significance, but they are carefully recorded in the footnotes, of which it is also the purpose to give the principal textual differences between editions. In both respects Fletcher admits the possibility that he may have seen less than there is to see; and some may differ from him here or there about the meaning of 'principal' in this context. The important thing is that the student of Milton can now do the business of comparison for himself with a convenience never before afforded and with a new and firm assurance that he has all the most necessary facts at his disposal.

Volume iii is to contain the second edition of *Paradise Lost* and volume iv all that remains. Every Milton scholar will look forward to the completion of this work, for the two volumes already published are a sufficient warrant that the whole will merit lasting respect. It is not too much to say that this edition, in its handsome layout and with all its panoply of exact scholarship and fine printing, is in its own way as handsome a tribute to Milton's genius as has ever been paid.

In recent years much attention has been given, especially in America, to the theological and philosophical traditions represented in Milton's poetry, and the result has been, without prejudice to his creative powers, to show how widespread were many of the notions which used to be thought peculiar to him; and it has accordingly become clear that suspicion must attach to any suggestion that parallels adduced from earlier writers necessarily imply some particular indebtedness on Milton's part. The next question to be asked would seem to be whether after all there were not certain writers or groups of writers regarded by Milton as having a special authority. The answering of this question must obviously require very good knowledge of the relevant literature and also very considerable powers of perception and discrimination. In a work concerned with one feature alone of *Paradise Lost*, the de-

scription of Paradise itself and its inhabitants,[6] Sister Mary Irma Corcoran shows that she has these requirements in no small degree. She gives a clear account of the traditions, and the special views of those by whom the traditions were set forth and modified; she also indicates, with reference to dates, availability of editions, general esteem, and closeness of agreement, which authors are most likely to have been respected and used by Milton.

Having closely and separately considered, in relation to the hexameral sources, the Garden itself, man's life in Paradise, and the meaning attributable to the sentence that he was made in the image of God, she gives her conclusions in a final chapter. The first of these is that if *Paradise Lost* is to be rightly understood it must before all things be regarded as a religious poem, many critics having gone astray through disregard of this quality. Next she draws up a list of sources or source-groups to which Milton was most credibly indebted, in order of importance, naming first Genesis itself, then St. Augustine, the schoolmen, and Calvin. Then she tries to define the new whole which Milton contrived from these and other quarters, including the contributions of Jewish exegetists and Renaissance commentators. (She observes by the way that Weemer's *Portraiture of the Image of God in Man* (1636) is the volume of Protestant theology offering the greatest number of parallels to *Paradise Lost*.) She thus hopes that with due allowance for the special and limited nature of her investigation she has 'placed the various elements of the hexameral tradition in the perspective in which Milton saw them, has established Milton's concept of the nature and end of man as fundamentally religious rather than narrowly humanistic, and has disentangled some of the threads of pre-Reformation Christian orthodoxy and Protestant creeds from which he wove his own system'. And she seems indeed to have gone far towards the attainment of these ends.

A. S. P. Woodhouse writes under the heading *The Approach to Milton: A Note on Practical Criticism* in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Section II (1944). The argument leads towards the conclusion that Milton's principal poems involve 'problems which are more or less overtly cast into

[6] *Milton's Paradise with Reference to the Hexameral Background*, by Sister Mary Irma Corcoran. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Univ. of America Press. pp. xvi+149. $1.50.

the form of argument or debate', and that 'Milton is in some sort working through the problem as he writes'—the making of the poetry having a species of cathartic effect in allaying perturbations and inducing harmony in the poet's mind.

But neither this approach to Milton nor that of Miss Corcoran is exactly the kind which is made by two studies in comparative literature now to be welcomed. In each of these Milton is one of four important European poets who are associated either because of their 'prophetic' qualities or because of their distinction in the field of epic poetry. In C. R. Buxton's brief work[7] the companions of Milton in prophecy are Virgil, Dante and Goethe; in C. M. Bowra's volume[8] the three epic poets who precede Milton are Virgil, Camões, and Tasso.

Buxton's theme leads him towards greater concern with the subject-matter than with the aesthetic aspects of the four great works he discusses; he emphasizes the permanent and thus the present-day significance of their central doctrines; and tells us more about their common than about their individual features. Each writer manages to set forth, by means of a traditional myth, a view of the universe as a whole; each is prophetic in his moral zeal and in his awareness of a transcendent power which speaks through him.

Buxton did not live to write the longer work on this subject which he intended, but here, disposed under such headings as Poets or Prophets, The Significance of the Myth, The Poet's Use of the Myth, The Poems as Works of Art, the Basic Ideas of Western Civilization, a wealth of earnest and stimulating thought is compendiously presented.

Bowra's volume is more specifically literary in its approach and attends more to the connexions of his four epic poems with the thought of the times when they were written; and, treating them separately and with much fullness, he succeeds in defining each poet's contribution to the annals of European epic poetry. But, like Buxton, Bowra also sees these works as valid and comprehensive

[7] *Prophets of Heaven and Hell*, by Charles Roden Buxton. C.U.P. pp. xv + 115. 6*s*.

[8] *From Virgil to Milton*, by C. M. Bowra. Macmillan & Co. pp. vii + 248. 15*s*.

criticisms of life, as embodiments of changing but related views about the place of man in the universe which is his dwelling-place and testing-ground. More especially Bowra examines the nature of the hero as variously conceived, and shows how different concepts of epic heroism reflect different notions about man's capacity for greatness of spirit. In Milton the development culminates because he gave to the literary epic a theological basis and the utmost moral seriousness: 'Whereas other epics display a struggle for what is in the last analysis a temporal or worldly end, like the foundation of Rome or even the capture of Jerusalem, Milton displays a struggle between good and evil.'

Milton retains many familiar features of the epic tradition: 'war, single combats, perilous journeys, beautiful gardens, marvellous buildings, visions of the world and of the future, expositions of the structure of the universe, and scenes in Heaven and in Hell. Yet all these are so transformed that their significance and even their aesthetic appeal are new', because Milton's subject lies outside the main tradition. Adam as the 'hero' is compared to Aeneas, whom Adam resembles in imperfection leading to grave results. Some, however, of the traditional heroic characteristics are transferred to Satan, not because Milton admired him but because he wished to depreciate the older type of epic heroism in favour of his own conception, according to which heroism lies not in deeds tending to earthly glory but in suffering for the good. This is but one of many perceptions in which students of Milton are likely to find valuable food for thought.

Cognate in some respects with Bowra's work is an article in *Elizabethan Studies in Honor of George F. Reynolds* (see above, p. 56) on *Epic Conventions in 'Paradise Lost'*, by J. Duncan Spaeth, who shows how Milton could adopt certain features of the epic tradition with less or more advantage, and also how he could transform or transcend them in the interests of his unique purpose.

More champions enter the lists to defend the fair fame of Milton against misunderstanding and detraction; and it is still thought needful that his readers should be warned against nourishing romantic sympathies with Satan, or divorcing Milton's poetry from his ideas, or entertaining any notion that he has been 'dis-

lodged' or replaced by Mr. T. S. Eliot. These at any rate are some of the positions assailed by Douglas Bush,[9] who is well equipped with common sense, historical knowledge, and debating skill; and certainly it is not hard to agree with him that Milton was not consciously (Blake said unconsciously) in league with Satan, that Milton without his ideas provides but a soulless palace of art, that those ideas have some universal importance, and that Milton's style has more life than some of the detractors are willing to allow. Bush gave four lectures at Cornell, the first reviewing recent adverse criticism, the second expounding Milton's religious and ethical principles, the third explaining the presentation of the conflict between good and evil as embodied in the chief characters of *Paradise Lost*, and the last devoted to the 'poetical texture'. His arguments are often like those of C. S. Lewis and he misses no chance of pointing out the relevance of Milton's poetry to our own time. Thus he regrets that modern readers are so often incapable of appreciating either the passion for Law and Order which is said to inform Renaissance literature or the clearness of the issue in *Paradise Lost* between right and wrong, between 'irreligious pride and religious humility'.

It can be admitted that much can be learnt from Milton, both as a moralist and as a poet. But as we follow the arguments of his apologists and note their occasional tendentiousness and implications of prejudice, some old and some new doubts may arise. Thus, to go no further, is there nothing to be said against Milton's epic procedure or epic style? It was not first Mr. Eliot but Dr. Johnson who remarked that Milton 'formed his style by a perverse and pedantick system', being 'desirous to use English words with a foreign idiom'. This of course is not the whole of the picture; but arguments about such matters often still lack balance, and what would seem to be needed now is not more attack and defence but a synthesis, made in a spirit of combined sympathy and detachment, of all that can be said to-day on the significance and value of Milton's work. On the point of style Dr. Johnson provides something like a model, if not a wholly satisfactory conclusion, where he speaks of Milton's 'Babylonish dialect' as being 'in itself harsh and barbarous, but made by exalted genius and extensive learning

[9] *'Paradise Lost' in Our Time, Some Comments*, by Douglas Bush. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Univ. Press. pp. ix+117. $2.00.

the vehicle of so much instruction and so much pleasure, that like other lovers, we find grace in its deformity'.

Another defender of Milton is E. H. Visiak, who in a very slight brochure[10] seeks to answer modern reflections on Milton's style, digressing occasionally to notice other aspects of anti-Miltonic criticism.

There is good balance in the handling by S. Musgrove in *R.E.S.* (Oct.) of the question regarding Milton's Satan *Is the Devil an Ass?* The answer is on the whole in the negative, yet it is maintained that neither is Milton's Devil the Prometheus of Shelley and Macaulay. Musgrove is thus both at odds and in agreement with C. S. Lewis. He sees grandeur in the Satan of Books i and ii of *Paradise Lost*, but points out that this is in the setting of Hell, that we are expected to approach Satan in a spirit of hate, and that the romantic critics have been too prone to accept Satan at his own valuations. His deficiencies in other settings and his progressive degeneration in all are treated here with much freshness of perception.

The main reason seen by Musgrove for Milton's plunging *in medias res* is that he wished to give Satan an appearance of greatness at first in order to bring out later the completeness of his failure. Another reason is alleged by Arnold Williams, who discusses *The Motivation of Satan's Rebellion in 'Paradise Lost'* (*S. in Ph.*, April): that by building up in the first books the picture of a proud and resentful Satan, Milton inclines us to believe that he had always been so, or at least makes it easier for us to accept such reason as is given later for Satan to have rebelled against the most High. Milton glosses over the ultimate difficulty: 'Quae causae fuerint superbiendi?' By one tradition the pride of the rebellious angels was associated with envy aroused by the creation of Man; but this would not do for Milton's conception, also an inherited one, since here the creation of Man was to be rather an effect than a cause of the rebellion. Accordingly Milton connects the rebellion with the exaltation of the Son, leaving the precise meaning of the exaltation unstated, but making envy a sufficiently logical motive.

To *R.E.S.* (Jan.) a note by B. A. Wright is contributed on *Mas-*

[10] *The Animus against Milton*, by E. H. Visiak. Derby: The Grasshopper Press. pp. 9. 1*s.*

son's Diagram of Milton's Spaces, which, with reference to *Paradise Lost*, i, 73–4, we are asked to abandon. The lines in question, Wright contends, represent not a literal measurement of the distance between Heaven and Hell, but an imaginative way of saying that the distance was beyond all human realization.

In *N. & Q.* (15 Dec.) E. H. W. Meyerstein traces Ramiel (*Paradise Lost*, vi, 372) to the *De Occulta Philosophia* of Cornelius Agrippa, where 'Asasiel' is also to be found.

In *M.L.N.* (Feb.) Kester Svendsen, writing on *Milton and 'Malleus Maleficarum'*, quotes this work with reference to *Paradise Lost*, x, 884–8.

Roland M. Smith writes on *Spenser and Milton: An Early Analogue* in *M.L.N.* (June) with a special view to the similarities he perceives between a passage in Spenser's Latin verse-letter to Gabriel Harvey and the sonnet 'How soon hath time', 1–8.

A. H. J. Baines, in *N. & Q.* (24 Feb.), discusses *The Topography of 'L'Allegro'*, pointing out that whereas the countryside here described by Milton is unlike that near Horton or near Cambridge, it has resemblances to the district of the Chiltern Hills which Baines supposes Milton to have visited in the long vacation of 1631.

In *T.L.S.* (14 July, 4 Aug., 22 and 29 Sept., 27 Oct.), under heading '*Above the Smoke and Stir*', C. S. Lewis, R. Eisler, and B. A. Wright examine and comment upon the passages in *Comus* wherein the Attendant Spirit associates the 'regions mild of calm and serene air' with the gardens of Hesperus. Wright, holding that Milton is drawing in *Comus* primarily and directly upon his knowledge of Plato, argues the sufficiency of the *Phaedo* to account for this association. Lewis and Eisler refer rather to other writers, chiefly of the neoplatonic tradition, who similarly connect the gardens and the upper air.

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B. Rajan considers in *R.E.S.* (Oct.) the implications of the words *Simple, Sensuous and Passionate* employed by Milton to define the distinctive qualities of poetry. The article ranges widely and explains how and why Milton saw poetry as the culminating concern in an exacting scheme of education. The details and ingenuities of the argument do not easily lend themselves to abbreviation, but the article is likely to be of help and suggestive value to those who

wish better to understand Milton's theory and even his practice of poetry.

Two tercentenary articles on *Areopagitica* were noticed in *Y.W.*, xxv, 140. In addition it is to be mentioned that G. W. Keeton writes on *The Tercentenary of the 'Areopagitica'* in the *Contemporary Review*, 1944 (Nov.); B. I. Evans on *The Lessons of the 'Areopagitica'* (ibid., Dec.); J. J. Jones on *Areopagitica, 1644–1944* in the *Library Chronicle of the University of Texas, I*; and W. Haller on *'For the Liberty of Unlicenc'd Printing'* in the *American Scholar* (Summer).

In *R.E.S.* (Jan.), under heading *'Muing her Mighty Youth'—A Defence* the present writer supports this (original) reading in *Areopagitica* against the proposal (see *Y.W.*, xxiv, 154) to emend 'muing' to 'renuing'.

Areopagitica has been translated in a volume published at Basel in 1944 by E. Ganzmann, but not sent for notice; and other translations of Milton may be mentioned at this point: into French by F. Delattre,[11] again in a volume not available for notice or full description; and into Italian by Marco Lombardi,[12] who writes a freshly thoughtful preface to his selection. C. S. Lewis contributes to *English* (Summer) a verse-rendering of *De Idea Platonica.*

J. Milton French offers in *N. & Q.* (10 Feb.) *Some Notes on Milton* which have almost entirely to do with Salamasius's reply (1660) to Milton's *Defensio Pro Populo Anglicano*; French records some points in or connected with the reply which were not mentioned in Masson's summary of it.

William R. Parker in *R.E.S.* (July) gives his reasons for supposing that *Milton's Last Sonnet* ('Methought I saw my late espoused saint') refers to Mary Powell, observing that Fenton, in 1725, was the first to connect it with Katherine Woodcock, of whom virtually nothing is known apart from what the sonnet is thought to tell us about her. On the other hand Parker shows that Milton's lines can be plausibly explained with reference to the circum-

[11] *Milton: L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Samson Agonistes.* Paris: Aubier.

[12] *Sansone agonista* (with *Comus* and the Italian sonnets). Milan: Bompiani. pp. 189. L. 100.

stances, as described by the early biographers, of Mary Powell's life and death and of Milton's relations with her after she returned to him. To this T. O. Mabbott replies in *N. & Q.* (1 Dec.) suggesting that the material relating to Milton's verbal will given in the *Columbia Milton* is unfavourable to any supposition 'that the poet was likely to be sentimental about his first wife'.

In recent years several articles bearing on Milton's political thought have been published by Z. S. Fink, who now offers a volume[13] incorporating his previous studies in the results of a wider inquiry. The aim is to show the influence and development in Europe of classical theories concerning the 'mixed state'—in which monarchial, aristocratic, and popular elements can co-operate and make for stability. This conception, foreshadowed by Aristotle, promulgated more fully by Polybius, Cicero, and other ancient theorists, and diffused in Renaissance thought chiefly by Machiavelli, More, and Contarini, found concrete embodiment in the world-famous State of Venice, to which Fink devotes a chapter of analysis and elucidation. He then treats of this classical republicanism as it appears, with individual modifications, in the works of English writers in the seventeenth century, notably in Harrington's *Oceana*, and in Milton's shifting notions of a 'free commonwealth'; and examines its repercussions in post-Restoration arguments, friendly or hostile to the monarchy as it then stood. Thus Filmer's *Patriarcha*, Nevill's *Plato Redivivus*, and Algernon Sydney's *Discourses concerning Government* are prominent in the story, and incidentally Fink interprets afresh the political significance of *Venice Preserv'd.*

'Classical republicanism as an actively advocated program for the reform of the government perished on the scaffold with Sydney in 1683'; but in a concluding chapter Fink pursues the fate of the concept in the eighteenth century, showing how it became incorporated in the Whig theory of the English constitution and affected also the principles underlying that of America. Fink appears to make good his claim that 'there existed in politics a counterpart to that aspect of the Renaissance which led to classical imitation in literature, architecture, and numerous other fields', taking the form not of slavish dependence but of free adaptation;

[13] *The Classical Republicans*, by Zera S. Fink. Evanston: Northwestern Univ. (Northwestern Studies in the Humanities, No. 9). pp. xi+255.

and this work is the more valuable because it not merely sets forth, with deftness and clarity, the nature and evolution of the political ideas in question, but ministers to the understanding of the literary figures who were affected by them, and of whom Milton is one of the outstanding.

In *M.L.N.* (Nov.) under heading *Milton Quotes from Petrarch?* Allan H. Gilbert finds in Petrarch's Sonnets the source of a quotation in Milton's *Of True Religion.*

Joshua H. Neumann in *P.M.L.A.* (March) examines *Milton's Prose and Vocabulary* in some detail. Conceding that Milton's influence on the style of English poetry is of far greater importance, Neumann yet holds that in his prose alone Milton may be seen as 'one of the great enrichers of the English language'. Not all the five hundred words and more for which the first citation in *O.E.D.* is from Milton are likely to be his coinages, but many have the Miltonic ring. In his prose the proportion of words derived from Latin or Greek, although considerable, is not remarkably high for the period. Neumann illustrates also Milton's fresh handling of the native stock.

William R. Parker asks in *N. & Q.* (10 March) about *Thomas Myriell,* observing that the marriage between Edward Phillips and Anne Milton took place on 22 (*not* 27) November 1623, at St. Stephen's, Walbrook, where Thomas Myriell was rector. He may be identical with the person of the same name whose manuscript collection of music (1616) in the British Museum contains ten compositions by John Milton, Senior.

The following articles were not obtained for notice: *The Hanseatic League and the King James Bible,* by James T. Hatfield (*American-German Review,* XI, ooo); and *Richard Crashaw,* by M. F. Moloney (*Catholic World,* CLXII, pp. 43–50).

XI

THE RESTORATION

By V. DE SOLA PINTO

THIS chapter begins with notices of two important studies of Restoration subjects which have appeared in book form during the period under survey. These are followed by accounts of articles in periodicals dealing with aspects of four major authors: Dryden, Bunyan, Butler and Walton; the last paragraphs record the contents of shorter notes on two Restoration dramatists.

One of the most impressive and valuable contributions to Restoration studies which has appeared in recent years is certainly the masterly and exhaustive study of Robert Boyle by Louis Trenchard More.[1] This book was actually published in New York in 1944, but was not available till recently for notice in *Y.W.* Boyle is a figure who belongs equally to the history of science, the history of religion and the history of literature; he has perhaps been unduly neglected by students of literature since the eighteenth century. They can, however, hardly be blamed, as no complete edition of his works has appeared since 1772, though there is a useful reprint of his *Sceptical Chymist* in Everyman's Library. A poor biography by Thomas Birch was prefixed to the editions of 1744 and 1772. The only other study of Boyle which appeared between 1772 and 1944 was the popular sketch by Flora Masson published in 1914.

A new monograph was badly needed, and Trenchard More, who has already published an excellent study of Newton, was obviously well qualified for the task. He was fortunate enough to have the assistance of Dr. Fulton who published a very full bibliography of Boyle's works in 1928. A large mass of Boyle's letters and other MSS. which were certainly extant in the eighteenth century seem to have disappeared, but the biographical material

[1] *The Life and Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, by Louis Trenchard More. O.U.P. pp. 326. 21*s.* or $4.50.

available is fairly abundant and More has certainly made excellent use of it.

The first half of the book consists of a very pleasantly written biography with numerous quotations from Boyle's own autobiographical fragment and his letters. The second half begins with a review of Boyle's early literary works. Students of literature will be particularly interested in the quotation of a passage from the *Meditations*, which almost certainly gave Swift a hint for *Gulliver's Travels*. Swift must have known this book well, as he parodied it exquisitely in his *Meditation on a Broomstick*. More then passes to an account of Boyle's theological opinions. Here, perhaps, more stress might have been laid on his position as a founder of that peculiarly English type of Christian materialism which was such a potent influence on the development of thought in the eighteenth century. The chapter that follows is a fascinating digression on the history of alchemy and medieval science; it forms an introduction to the three notable concluding chapters, which deal respectively with Boyle as an Alchemist, as a Sceptical Scientist, and as a Creative Natural Philosopher.

As an Appendix More reprints an essay on *The Spirit of Anglicanism* by his brother, Paul Elmer More, the well-known writer on philosophical subjects. The inclusion of this essay (an admirable piece of work in itself) is open to criticism, as it only illustrates Boyle's religious opinions in a very general way. The space might, perhaps, have been more appropriately employed in the provision of a short bibliography for the use of readers who have not access to Fulton's elaborate work. However, it would be ungracious to dwell on such minor deficiencies. More has successfully carried out a difficult task. He has created a monument worthy of a great and many-sided man. He has also written a book which can be read with interest and profit by the student of literature, the professional scientist and the general reader.

Explorations, by L. C. Knights,[2] includes an essay on 'Restoration Comedy' which is, perhaps, the most resolute and wholehearted attack on the English comedy of manners of the second half of the seventeenth century since Macaulay's review of Leigh

[2] *Explorations: Essays in Criticism, Mainly Literature of the Seventeenth Century*, by L. C. Knights. Chatto and Windus. 10s. 6d.

Hunt's *Dramatists of the Restoration*. Macaulay, while somewhat grudgingly conceding literary merit to Wycherley and Congreve, attacks them for their licentiousness and cynicism. Knights, while agreeing that ' "morals" are in the long run decidedly relevant', denounces the comedies on the grounds that they are 'dull', superficial, 'dominated by a narrow set of conventions', and the expression of a society which is 'fundamentally bored'.

His starting-point is that of the social theorist. In the period following the Restoration, he argues that English culture was 'upper class' to an extent that it had never been before and was not to be again. He admits that this 'upper class' culture had some good effects on English prose, and he compares the 'sinuous ease of movement' and clarity of a passage from Halifax's *Character of Charles the Second* with the typical prose of the comedies, which he very unfairly exemplifies by quoting two inferior passages by Congreve. (Why not have quoted one of Valentine's 'mad' speeches in *Love for Love* or Lady Wishfort's outburst to Foible at the beginning of Act V of *The Way of the World*?) As compared with the medium of Elizabethan comedy, Knights finds the prose of Restoration comedy 'artificial and non-representative of the current non-dramatic medium'. He seems to ignore its close connection with contemporary pamphlet literature like *The Character of a Town Gallant* and the popular lampoons of Rochester and others. In a curious short analysis of *The Man of Mode* there is no reference at all to the brilliant realism of the Orange Woman and the Shoemaker in the first scene, and the delicate comedy of Sir Fopling's dandyism is dismissed as 'the exhibition of the would-be modishness of Sir Fopling Flutter'. It is significant that Knights says very little about Wycherley, and does not even mention *The Country Wife*.

The essay concludes with an attack on the Restoration lyrics for their 'obvious rhythms' which are compared with the 'artificial elegance of the prose'. Macaulay denounced the comedies from the viewpoint of a Victorian middle-class moralist. Knights attacks them from the viewpoint of a twentieth-century social theorist. His essay is a piece of special pleading which contains a grain or two of truth, but is unworthy of the author of *Drama and Society in the Age of Ben Jonson*.

In *A Check List of English Plays, 1641–1700* Gertrude L.

Woodward and J. G. McManaway[3] have made a valiant attempt to 'record the plays and masques with the variant editions and issues, printed in the English language in the British Isles or in other countries during the years 1641 to 1700, inclusive, and to give the location of copies in a number of American libraries'. In the Preface we are informed that this work began as a list of Restoration plays compiled by Miss Jane D. Harding when she was a member of the Newberry Library staff, was extended by the additions and corrections made by fifteen libraries invited to co-operate, and was finally merged with a similar list of Civil War and Commonwealth plays undertaken at the Folger Shakespeare Library as a project of the 1942 Bibliography Committee of the seventeenth century group of the Modern Language Association of America. It excludes reprints of classical Latin and Greek plays in their original tongues and also 'political and critical dialogues which were never intended for stage representation'. It includes translations and adaptations of classical plays and 'a few moral or literary pieces, where there is at least a possibility that they were performed as academic or religious exercises, and royal and civic pageants'.

One thousand three hundred and forty items are listed and there is a supplement containing a few additions and corrections. The list is arranged alphabetically by authors. The names of some important foreign authors are included, with cross references to English translations and adaptation. It is not clear why Corneille, Racine, Quinault and even such a minor playwright as Antonio de Mendoza appear in this way, while Molière is omitted, though a number of translations and adaptations of his plays are listed under the names of their English authors. Some of the entries suggest that the compilers know more about the titles of the plays than their contents. Thus it is useful to include cross-references to Restoration adaptations of Shakespeare's plays under the heading of 'Shakespeare', but it is misleading to include among them Sir Charles Sedley's *Antony and Cleopatra* and Dryden's *All for Love*, neither of which is an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*. The old anonymous play *Lust's Dominion* appears under Marlowe's name, although it has long been known that Marlowe had little or nothing to do with it. Similarly *Sodom* is listed as

[3] *A Check List of English Plays, 1641–1700*, by Gertrude L. Woodward and James G. McManaway. Chicago: The Newberry Library, pp. 156.

Rochester's without any indication of the fact that this ascription is based on a very doubtful tradition, and is generally rejected by modern critics. The 1663 quarto of Marlowe's *Tragicall History of Doctor Faustus* is not recorded. Further corrections will be found in W. W. Greg's review of the book in *The Library*, June 1946.

However, in spite of its deficiencies, the Check List is a useful contribution to English bibliography and a serviceable reference book for students of seventeenth-century drama.

The only contribution to the study of Dryden which appeared during the year was Herbert G. Wright's valuable and illuminating article, *Some Sidelights on the Reputation and Influence of Dryden's Fables* (*R.E.S.*, Jan.). The title is a modest one, for the article is actually a very full survey of the reputation with a brief account of the influence of the *Fables* up to the nineteenth century. Incidentally Wright's selection of criticisms of the Fables and his own acute comments on them provide a very useful view of the changes in English literary taste during a period of a century and a half. Dr. Johnson's rather chilly treatment of the *Fables* contrasts significantly with the enthusiasm expressed by Dr. John Aikin in his edition of 1806 for the 'romantic wildness' of *Theodore and Honoria*, and the 'emotion of terror' which it aroused. The comparison between the judgments of Wordsworth and Scott throws as much light on the minds of those great authors as it does on Dryden's work, while the criticisms of Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt, even when they are adverse, show that the *Fables* were still very much a living force in nineteenth-century England. The last paragraphs of the article deal rather cursorily with the influence of the *Fables* on poetry from D'Urfey and Mrs. Pix to Reynolds and Keats and on painting from Hogarth to Millais. The condensation of this part of the article was, doubtless, due to lack of space. It could easily have been expanded into a second article, and it is to be hoped that Wright will, in some future study, examine in detail some of the important literary relationships which are briefly recorded in the two penultimate paragraphs of this scholarly and interesting essay.

The effective exploration of the background of Bunyan's writings began with Sir Charles Firth's English Association Pamphlet of 1911, where he drew attention for the first time to the influence

on Bunyan of the popular chapbooks and ballads embodying the traditions of chivalric romance. Modern critics such as Harold Golder have pursued these inquiries with fruitful results. Roger Sharrock in an article on *Bunyan and the English Emblem Writers* contributed to *R.E.S.* (April) opens up a fresh line of research by showing the existence of an intimate connexion between Bunyan's imagery and the work of the English Emblem books such as Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586), Quarles's celebrated *Emblemes* (1635) and Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes Ancient and Moderne* (1635).

This connexion had indeed been mentioned by older critics such as Southey and Montgomery, but their works are now rarely read, and it was well worth while to re-examine this aspect of Bunyan's work in the light of modern scholarship. Sharrock shows that many passages in *The Pilgrim's Progress* are in fact 'emblems' in prose. Some of them appear to be derived from the English Emblem books and others from pictures by the Dutch emblematist Wiericx. Two of the most famous images in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, The Man with Muckrake and the Spider, though essentially of the same type as the Emblems, appear to be original, and Sharrock finds in them a 'strain of roughness and earthiness' which marks Bunyan's work as 'a genuine product of the mechanic class'. Incidentally he criticizes the 'combination of prejudice and fastidiousness' which Alfred Noyes brought to bear on this strain in Bunyan in his essay in *The Opalescent Parrot*, and he also points out in a footnote that one of Noyes's remarks shows 'a complete ignorance of Bunyan's theology'.

Did Samuel Butler, author of *Hudibras*, visit France in the summer of 1670 with the embassy to Louis XIV headed by the Duke of Buckingham? The writer of this chapter, in his *Sir Charles Sedley* (1927), affirmed, on the strength of certain passages in the English and French State Papers, that Butler accompanied this embassy. Doubt was cast on his statement by E. S. de Beer in an article on *The Later Life of Samuel Butler* contributed to *R.E.S.* (iv, 1928) because The State Papers (France) only mention a 'Mr. Butler', thus leaving the question of identification open. Now Norma E. Bentley of Syracuse University in an article on *Hudibras' Butler Abroad* (*M.L.N.*, April) brings forward independent circumstantial evidence to support the present writer's contention from her ex-

amination of a section of a commonplace book kept by Butler between 1650 and 1680. This manuscript, of which only a small portion has been printed, came to light in 1941 after disappearing for nearly two hundred years.

At the beginning of the book several pages are devoted to observations on France and the French and an English-French dictionary. Norma Bentley shows by a careful examination of these notes that it is almost certain that they were based on impressions obtained during a visit to France in the summer of 1670. Quite apart from the question of the date of Butler's visit, the article is of great interest for the light which it throws on his character and as a revelation of the comments of a shrewd though somewhat prejudiced English observer on the France of Louis XIV.

Praise of the simplicity and limpidity of Izaak Walton's prose has been for long one of the commonplaces of English literary history. A reasoned challenge to such traditional views is always stimulating. H. J. Oliver makes such a challenge in a discussion of *Izaak Walton's Prose Style* in *R.E.S.* (Oct.). In this article he examines a number of passages from *The Lives* and *The Compleat Angler*, and has no difficulty in showing that Walton's prose is often very far from being 'simple' and 'unaffected'. On the contrary, he is frequently trying to obtain the rhetorical effects of the ornate prose of the older writers and his attempts are by no means always successful. Oliver makes the interesting suggestion that his failures were partly due to the fact that, unlike the religious writers whom he imitated, 'he was never quite certain whether to regard prose as something to be read silently or something to be read aloud'. Oliver may over-state his case a little, but his article does a real service to Walton's reputation by demolishing a tradition of uncritical adulation and showing him as an inexperienced and only partially educated writer whose great merit, as he himself claimed, is his sincerity, and whose charm depends on the combination of freshness, informality and occasional clumsiness to be found in his writings.

R. G. Howarth contributed to *N. & Q.* (30 June) a note on *Untraced Quotations in Etherege*. He has discovered the origin of a verse quotation in *The Man of Mode, or Sir Fopling Flutter* which H. F. B. Brett Smith in his edition of Etherege's *Dramatic Works*

failed to identify, and has also found an interesting parallel to a proverbial saying in the same play. The quotation is the couplet spoken by Dorimant in Act II, Scene 2:

So Thunder breaks the Cloud in Twain,
And makes a passage for the Rain.

This is a slightly inaccurate version of two lines from the poem on Sir Philip Sidney's death, ascribed to Matthew Royden, printed with Spenser's *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* (1590) and again in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593). It is also quoted in *England's Parnassus* (1600). It is interesting to find that the Restoration courtiers were familiar with this Elizabethan poem. The proverbial saying is part of the racy talk of the Shoemaker in Act I, Scene i:

'You know the old Proverb, Ale and History.' This proverb, to which no editor has hitherto found a parallel, occurs in Bishop Corbet's *Iter Boreale*:

'*Mine host was full of ale and history.*'

Peter Kavanagh communicated to *T.L.S.* (10 Feb.) some information about the early life of George Farquhar. From an examination of the private register of Trinity College, Dublin, he attempts to refute the traditions preserved in the *Biographia Dramatica* that Farquhar was 'a very dull student' and that he was 'expelled from the University for irreverence in an essay on Our Saviour Walking upon the Waters'. An entry in the private register shows that, at the scholarship examination of 1695, Farquhar won an exhibition of four pounds. Under the same year the register contains a long account of a riot at Donnybrook Fair in which a man was dangerously wounded by five undergraduates of Trinity College. Farquhar was not one of the five, but he appears to have incited them to engage in the brawl. Penalties were imposed on all the delinquents, and Farquhar's exhibition was suspended. According to an entry for 1 February 1696, however, the exhibition was restored to him on that date. Kavanagh argues that 'if so much was written down in the Register about a petty brawl . . . it is obvious that if Farquhar had been expelled the event would have been recorded in this book'. As there is no such entry, Farquhar must have left for some other reason, and it is probable that the real cause of the curtailment of his University career was, as the *Biographica Dramatica* suggests, the death of his patron the Bishop of Dromore.

XII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By EDITH J. MORLEY

IN spite of paper shortage and other difficulties of publication, this section of *Y.W.* has a fuller sheaf to garner than in recent years, though admittedly the number of British books to be considered remains small. It is lucky that scholars in U.S.A. are not equally hard-pressed or there would be very little to record in a survey such as this.

We begin as usual with texts and proceed from them to commentary and criticism.

Outstanding among new projects is that of The Louisiana State University Press which contemplates publication of the complete correspondence of Bishop Percy under the general editorship of David Nichol Smith and Cleanth Brooks. This is an undertaking of great importance to scholars, since Percy was in touch with most of his contemporaries who shared his taste for literary and antiquarian research and had to keep up his intercourse with them by letter. The first volume of the series, edited by Arthur Tillotson, whets the reader's appetite for what is to follow. *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Edmund Malone*[1] is admirably presented and annotated and contains much that is of great interest—especially in the letters of Malone.

The Bishop was resident in his far-off diocese at Dromore, dependent upon a most erratic postal service and able to 'see new Publications about as soon as they would reach the East Indies', often eight months in arrear with reviews, and finding it 'as difficult to get Parcels . . . from Dublin as from London itself'. But Malone, in London, 'at the height of his powers, engrossed in his work . . . has much to tell'. His letters are longer, and there are forty-three of them, with extracts from nine others from printed sources. By Percy there are but twenty-five, two of which are

[1] *The Percy Letters*, Vol. I. *The Correspondence of Thomas Percy and Edmund Malone*, ed. Arthur Tillotson. Louisiana State Univ. Press. 1944. pp. xxvi+302. $3.50.

drafts only, and eighteen are recorded as missing. The correspondence begins in November 1779 and ends in May 1811, and almost invariably Malone's letters are more readable as well as more important in content than those of the Bishop. We find in them not only current literary gossip, but also particulars about the writer's own publications, his editions of Dryden and Shakespeare and the difficulties encountered in their preparation. They contain also the account of Malone's successful efforts to keep alive The Club after the deaths of Reynolds and Johnson and of the active part taken by him in the erection of the monument to Johnson at St. Paul's.

The publishers as well as the editor of the volume are to be congratulated on the production of a book which shows no sign of British imposed austerities and is a pleasure to handle as well as to peruse.

Eileen Mackenzie contributes a note on *Thomas Percy and Ballad Correctness* to *R.E.S.* (Jan.), and T. C. Fan writes on *Percy and Du Halde* in the same periodical (Oct.), examining in his note Percy's specimens of Chinese verse and their relation to the French translations.

The edition of Gibbon's Journal in Lausanne[2] by Georges Bonnard, for the first time provides the full and authentic text of that part of his *Ephemerides* which Gibbon wrote in French between August 1763 and April 1764 during his second stay in Switzerland. This portion of the journal is supplementary to that edited by D. M. Low in 1929 (*Y.W.*, x, 283–4), but it leaves still unpublished the section which relates to the stay in Paris of which parts only have been printed—inaccurately and not 'in the shape in which he left it' by Lord Sheffield in 1797.

The Lausanne section is however complete in itself and, in the words of its present editor, justifies separate publication. For the greater part it is not concerned with Gibbon's literary preoccupations.

> 'Il est certain que le lecteur du texte complet se fera une moins haute idée de Gibbon que celui des seuls extraits publiés par Lord Sheffield. Chez Gibbon, le caractère et le cœur ne sont pas à la hauteur de l'intelligence. Mais nous ne pouvons plus partager les scrupules de son ami. Nous ne voulons pas avoir du grand historien un portrait d'où les ombres ont été

[2] *Le Journal de Gibbon à Lausanne, 17 Août 1763–19 Avril 1764*, ed. by Georges Bonnard. Univ. de Lausanne. F. Rouge and Cie. pp. xxx+326.

plus ou moins soigneusement effacés. Il nous importe de le connaître tel qu'il était. Et pour qui désire le connaître vraiment, le texte intégral du *Journal* est un document du plus grand prix.'

The reader has at least as much cause for gratitude to Bonnard as to Low for assistance in discovering the man in his habit as he lived.

Bonnard gives not merely a careful reproduction of the text of the *Journal* from photostats of the original in the British Museum: he also explains with scrupulous accuracy what changes he has felt compelled to make and why. For the most part they concern accents, punctuation, erasures and the like. Further, he justifies his very full notes by his desire to 'éclairer ou expliquer dans la mesure du possible tout passage qui risquait de paraître obscur ou d'être mal compris'. Thus he enlightens the reader about the books which Gibbon read and this index includes brief accounts (by Henri Perrochon and Georges-Antoine Bridel) of the people whom he met at Lausanne.

The introduction is written with the grace and charm of French scholarship, combined with the sterner virtues demanded by the subject. The work is also illustrated and furnished with maps and a full index.

In an essay[3] which combines learning and scholarly treatment with attraction of style and presentation, the same writer investigates the authenticity of Gibbon's well-known account of the genesis of *The Decline and Fall.* He succeeds in showing that the historian's second visit to Lausanne formed a turning-point in his career and that it was there that his future development was determined. 'A la lumière de ce développement . . . la soirée du 15 octobre 1764 apparaît vraisemblable. Cette vision soudaine qu'il eut de l'oeuvre à laquelle il devait donner le meilleur de son génie serait le résultat naturel d'un long travail intérieur dont il n'avait pas encore pris nettement conscience.'

On 9 June, George Sampson in *T.L.S.* discusses *Gibbon's Proposal.*

On 22 September G. Keynes writes on the gift to the British Museum of Gibbon's library catalogue.

[3] *L'Importance du Deuxième Séjour de Gibbon à Lausanne dans la Formation de l'Historien,* by Georges Bonnard in *Mélanges d'Historie et de Littérature offerts a M. Charles Gilliard.* Lausanne. 1944.

Lüdeke's selections from Pope[4] are intended to present as many aspects of the poetry as possible to foreign students and the little volume is well adapted to its purpose. The ninety-four pages of text are followed by twenty-four of explanatory notes, which include the more important variants in all cases, and, for *The Rape of the Lock* 'substantially' all, so that 'a reconstruction of the earlier version of the poem' becomes possible. Thus the means are provided for study of Pope's method of working. The commentary which follows the variants adequately explains difficulties and allusions in the text.

A frontispiece reproduces the portrait-medal made by a Swiss artist, Jacques-Antoine Dassier in 1741, and there is a facsimile of part of Pope's MS. of the *Epistle to Jervas* (misnamed *Jarvis* in the Preface).

Attention may again be called to W. A. Eddy's 'generous selection of Swift's best work in prose and verse',[5] as it was described in *Y.W.*, vol. xiii, when it first appeared. The reprint in present conditions is, even more than in 1932, 'a marvel of cheap and excellent production'.

Poems and Songs[6] is not intended to be a complete edition, but to include 'all that anyone coming new to the subject requires in order to arrive at a just comprehension of the quality of Robert Burns'. The little volume appears to fulfil its purpose. In addition to 125 pages of poetry (with English glosses to Scottish words) there is a reproduction of Raeburn's portrait of the poet as a young man. An address delivered by Alexander Gray to the Scottish Arts Club of Edinburgh when proposing the toast of 'The Immortal Memory' in January 1944 is printed by way of introduction.

In his Introduction to her autobiography, Eric Gillett claims with justice that Elizabeth Ham[7] has written a consistently readable

[4] *Alexander Pope: a Selection*, by H. Lüdeke. Bibliotheca Anglicana (Texts and Studies), vol 8. Berne: H. Francke. pp. 120. Fr. 4.80.

[5] *Satires and Personal Writings by Jonathan Swift*, ed. by William Alfred Eddy. O.U.P. 1944. pp. xxxii+500. 6*s*.

[6] *Poems and Songs by Robert Burns, with an Appreciation*, by Alexander Gray. Edinburgh: Rathan Publishing Co. pp. 160. 6*s*.

[7] *Elizabeth Ham by Herself, 1783–1820*, ed. by Eric Gillett. Faber and Faber. pp. 230. 10*s*. 6*d*.

book 'with some most graphic descriptions, sharply etched portraits and unusual glimpses of life in England, Ireland, and the Channel Islands during the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century and the first twenty years of the nineteenth'. The student of social history owes a debt of gratitude to the editor for unearthing and printing these selections from a most revealing diary of daily happenings in the life of a middle-class girl. Her childhood in Dorset, when a French invasion was expected, was followed first by a time of comparative luxury in Ireland and then by a period when, untrained and unprepared, she was thrown upon her own resources and forced to earn her livelihood. It is a genuine relief to the reader when she lands as a governess in a family of 'real gentlefolks', well informed and well bred, where she soon felt herself to be 'a *valued* inmate'.

In *Notes on Steele and the Beef-Steak Club* (*R.E.S.*, July) Colin J. Horne examines the evidence for Steele's membership and concludes that there is 'strong probability' that he belonged in 1711 and 1712 'if not earlier'.

In *R.E.S.* (Jan.) John R. Moore has a note on '*The Tempest*' *and* '*Robinson Crusoe*' in which he gives reasons for supposing Defoe to have been influenced in at any rate one of his episodes by a device found in the play. Crusoe like Prospero before him is 'strangely deliver'd' from his desert island by not dissimilar means.

Charles E. Burch examines (*P.M.L.A.*, Mar.) the relations between *Defoe and his Northern Printers* and concludes that he was more successful in his attempts at collaboration with Joseph Button of Newcastle than with Mrs. Anderson or with Watson of Edinburgh.

Burch also has a Note on *Defoe's First* '*Seasonable Warning*' (*1706*) in *R.E.S.* (Oct.). He suggests that it was an attempt by Defoe to forward the Union and bases the claim on an examination of the political and economic arguments.

See also *N. & Q.* (25 May) for *An Unassigned Defoe Pamphlet in the Defoe-Clark Controversy* by the same writer.

In *Defoe and Robert Drury's Journal* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.), Arthur W. Secord gives his reasons for doubting the conclusions of J. R. Moore about the sources of the *Journal*. Secord holds that Drury

really spent thirteen and a half years in Madagascar and that probably 'he was much of the time, as the *Journal* says, living with natives'.

See also *N. & Q.* (30 June) for *Further notes on Defoe's Sources for Robert Drury's Journal* by J. R. Moore.

In *Indiana Quarterly for Bookmen* (Jan.) Moore also gives an account of *A Rare Tract by Daniel Defoe*, viz., *The Fears of the Pretender Turn'd into the Fears of Debauchery* (1715). This pamphlet is part of the Defoe collection formerly in the possession of Lord Temple which was purchased by Indiana University Library in 1942.

The Exhibition to commemorate the 200th anniversary of Swift's death organized by the University of Texas included not only rare printed works 'in possession of the Library there but also works from the Aitken, Stark and Wrenn collections as well as from that of Professor Griffith'. It was consequently of outstanding interest and another proof that the great Universities here and in the States are justifying their possession of literary treasures by making them known and accessible to students. Scholars all over the world must be grateful for the assistance thus given in the solution of their problems—particularly in the case of a writer like Swift whose genius for mystification equalled his other gifts.

Autrey N. Wiley's descriptive catalogue[8] of the Texas Exhibition errs however by lack of precision and leaves the reader in doubt about its contents. It would have been more useful had she stated definitely what was shown and confined herself to an accurate and straightforward account. Apparently there were few remarkable rarities, though she mentions some, e.g. a copy of the Dublin edition of the second part of *A Proposal for an Act of Parliament*, probably unique, and a copy of a London reprint of *The Modest Proposal.*

The very valuable *List of Critical Studies*[9] of Jonathan Swift

[8] *Jonathan Swift, 1667–1745. An Exhibition of Printed Books at the Univ. of Texas*, described by Autrey Nell Wiley. pp. 48.

[9] *Jonathan Swift: A List of Critical Studies Published from 1895 to 1943*, by Louis A. Landa and James Edward Tobin, *to which is added Remarks on Some Swift Manuscripts in the United States*, by Herbert Davis. N.Y. Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service Co. pp. 62.

drawn up by Landa and Tobin forms a suitable commemoration of the bicentenary of his death. No fewer than 615 items, exclusive of reviews, are included in this bibliography which covers only the last fifty years. The titles are classified under twelve headings: e.g. Bibliography, Biography, General Criticism, Foreign Reputation and Influence, Individual Works; there are cross-references 'to direct the reader to similar, supporting, or opposing opinions' and an index of 500 names to supplement these cross references. Further study is facilitated by the starring of titles 'which effectively present the chief materials, problems, and interpretations of Swift scholarship' in the period. The editors' work is of first-rate importance to students of Swift, whose labours will be assisted by this useful bibliography.

The publication of an address by Herbert Davis to the Groler Club on *Some Swift Manuscripts in the United States* adds to the interest of the pamphlet.

In *T.L.S.* (20 Oct.) Harold Williams writes on the *Swift Exhibition at Cambridge*, noticed below in 'Bibliographica', p. 233.

Swift and Sir William Temple—A Conjecture by A. E. Case (*M.L.N.*, April) deals with Swift's own statements about the causes of his deafness and giddiness and with the date of his early visits to Temple.

In *Lilliput and Leprecan: Gulliver and the Irish Tradition* (*E.L.H.*, Sept.) Margaret R. Grennan justifies her belief that Swift came 'very close indeed to the Celtic spirit' and owed 'more to Ireland than the provocation her misery so amply provided'.

Louis A. Landa in a paper (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.) on *Jonathan Swift and Charity* deals not so much with his private benefactions as with his general views on charitable relief, 'the stewardship of the wealthy' and the duty of dispensing alms to the needy. He appears to have had no doubts about the justice of 'the hierarchal nature of society' and the existence of poverty.

In *Swift and his Circle*, R. Wyse[10] Jackson presents a series of slight essays on various aspects of Swift's life and writings together with one or two papers on some of his contemporaries, e.g. *Thomas Parnell* and *The Three Poetesses of Dublin* (so-called). There is

[10] *Swift and his Circle*, by R. Wyse Jackson. Dublin: Talbot Press. pp. xii+112. 5*s*.

nothing new which calls for comment here, and, though the writer is well versed in the period and the book is readable, it cannot be said to be either profound or of critical importance.

James E. Tobin cites 414 titles, classified under fourteen headings, in his *List of Critical Studies*[11] of Pope published during the last fifty years. 'Some attempt has been made to arrange this harvest of commentary under [14] headings of general criticism and of discussion of Pope's specific works . . . cross references, by item numbers, is intended to direct the reader to similar, supporting, or opposing opinions.' The list proves the renewed interest taken in recent times in the work of Pope and also the better understanding of his achievement shown in modern criticism. The bibliography forms a valuable guide to the field covered.

In an article entitled *The Dull Duty of an Editor* (*R.E.S.*, July, pp. 202–15) James R. Sutherland examines Pope's conception of the editorial function and his attitude to Theobald. It is shown that Pope's dislike for the 'mere scholar', collator and commentator 'goes back to days long before Theobald had become a particular source of annoyance to him'. In Pope's considered opinion, verbal criticism and emendation must always be an inferior 'kind' and give way to the 'spirit, taste, and sense' of the enlightened editor.

Sutherland fully supports his main thesis as well as his claim that 'there is more wit hidden away among the *Dunciad* notes than is generally realized to-day'.

In *M.L.N.* (March) Maynard Mack prints a newly discovered manuscript in Spence's hand of *Pope's 'Imitation of the First Ode of the Fourth Book of Horace'*, commenting on the differences in text and orthography from the published poem.

In *R.E.S.* (April) Mack also discusses the two *Letters of Pope to Atterbury in the Tower* which were originally published in 1731 at Boulogne and attributed to Wharton. Mack succeeds in finding the clues to this puzzle as well as in proving from the revised texts

[11] *Alexander Pope: A List of Critical Studies Published from 1895–1944*, by James Edward Tobin. New York: Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service Co. pp. 30.

of the letters that Pope was 'the sort of friend that any man in distress would like to have'.

There are letters by H. L. Lorimer on *Homer and Pope*, *T.L.S.*, 9 March and 4 May.

The first of three lectures[12] published for the Plymouth Branch of the English Association 'in remembrance' of their author, H. L. Bickersteth, is entitled *Alexander Pope and his Friends*. It is well adapted to its original purpose—an introduction to the age of Queen Anne and its greatest poet.

Paul S. Dunkin in *M.L.N.* (May) suggests that *The Authorship of 'The Fatal Extravagance'* first presented in 1721 may be ascribed to the collaboration of Aaron Hill and Joseph Mitchell and not, as has been assumed, to the former alone.

A. H. Scouten and Leo Hughes have an article on *The First Season of 'The Honest Yorkshireman'* in *M.L.R.* (Jan.), a play by Henry Carey which, as they show, was produced on 15 July 1735 at the Little Haymarket Theatre.

Hughes and Scouten (*R.E.S.*, Jan.) deal with *John Rich and the Holiday Seasons of 1732–3* in an attempt to clear up confusion in the history of the eighteenth-century London theatre 'and to call attention to certain facts hitherto insufficiently noted'.

In *Essays by Divers Hands* (Vol. xxii, pp. 61–85) James Ross gives an interesting account of *An Eighteenth Century Playhouse: The Theatre Royal, Bristol* in which he deals with its history and dramatic associations as well as describing the building at various periods.

In *Sentimentalism in Lillo's 'The London Merchant'*, George Bush Rodman (*E.L.H.*, March) claims that the dramatist was endeavouring to show that ordinary people 'are subject to the same tragic weaknesses' and 'ruined through the same flaws of character' as princes and are therefore equally 'appropriate subjects of tragic drama'. Consequently the play is not justly described as an example of 'sentimental' drama which lays stress upon 'the natural goodness of the human emotions'. In the same periodical (Sept.) Raymond D. Havens continues the discussion from a different angle, maintaining that the 'sentimental movement of the

[12] See above, Chap. I, p. 11.

period . . . belongs in the main to the history not of ideas but of diversions'.

R. W. Chapman's *Two Centuries of Johnsonian Scholarship*[13] is packed full of good things which do not lend themselves to an adequate summary. He begins by pointing out the justification for his title since the 'canon of Johnson's published works . . . began to be formed in his lifetime' though it is still incomplete. 'For the last hundred years the stream of Johnsonian lore has flowed in three main channels. The first is Boswell's *Life*. . . . The second is those of Johnson's letters which were not included in Boswell's third edition. . . . The third branch of the stream is the miscellaneous collection which since Croker first edited it in 1836 has been generally known as the *Johnsoniana*.' On each of these topics Chapman has much of interest to tell and, in addition, many points to raise by way of relevant comment, e.g. on Boswell's character as man and writer, on his stature relative to that of Johnson and on the need to remind ourselves, as he remarks dryly, 'that in his own day Johnson was chiefly esteemed as poet, lexicographer, moralist, biographer and critic', and that, though he was never a very popular writer, he was a very great one.

Chapman's tributes to fellow-workers in the same field, earlier and contemporary, are distinguished by his customary judgment and appreciation and one can but echo his hopes for the forthcoming publication of his *Johnson's Letters* and for the final volumes of L. F. Powell's *Life*. Perhaps one of them will also produce that 'adequate index to the works' for which Chapman justly says there is 'crying need'.

H. R. Kilbourne gives a very readable account of *Dr. Johnson and War* in *E.L.H.* (June), showing Johnson's fondness for fighting men and the professions which have 'the dignity of danger' while at the same time 'he was under no illusions about war', which he considered 'the extremity of evil'.

Robert M. Schmitz in a note on *Dr. Johnson and Blair's Sermons* (*M.L.N.*, April) discusses Johnson's influence on their publication by Strahan and Cadell.

In *R.E.S.* (April) A. T. Hazen and T. O. Mabbot have a note on

[13] *Two Centuries of Johnsonian Scholarship*, by R. W. Chapman. David Murray Foundation Lecture. Univ. of Glasgow. Jackson. pp. 36. 2*s*.

Dr. Johnson and Francis Fawkes's 'Theocritus'. They endeavour to identify 'the judicious remarks' and corrections for which Fawkes expresses his indebtedness in the Preface to his translation.

In *R.E.S.* (Jan.) Harold Williams corrects Birkbeck Hill's footnote on *Old Mr. Lewis* and maintains that it was Erasmus Lewis to whom Johnson referred in his *Life* of Swift.

In *J.E.G.P.* (Oct.) Daniel Van Brunt Hegeman writes on *Boswell and the Abt Jerusalem : a Note on the Background of 'Werther'*.

Harry William Pedicord prints (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) six letters by or to the David Garricks, now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The article is entitled *Mr. and Mrs. Garrick: Some Unpublished Correspondence*. Three of the letters are signed autographs of David Garrick; one is from Mrs. Garrick to her friend Hannah More and two are addressed to Garrick by acquaintances.

In his study of *Tobias Smollett, Traveler-Novelist*,[14] George Kahrl concentrates 'on the bearing Smollett's travels and his acquaintance with the literature of travel had on his prose fiction': there is no attempt at 'a full appreciation of his art'. But it may be said at once that the writer has attained his aim and that his book contributes to a new understanding of 'Smollet's sources, his milieu and his powers'. 'He brought to prose fiction the interests, habits and methods of the traveler and thereby gave to the novel . . . a broad and critical observation of human society.'

Kahrl's learned and well-documented study is divided into ten chapters which deal severally with all the relevant aspects of Smollett's life and work. It is shown that the influence of his travels is all pervading—in his characters, his style and his general outlook, method of composition and habit of mind. His 'abiding interest' was 'in comparative manners'. 'From the time Roderick takes the high road to London, through Smollett's *Travels*, until Matthew Bramble's return to Brambleton Hall the subject is never dropped for long': even his humour is mainly concerned with 'contrasts in manners and physical appearances, disparities of customs, incongruities between a traveler and his environment, and the activity of locomotion'. 'Lastly, there is a recognizable

[14] *Tobias Smollett, Traveler-Novelist*, by George M. Kahrl. Univ. of Chicago Press and C.U.P. pp. xxiv+166. 24*s*.

similarity between the style of travel books and that of Smollett.'

What has long been accepted as a general criticism of Smollett's art is here put to the test of detailed illuminating examipation. The student is provided with all the required data, including a full and reliable index which covers notes as well as text, and there are also eight excellent reproductions of Rowlandson's illustrations to the novels.

In *The Plan of 'Peregrine Pickle'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.), Rufus Putney endeavours to refute the attack by critics who complain that it is formless and a haphazard collection of episodes. Putney admits Smollett's lack of dramatic skill and that his novels contain no real crises but holds that 'in its major outlines Smollett's plot is unexceptionable'. 'The life and adventures of Peregrine Pickle were . . . carefully planned to promote the aims of the satire.'

S. in Ph. (July) has an article by H. R. Russell on *'Tristram Shandy' and the Technique of the Novel.*

Lord David Cecil's address on *The Poetry of Thomas Gray*[15] is outstanding even among the three dozen distinguished *Warton Lectures on English Poetry* delivered to the British Academy. In it he succeeds in giving a re-orientation to the known facts about the poet's work by placing him in the right perspective as well as by the fresh appraisal of what was actually achieved. Thus Gray's 'enthusiasm for beauty and romance was always kept rational by the smiling and satirical good sense of his age. . . . In addition to being a representative scholar-artist, he was a representative man of the eighteenth-century world.' He was 'a typical eighteenth-century scholar-artist with a peculiarly intense response to the imaginative appeal of the past'; his 'aesthetic response to the beauty of the scene mingles inextricably with his response to its historic appeal'. This finally disposes of the old text-book classification of Gray as one of the precursors of the 'romantic revival', but Lord David is more explicit when he pronounces this 'all nonsense', since 'the sense of the past' was 'the creature of the eighteenth century' though it did not achieve full development until later.

'The second category of Gray's poems deals with his personal

[15] *The Poetry of Thomas Gray*, by Lord David Cecil. *Warton Lecture on English Poetry*. O.U.P. for British Academy. pp. 20. 2*s*.

relation to life', 'the relation of a sensitive contemplative spirit to the thronging, mysterious, tragic, transient world into which he finds himself thrown': 'for all their formality of phrase, they are consistently and intensely personal'. Lastly, there is his light verse, which of all his work 'appears the most inspired'. 'How far this means that it is also the most precious is a different problem.' Obviously it is possible to indicate here only the bare headings of a lecture which merits detailed consideration by all students of the period.

Essays and Studies, Vol. xxx, contains an essay on *Thomas Gray and the Fine Arts* by C. F. Bell who shows that 'Gray's views on artistic matters have to be gleaned' chiefly from his letters and that in general his 'aesthetic standards were those of educated people of his time'.

By his examination of *Gray's Revisions of his Friends' Poetry* (*J.E.G.P.*, July) H. W. Starr shows that the poet's suggestions arose from 'his love of technical perfection not only in meaning ... but in melody and rhythm as well. His is not the petty quibbling over trivial points.'

In *T.L.S.* (3 Feb.) A. T. Hazen writes on the three editions in 1753 of *Bentley's Gray*.

One of the two letters of Burns printed in Vol. xx of the *Annual*,[16] that to Patrick Miller, 16 March 1788, is not included in Ferguson's edition. It is printed from a photograph of the MS. now in the National Library of Scotland (collection of the Russells of Ashiestiel). The letter concerns the farm of Ellisland rented by the poet from Miller.

Other articles of general interest in the volume are Elizabeth Ewing's on *Burns's First Visit to Edinburgh: Rev. Archibald Lawrie's Reminiscences* and J. C. Ewing's *Some Missing Burns Manuscripts*: *The Auction Sales of 1861–2*.

Chapman Cohen's pamphlet on *Thomas Paine*[17] suffers by its author's bias against 'professional Christian theologians' and in favour of revolution which leads him to over-statement, e.g. 'If

[16] *The Robert Burns Annual and Chronicle*. Second Series, vol. xx. The Burns Federation: Kilmarnock. pp. 112. Paper, 2*s*. 6*d*.; cloth, 4*s*.

[17] *Thomas Paine*, by Chapman Cohen. Pioneer Press. pp. 52.

any single man deserves to be called the creator of Modern Democracy, it is Thomas Paine'. 'The neglect and misrepresentation of Paine will remain one of the scandals of our literary history.' 'It may be said that in the history of the world Paine's pamphlet [*The Crisis*] was among the most important of all the pamphlets ever written.' This kind of exaggeration is typical, but, in spite of it, Cohen presents a useful summary of Paine's achievement which is worth perusal, provided his attitude towards Burke and his other 'grossly one-sided' estimates are duly discounted.

Mrs. Stockton's[18] admiration for her hero, George Washington, expressed itself in a series of adulatory 'poems' which have more historical than literary value. As L. H. Butterfield justly remarks 'our interest in them is sustained by our interest . . . in the great man who was their subject' and whose polite letters to the writer are better worth reading than the effusions which evoked them.

The authors of *Christopher Smart: A Biographical and Literary Study*[19] intended to 'present for the first time a sustained, revealing narration of the poet's life as a whole' and secondly to provide 'a serious study of Smart's late verse, the religious poetry which had been ignored until recently, but which constitutes the real message Smart had for the world'.

Edward G. Ainsworth who planned the work died before its completion and wrote only five of its twelve chapters: Charles E. Noyes is responsible for the remainder and for the final revision. Perhaps the fact that he served in the Army Air Corps from June 1942 explains the very serious omission of an Index, and the lesser failure to supply a bibliography.

The claim to have collected fresh information about Smart's life is justified and much industry must have been expended on the examination of the 'periodicals and books of the last two hundred years' which have served as sources. The resulting portrait is less 'revealing' than had been anticipated though we can assent to the final judgment that 'the poet's tragedy was self-wrought. Others

[18] *Annis and the General: Mrs. Stockton's Poetic Eulogies of George Washington*, by L. H. Butterfield. *Princeton Univ. Library Chronicle*, vol. vii, No. 1, Nov. 1945. pp. 19 to 39.

[19] *Christopher Smart: A Biographical and Critical Study*, by Edward G. Ainsworth and Charles E. Noyes. Univ. of Missouri. 1943. pp. 164. $1.50.

always helped Smart, but he would not or could not help himself.' His story is that of 'chronic drunkenness and insolvency'; of 'vanity and . . . self-pity' and of the 'conviction that the world was in league to abuse him and to disparage his works'.

Nowadays his complaint would probably be diagnosed as persecution mania as well as lack of control in religious matters. At any rate his biographers establish beyond question that 'the balance of his mind was disturbed' and that he was probably better off when under restraint in a mad-house than in the debtors' prison which became the alternative.

The writers are also able to identify and describe various writings not previously in the canon of his works. A *Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer* (pp. 113–14) appears to be indubitably his and by this time his authorship of *Jubilate Agno* is commonly accepted. The analysis of the *Song to David* is detailed and enthusiastically appreciative, but, as is justly stated, 'no poem can truly be said to be "explained" in prose' and recourse is frequently made to quotation as a substitute for 'critical study'. The authors also hold that 'all of the later religious songs have, to a certain degree, something of the ecstatic glow of the *Song*', a judgment that may be accepted since the reader is left to his own interpretation of the qualifying phrases. He may not subscribe to the critical estimate of the 'sweep and scope' shown in the examples cited, though he will agree that Smart 'saw divine handiwork in all of creation'. Nor will he wish to deny that in the *Song* the poet's prayer for inspiration was granted. There, at any rate, he attained consistently the

High conceptions, mystic measures,
Springing strong, and flowing sweet

which are at best sporadic in his other writings.

In *The Critical Theory of Lord Kames*[20] by Helen W. Randall the writer justly claims that Kames 'helped to turn the stream of criticism into new channels', and that it is therefore well worth while seriously to examine how he 'shaped a critical position according to methods adapted from contemporary moral philosophy' and so brought this about. 'Primarily', Miss Randall holds, 'Kames

[20] *The Critical Theory of Lord Kames*, by Helen Whitcomb Randall. Smith College Studies in Modern Languages. Northampton: Massachusetts, 1944. pp. viii+148. $2.

meant to explain the relations of the emotions and passions and the way in which the *effects* of art depend upon them. At the same time he wished to show that the emotions and passions are the most important *content* of literature. . . . Separated from content, *style* makes an appeal to the emotions . . . but style also derives directly from the emotions and passions represented. . . . The theories of the book—moral, psychological, poetic and rhetorical—are thus neatly dove-tailed together, and its practical criticism can be read only in relation to this rather rigid framework.' 'No essential part of the book, taken by itself, has precisely the meaning which it takes on in its relation to the whole context.'

Yet the history of *Elements of Criticism* shows that its various parts have been almost invariably studied without due consideration of the work as a whole and Miss Randall's treatise appears to be the first to examine the complete critical theory of Lord Kames as it was expounded by himself. Her book consists of four main sections, viz. (i) The Life of Lord Kames, which has profited by Boswell's 'Materials' now available through the publication of the *Malahide Papers*; (ii) The Theory of the Analysis; (iii) The Theory and Practice of the Synthesis; (iv) An Outline of the Book's History. In addition there are six appendices: (i) A List of the Letters of Lord Kames with their dates and the names of the recipients. The source or present ownership is given in each case. (ii) Fifteen Letters from the Correspondence of Kames, eleven of which are written by him to Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu and one by her in reply to the second of these. (iii) Four Letters concerning Lord Kames. (iv) Index of Books and Authors cited in the *Elements of Criticism*. (v) 'Classical Treatise of Rhetoric adapted to the use of schools'—The Advertisement of the American editor and some notes and opinions of the work. (vi) A List of Editions of *The Elements of Criticism* (filling nearly three pages) which are possessed by the Yale University Library. The number cited suggests 'the popularity of the book up to the end of the nineteenth century'.

An adequate index completes a competent and scholarly investigation.

In her carefully compiled dissertation on *Eugenia de Acton*[21], a

[21] *Eugenia de Acton (1749–1827)*, by Eliza Pearl Shippen. Univ. of Philadelphia Press. pp. x+182.

minor writer of the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Eliza P. Shippen makes no exaggerated claims for her subject, whom she properly calls an 'obscure' and 'lesser' personage 'helpful in filling in the background of a literary period'. The principal reference to her is found in the *Life of Crabbe*, and perhaps the main interest is due to her friendship with Sarah Elmy and later with the poet himself. In fact, Eugenia's novels and essays have little to recommend them to modern readers and Miss Shippen dismisses them in her final summary as 'not intrinsically important, perhaps negligible in influence' and valuable only in helping us 'to understand what kind of diet the middle-class readers enjoyed and how the lesser feminine writers followed certain well-known and approved patterns and trends'. 'A moralist rather than an artist, Eugenia de Acton was a pot-boiler [*sic*] above the average': we may be content to leave her at that, for nothing in Miss Shippen's detailed examination produces a desire to read the novels for ourselves. This should not be taken as adverse criticism on the thesis but rather as commendation of its writer's capacity to form a just estimate.

Peter Quennell's title is to be interpreted literally. His Portraits[22] of Boswell, Gibbon, Sterne and Wilkes are painted on a canvas which depicts the life and events of their period as the background which determines the shape of their development. Each of these four individualists is indeed typical of himself rather than of the age in which he chanced to be born, but no one of them would have developed as he did, had his personality been moulded in another environment than that provided by the second half of the eighteenth century. As Quennell puts it: 'Both accident and personal genius helped to make up the pattern; the result was a human being and a life-story, highly characteristic of an individual temperament yet expressive of certain attributes of the age in which it flourished.' The author takes 1763, the close of the Seven Years' War, as the year in which all four men reach 'a decisive stage, from which their subsequent courses wind away in various directions'. It is then that Boswell, come to London 'to make a name', meets Johnson in the bookshop of Tom Davies, and that Gibbon sets out on his foreign travels after leaving the militia.

[22] *Four Portraits: Studies of the Eighteenth Century*, by Peter Quennell. Collins. pp. 242. 12*s*. 6*d*.

Sterne is already engaged upon the sentimental journey under taken to restore his health if so it may be, while in that year Wilke publishes No. 45 of the *New Briton* which is to determine his subsequent career.

Quennell's studies of his protagonists are singularly successful in portraying them in the right historical perspective, so that we can realize how far Gibbon stands for the ordered society of his day, and—more obviously—in what degree the others deviate from the accepted norm of decent, regulated eighteenth-century civilization. 'Each is the portrait of a man obsessed by an idea—an aim . . . which gained definition and acquired momentum thanks to the conflict waged between circumstance and the individual ego.' Quennell's book is a genuine contribution to our knowledge both of the men and of the age in which they lived—the better worth perusal that it sometimes challenges opposition to the author's conclusions or makes us wish for further elucidation of them.

The volume of *Essays on the Eighteenth Century*,[23] presented to Professor Nichol Smith by his friends, colleagues and pupils in honour of his seventieth birthday, is a worthy tribute to the scholar whose own work has done so much to elucidate the literature of that period. Nothing could better serve to show the inspiration he has given to men who are eager to hand on the torch kindled by their master in days when the eighteenth century was less appreciated than it is at present. Though it is doubtless true that 'the names of many who would wish to have been associated with it are missing from the table of contents', it is also the fact that the contributors fittingly represent the great body of Nichol Smith's admirers. The aim of the book as expressed by its editors (James Sutherland and F. P. Wilson) has been attained. It helps its readers 'to know more about the eighteenth century than they did' and each individual essay serves that end. For obvious reasons it is not possible to consider each of the eighteen papers in detail, but no one of them is without interest.

The first, by C. S. Lewis, entitled *Addison*, in fact embraces much besides a judicious estimate of that 'comfortable' writer who is finally dismissed as 'an admirable cure for the fidgets'. But before

[23] *Essays on the Eighteenth Century, Presented to David Nichol Smith.* O.U.P. pp. viii+288. 21*s.*

arriving at that summary conclusion, Lewis manages to incorporate a delightful and provocative comparison with Swift, an attack on the so-called Humanists and much else that widens the scope of his subject and adds to the liveliness and learning of his contribution even when it does not completely carry conviction.

Herbert Davis, writing on *The Conciseness of Swift*, illustrates the meaning to be attached to the definition of style as 'proper words in proper places'. Swift attained the 'Simplicity without which no human Performance can arrive to any great Perfection' because his art was 'functional', that is, 'directed to the immediate purpose'; 'he writes either to prove or disprove; to urge some action, or to oppose it'. As he says himself: 'When a Man's Thoughts are clear, the properest Words will generally offer themselves first; and his own Judgment will direct him in what Order to place them.' Davis concludes that the 'most distinctive and remarkable' quality in Swift's prose is 'that conciseness which gave such concentrated force and perfect clarity to his style'.

Harold Williams, in his careful study of *Deane Swift, Hawkesworth and 'The Journal to Stella'* establishes the superiority of Deane Swift as an editor, in spite of the long tradition that Hawkesworth is the more reliable of the two.

In *Pope at Work*, George Sherburn traces in detail the stages of composition of the *Essay of Man*. Under his guidance we listen to the poet's talk, examine his prose jottings, his much-corrected drafts and paragraphs until we reach the final form of the printed text. This examination of 'Pope's process of perfecting his utterance' becomes with Sherburn's assistance a lesson in poetic appreciation. The essay is followed by John Butt's sensitive paper on *The Inspiration of Pope's Poetry* which, by seeking its sources in 'fancy, morality and books', arrives, by different means, at a similar conclusion. The reader is made to feel the 'profoundest admiration' for Pope's poetry and at the same time to realize how and why this has been aroused.

'*Where Once Stood their Plain Homely Dwelling*' is a discourse by Collins Baker on painters and virtuosi of the eighteenth century.

In his consideration of *Some Aspects of Eighteenth Century Prose*, James Sutherland distinguishes between the easy, conversational mode of the earlier part of the century and the grand manner which later became fashionable. The line of country is not new, but Sutherland's analysis breaks fresh ground in that he shows the

connexions between divergent ideals and substance and the form in which they are presented.

Hugh Macdonald's interesting account of *John Langhorne* and W. L. Renwick's *Notes on Some Lesser Poets of the Eighteenth Century* do much to prove that the 'attraction' of minor poets 'is not merely antiquarian', and that their work shows that the eighteenth century was 'civilized' in that it possessed 'a consolidated tradition of art, knowledge, and behaviour'.

H. W. Garrod's *Note on the Composition of Gray's Elegy* disputes Mason's date for the *Elegy* and attributes the completed first version to the year 1742.

R. W. Chapman, in *The Formal Parts of Johnson Essays*, contributes a characteristically lively paper on what might easily have proved a pedantic subject, while James L. Clifford recaptures in his essay on *Mrs. Piozzi's Letters* much of the attraction of their writer.

In *The Power of Memory in Boswell and Scott* F. A. Pottle shows that Boswell was able accurately to reconstruct a scene or a conversation from the most meagre *written* note at the time whereas Scott's memory, astounding for what he had *read*, was wholly untrustworthy with regard to what he had seen or experienced.

In his essay on *Robert Burns*, R. Dewar insists on 'song' as 'this man's natural mode of speech and response to life'. Wit and satire predominate over song in the Kilmarnock *Poems*, but for that there were reasons in the poet's circumstances at the time. In spite of the mistaken efforts of Edinburgh patrons, he resisted the advice to 'abandon the Scottish stanza and dialect and adopt the measure and language of modern English poetry'. 'Crooning to a body's sel', until he was complete master of a tune was, as he knew, for him the only right method of attack: that accomplished, the words were fitted to the music, and the words to accompany Scottish tunes must be Scottish words.

Lord David Cecil contributes a sensitive appraisement of *Fanny Burney's Novels*, deciding that though 'she was not an artist' or 'even an efficient craftsman' she nevertheless exercised an important influence on the course of the novel by her discovery that it might be possible to combine the analytic characterization of Richardson with Fielding's 'broad humorous picture' of the social scene.

Edmund Blunden examines the *Elegant Extracts* of Vicesimus Knox which in his opinion 'probably exhibit the spirit of Knox at its best'.

H. V. D. Dyson in a paper on *'The Old Cumberland Beggar' and the Wordsworthian Unities* points out the affinities of the poem with some of the poetry of the previous twenty years and thinks that 'few earlier eighteenth-century writers would not have accepted it gladly', e.g. Pope, for its sentiments, Johnson for its morality. Wordsworth pays no attention to the conventional Unities of poetic criticism, but 'in different forms unity is a leading subject' of his poetry. Social unity, 'the community of man with his fellows' is of major importance to him, and in *The Old Cumberland Beggar* 'different kinds of unity are . . . contrasted with and balanced by the solitude of the beggar' which 'at once illuminates them and preserves them'.

The final essay, *Matthew Arnold and Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, by Geoffrey Tillotson, provides a detailed examination of Arnold's deficiencies as a critic of the poets of that period, particularly in his treatment of Pope.

The volume concludes with *A List of the Writings of David Nichol Smith* compiled by F. P. Wilson and an *Index of Names* by Arthur Tillotson.

Gladys Bryson's treatise on *Man and Society*[24] is an exhaustive 'survey of the social theories advanced by the Scottish philosophers of the eighteenth century' and as such cannot be adequately discussed in the *Y.W.* Neither can it be omitted from mention as an invaluable 'background' investigation which serious students of English literature will do well to consult. Miss Bryson 'presents the theories and activities of eight eminent Scots', David Hume, Adam Smith, and their minor satellites, Hutcheson, Ferguson, Reid, Stewart, Lord Kames and Lord Monboddo, in an attempt to show how they consciously inaugurated the study of what is now known as social science. Her theme is 'the history of significant ideas' which 'have influenced thinkers in several fields of thought and over a long period of time'. The book is intended to 'serve as one chapter in the intellectual history of the century and in the story of related ideas on the subject of man and society'. Her protagonists are shown to be making 'a concerted effort to find the facts about human association'. 'Here is presented an earlier "comprehensive view of the universe and man"; here is one

[24] *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century*, by Gladys Bryson. Princeton Univ. and O.U.P. pp. xii+288. 22*s*.

"source in prior philosophic speculation" of many of the ideas current in our social studies of the twentieth century.'

The Notes at the end of the book serve as a bibliography of the works consulted and they are followed by a list of the Principal Works of the Scottish Authors under Discussion. A double-columned index of six and a half pages completes a scholarly and stimulating investigation.

R. F. Wearmouth's book on *Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century*[25] opens with a brief introduction on John Wesley and Methodism. There follow three sections entitled respectively, The Condition of the Common People, The Growth of Methodism and What Methodism did for the Common People and a Conclusion which succinctly epitomizes the achievements of the new sect in the eighteenth century among 'the labouring masses'. The book is written by a convinced member of the denomination who is also a minister. But he is too a trained student of economic and social history and for all his bias he paints his picture of the times with a just sense of perspective and in true colours. Moreover, though intended to appeal to the general reader and therefore popular in style, the book is provided with a bibliography: sources are given in footnotes for the statements made in the text and there is an adequate index.

Shaftesbury and the Test of Truth, by Alfred O. Aldridge (*P.M.L.A.*, March) attempts 'a thorough analysis of Shaftesbury's real position on ridicule' in order to clarify his meaning and show how the controversy about it arose and developed in his own day. Aldridge starts from the assumption that though long forgotten, 'a subject which occupied famous philosophers, poets, physicians, divines and artists in the eighteenth century is a subject of both historic and aesthetic importance'. After detailed analysis, he concludes 'that the whole controversy, like many others, really resolved itself into a matter of proper definition'.

'Particular Character': an Early Phase of a Literary Evolution by Houghton W. Taylor (*P.M.L.A.*, March) attempts 'to show certain fundamental ways in which the idea of particularity assumed

[25] *Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century*, by Robert F. Wearmouth. Epworth Press. pp. 276. 12*s*. 6*d*.

explicit form in the eighteenth century, in respect to thinking about characterization'. At first the prevailing doctrine was, e.g. in Fielding, that human nature was everywhere the same and that its common traits provided the proper material for art. But because 'a character in a story could not be an absolute dummy with a label on him', 'some degree of particularity . . . [was] necessary for the best characterization'. Taylor traces the development of this belief from the theories of Lord Kames and Blair through those of Reynolds, Blake and Hazlitt to the aesthetic of Coleridge.

The last named maintains that 'to the genuine poetic imagination the individual object in all its peculiarity will reveal its kinship with the Idea from which it sprang'. Thus he says in Shakespeare's 'splendid picture-gallery . . . we find individuality everywhere, mere portrait nowhere'.

M.L.N. (Jan.) contains a note by John Bullitt and W. J. Bate on *Distinctions between Fancy and Imagination in Eighteenth-Century English Criticism* in which they show that Coleridge was certainly not the first to distinguish between the two.

In *The Sympathetic Imagination in Eighteenth-Century English Criticism* (*E.L.H.*, June), Walter J. Bate sets out to prove that the various conceptions of imagination advanced during the first third of the nineteenth century were 'largely grounded in a psychology and an aesthetic developed by many writers of the previous century'.

Akenside and Imagination is discussed by Alfred O. Aldridge in *S. in Ph.* (Oct.).

The Eighteenth-Century Scottish Primitivists: Some Reconsiderations by Roy H. Pearce (*E.L.H.*, Sept.) examines 'Scottish conjectural histories, critical disquisitions on original genius and geniuses, and the cultural relativity out of which they develop' and decides that 'in the end' they 'mark only one more attempt to explain away . . . man's interest in his potentially simpler self'.

Churchill's Mastery of the Heroic Couplet is illustrated in detail by Wallace C. Brown in *J.E.G.P.* (Jan.) while he shows that 'the basic norm of Churchill's versification is the non-epigrammatic heroic couplet; the basic norm of his satire is irony'.

Edward H. Weatherly (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) makes some *Possible Additions to the Churchill Canon.*

Edward Young and Wycombe Election (1726) is the subject of a note by Charlotte E. Crawford in *M.L.N.* (Nov.).

Herbert Wright (*M.L.R.* April) shows that a passage in Cowper's *Retirement* was inspired by Balzac's *Entretiens* and not by La Bruyère as stated by the poet in his footnote.

T.L.S. has the following papers on Blake: 3 Feb., *The Two Blakes* by Ruthven Todd; 10 and 17 March, *Blake's Poetical Sketches* by Geoffrey Keynes; 24 March, *Blake and Flaxman* by C. F. Bell (with an answer by Keynes); 7 April, *Blake and Macpherson* by H. J. C. Grierson.

XIII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

I

By DOROTHY MARGARET STUART

THE English Romantics, both the greater and the lesser, continued to receive a full meed of attention and discussion during the year 1945. Though Shelley was the subject of most frequent consideration, Wordsworth continued to inspire and to intrigue. One of the books devoted to him was concerned with his philosophy rather than with his poetry, and provided yet another example of the present tendency on the part of literary critics to swerve away from literature and concentrate upon the psychological or philosophical aspect of their theme.

In *Strange Seas of Thought*[1] Newton P. Stallknecht assembled eight *Studies in William Wordsworth's Philosophy of Man and Nature*. Eager to defend Wordsworth the philosopher from some imaginary modern critic—'say a neo-humanist or a behaviourist'—he sets himself to analyse certain of the poet's concepts and to explain their origin. The experience 'which we have learned to call Wordsworthian' may best be described, says Stallknecht, 'as the momentary presence before the poet's attention of Nature or the concrete world as a *whole*, the *One Life within us and abroad*'. This idea is expounded with diligence and ingenuity. Wordsworth's simplicity, realism and natural diction are shown to be not incompatible with an essential mysticism, and the evolution of his philosophy is traced to the point where his 'earlier ethic' came to seem 'too subjective, too uncertain'. Thereafter he sought maxims as well as theories and ceased to be interested in speculation for its own sake. In the chapter headed "The Moral of 'The Ancient Mariner'" we have a detailed study of Coleridge's influence upon

[1] *Strange Seas of Thought: Studies in William Wordsworth's Philosophies of Man and Nature*, by Newton P. Stallknecht. Duke Univ. Press, Durham N. Carolina. pp. ix+284. $3.50.

Wordsworth, and it is to Coleridge's enthusiasm for Kant that the elder poet's endorsement of the German stoic's *Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals* is traced, with an impressive body of evidence in support of the connexion. Finally, 'as years went by, he retreated further and further into his stoicism', and a 'philosophy of inner check' seems at last 'almost wholly to supersede the earlier ethics'.

J. B. McNulty, writing on *The Autobiographical Vagaries of 'Tintern Abbey'* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.), dissects the famous poem for the purpose of discounting its supposed allegorical substructure. 'Part of the task of understanding Wordsworth', he says, 'is the task of understanding a mind that can so blatantly and so often contradict itself': but he reminds us that we may sometimes impose upon the poet 'our own predilections for consistency and order'. Most of his autobiographical statements, it seems, 'are quite beyond the reach of objective inquiry'.

McNulty returned to the subject of *Tintern Abbey* in *M.L.N.* (May), to which he contributed an article on *Wordsworth's Tour of the Wye, 1798*, with a useful sketch-map. He is able to demonstrate convincingly that *Tintern Abbey* was not composed near the site which it purports to depict, and to prove his assertion that Wordsworth was 'quite capable of exercising artifice and fancy in the place where it was least expected'—namely, in the title of his famous *Lines*.

In *R.E.S.* (Jan.) Helen Darbishire had an interesting note on *A Phrase of Wordsworth's*. This deals with the poet's curious and very characteristic use of the word, 'along'—'along the blood', 'along my dreams', 'along the silent air'. For William Wordsworth, says the commentator, 'the powers of sense and soul were mysteriously allied': and in his poetry 'even such a workaday word as *along* takes on some of the power of that mysterious alliance'.

Autrey N. Wiley identifies (*M.L.N.*, April) *Wordsworth's 'Travelling Cripple'* of the *Prelude*, ll. 199–204, with Samuel Horsey, the King of the Beggars—the same who was portrayed by Charles Lamb in *A Complaint of the Decay of Beggars in the Metropolis*.

In *Wordsworth and Railways in 1844–5* the late John Edwin Wells (*M.L.Q.*, March) suggested that in relation to the Winder-

mere extension scheme the poet was contending not against railways in general but against this local project in particular.

Wordsworth's Interest in Painters and Pictures,[2] by Martha Hale Shackford is, in effect, an inquiry into the grounds for Haydon's statement that the poet's knowledge of Art was extraordinary, and that he was able to 'detect errors in hands like a connoisseur or artist'. His friendship with Sir George Beaumont is well known to have initiated him into the world of painting, but those who regard him as only—or mainly—the poet of Nature in her wildest and simplest aspects would do well to study the evidence here given for his 'steady, deep enjoyment of pictorial art' and his extensive critical knowledge of its history.

Frank Caldiero contributed to *N. & Q* (8 Sept.) *A Note on William Wordsworth, Brooke and Masefield*, pointing out affinities between the *Immortality Ode*, *The Soldier* and a sonnet by the Poet Laureate, Wordsworth and Brooke both using the phrase 'the eternal mind', and Masefield the closely similar 'universal mind'.

J. R. Sutherland, in his witty and well-balanced British Academy lecture on *Pope and Wordsworth* contrasts the solemn self-dedication of Wordsworth with the affected detachment of Pope. 'There is no need', he says, 'to take sides as between Wordsworth and Pope . . . but because Wordsworth chose to see Pope as a sort of anti-Christ of poetry, he succeeded in turning what is really an issue for literary criticism into something approaching a choice between good and evil.' Wordsworth's preoccupation with the simple Many is set against Pope's with the sophisticated Few: and we are reminded that to account for Wordsworth's 'almost Puritanical horror' of eighteenth-century poetic diction we should have to give full weight to his social and political views and 'to consider again his whole conception of poetry'.

In *Wordsworth's 1835 Postscript: an Advanced Programme for Labour* (*S. in Ph.*, July) Earl H. Hartsell attempted to rehabilitate the Lost Leader, and to demonstrate that even at the period when he was actively opposing the Reform Bill Wordsworth was 'keenly interested in breaking the economic chains of wage-slavery'.

[2] *Wordsworth's Interest in Painters and Pictures*, by Martha Hale Shockford. Wellesly Press, Mass. pp. 80. $1.

Robert Southey, so long neglected, so frequently undervalued, was the subject of one of the best literary biographies of 1945. To write of any Lake Poet is to write of all three, but Southey has hitherto been a rather remote and indistinct third figure in the famous group. Jack Simmons has restored him to his rightful place,[8] though this full and absorbing biography might have gained in weight if he had attempted a more elaborate critical estimate of the poet *qua* poet, illustrated by more characteristic examples of his verse.

Writing on *Southey's Specimens of the Later English Poets* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) Raymond I. Havens poses the question, 'How much was Southey's work and how much Grosvenor Bedford's?' and then proceeds to answer it with the aid of an (incomplete) original MS. in his possession. Grosvenor Bedford is seen to have been by no means an ideal collaborator. In spite of Southey's unfortunate uncertainty as to what he wanted to do and the best way of doing it, devotees who have recently tried to reawaken interest in his works 'might well direct attention to the epigrams, the incisive comments, the humour and the curious anecdotes' to be found in this forgotten compilation.

In *The Gloss to the 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner'* (*M.L.Q.*, Sept.) Huntington Brown writes, 'If the imaginary poet was a minstrel of long ago, perhaps it is fair to ask, of *how* long ago?' and suggests that the period intended was probably late in the reign of Henry VII or early in that of Henry VIII. The gloss, he contends, is meant to be the work of an imaginary editor, a 'pious and sanguine' commentator. It serves 'to emphasize the remoteness of the story'; and what makes it so successful is 'the contrasting personalities of the minstrel and his editor, each so consistent and so distinctly associated with an epoch in the history of the imagination'.

The Dream of Kubla Khan by Elizabeth Schneider (*P.M.L.A.*, June) advances the theory that Coleridge ascribed a semi-marvellous origin to the poem 'as a defence against further criticism of his trick of abandoning his works half-written'. The interesting point is made that opium-addicts may occasionally 'live normal lives for a normal life-span'—William Wilberforce is cited as an ex-

[8] *Southey*, by Jack Simmons. Collins. pp. 256. 12*s.* 6*d.*

ample—and that all such addicts do not inevitably deteriorate in mind and body. Elizabeth Schneider holds that there is a meaning behind *Kubla Khan*, though it is 'irrelevant to the beauty and value of the poem'.

In the same number of *P.M.L.A.* Charles S. Bouslog, writing on *The Symbol of the Sod Seat in Coleridge*, carries us back into that psychological field so much frequented by modern critics. Coleridge, it appears, was at one time mildly obsessed by 'Sod-seats', as were also Wordsworth and his sister. Bouslog, envisaging these seats as 'resting-places of stones, dirt and covering turf', was puzzled to find no specimens extant during a brief visit to the Quantocks and the Lakes in 1939; but many of the allusions to open-air seats probably refer to wooden or stone benches without any padding of 'dirt'. Others would be made of turf, the actual 'sopha of sods' in Coleridge's own phrase. There may have been in certain of these allusions the echo of a sentimental association with Sara Hutchinson, as in the earlier versions of *Dejection: an Ode.*

Lovers of Byron and students of *Don Juan* will be grateful to Elizabeth F. Boyd for her critical study[4] of what she justly calls 'the greatest of his major works'. It is, indeed, of all his works that 'which offers the highest rewards to the modern reader'. Its history is traced with care and skill: its mixed reception, its languid sales, the incidental results of its anonymous publication. Contemporary criticism is analysed: Byron's own misgivings, his relations with Murray and Murray's 'cursed Puritanical Committee', are all sketched in. This 'versified Aurora Borealis' of a poem, with its 'vast arabesque of narrative and digression', is then summarized; and in spite of the author's realization that the legend of Don Juan was merely a framework on which to hang Byron's view of human life, we are regaled with a fascinating 'aside' concerning previous treatments of that legend, musical, dramatic and poetical.

There is a good chapter on 'Byron's Library and his Reading', with extracts from the sale catalogues of 1816 and 1827: we are shown how he read, how books affected him, and what use he made of his wide though desultory reading. There is also a helpful

[4] *Byron's 'Don Juan': a Critical Study*, by Elizabeth French Boyd. Rutger's Univ. Press, New Brunswick. pp. ix+193.

study of 'The Literary Background of Don Juan'. The last sentences linger in the memory. 'Don Juan', she writes, 'was to have died for human freedom. Byron left the word and took up the deed: he completed *Don Juan* in action.'

L. B. Namier, writing in *T.L.S.* (13 Sept.) on *The Poet Journalist*, quoted Goethe's opinion that if Byron had been able to work off his negative feelings in speeches in the House of Lords he would have emerged poorer as a poet.

Writing on *Byron and the Ballad* (*S. in Ph.*, July) A. P. Hudson begins with the reminder that the 'baleful light' of Scottish balladry had 'played prophetically over the union that begot Byron' and cites a local rant upon the marriage of Captain Byron and 'Bonny Miss Gordon' of Gight. He goes on to trace the influence exercised upon the youthful Byron by the ballads of his mother's native land, and suggests that his enthusiasm for Albanian folk-songs may have been due to this early-acquired taste. From appreciation to practice is no long step: and the poet did not fail to write 'literary ballads of a sort' embedded in dramas or epics, and 'ephemeral verses in ballad manner or measure'. His 'best essay in the medieval genre' is rightly stated to be the ballad of the Black Friar in *Don Juan*, Canto XVI.

Byron is linked with Keats in the sub-title of Stephen de Ullmann's *Romanticism amd Synaesthesia: a Comparative Study of Sense Transfer in Keats and Byron* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.). The main purpose of this paper is 'to concentrate on the synaesthesias . . . and to use to this end the contrast-effect obtainable by comparing a poet whose art and outlook seem to predestine him for synaesthetic metaphors with another poet . . . for whom sense-transfers would obviously have a totally different meaning'. The critic unversed in psychological terminology will be interested to learn that synaesthesia is one of the rare examples of semantic law. Ullmann has diligently collected and tabulated all instances of the operations of this law in the poetry of Keats and Byron, with horizontal lines representing transfers *from* the same sphere of sensation and vertical lanes representing transfers *to* it. The conclusion is reached that Byron was 'in his use of sense-transfer characteristic of general human tendencies and of the background peculiar to his age . . . whereas in Keats's case personal idiosyncrasies

asserted themselves to such an extent that the groundwork of universally human and of romantic tendencies is much less obvious'.

From this article the transition is easy to J. R. Caldwell's volume *John Keats' Fancy*,[5] more clearly indicated by the subtitle, *The Effect on Keats of the Psychology of his Day*. The 'workways' of his mind are, we learn, 'unusually open': so it is with some pleasurable surprise, that we find Keats eluding Caldwell's questioning at the end: for it seems that, though he 'provides some rather emphatic hints as to his own way of working', these do not lead us to 'fixities and definites'. With the aid of modern theories of psychology rather than of any orthodox *apparatus criticus*, Caldwell traces the influence upon Keats of those contemporary intellectual forces—philosophical, surely, more than consciously psychological—into whose orbit he was drawn. It is an interesting theory that at the time of his death he may have been on the point of discovering how to resolve the conflict 'between imagination and judgment, luxury and philosophy, sensation and thought'; and there are many such theories scattered through the book. Its strongest appeal will be to readers who see poetry and the poet's art as provinces in the realm of psychology rather than as independent states bordering upon that realm.

Keats shares with Spenser, Browning, Wordsworth and Cory the attention of Elmer E. Stoll in his essay, *The Validity of the Poetic Vision* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.). Here the principle is laid down, in words borrowed by Thomas Hardy from Edmund Burke, that 'no work of art can be great but as it deceives' and that 'Art is the secret of how to produce from a false thing the effect of a true'. In the light of this principle, Stoll considers with great seriousness certain passages in the works of the poets named above.

Herbert G. Wright propounds (*M.L.R.*, April) the intriguing question, *Has Keats's 'Eve of St. Agnes' a Tragic Ending?* In attempting to answer it he reminds us that in our delight in the 'richness of the sensations, the magic of the place-names, and the haunting verbal music', it should not be forgotten that Keats is

[5] *John Keats' Fancy: the Effect on Keats of the Psychology of his Day*, by James Ralston Caldwell. Cornell U.P. and O.U.P. pp. ix+129. 12*s*.

writing a narrative poem and that 'the fate of the lovers is the climax of the story he has to tell'. Most people believe that Porphyro and Madeline ultimately reached the safe shelter of the castle 'o'er the southern moors'; but Wright suggests the possibility that the poet had in mind a very different conclusion, and that throughout the poem he is anticipating that the flight of the lovers would end in disaster. He stresses the importance of all the sinister meteorological indications—intense cold, icy blasts, beating sleet, rising storm: and he claims that this interpretation, though necessarily tentative, 'lends to the poem a deeper significance and emphasizes its coherence, structural unity, and sense of design'.

We return to the rapidly expanding realm of Freud in Harold E. Briggs's *Keats's Conscious and Unconscious Reactions to Criticism of 'Endymion'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.). Colrin's view that it was not until late in 1818–19 that Keats began to suffer acutely from the blows dealt by the three great *Reviews* is here repudiated, and 'a new total concept of Keats's life and work during the crucial period' is attempted.

Stress is laid upon the significance of a blunder perpetrated by Keats in a letter to his brother George, dated 14 October 1818. The lines he quotes, and attributes to Byron—

> *I am free from Men of Pleasures' cares*
> *By dint of feelings far more deep than theirs,*

are an imperfectly remembered couplet from Leigh Hunt's *Story of Rimini*, Canto III. The Freudian interpretation of this 'Forgetting of Proper Names' is cited to prove that Hunt's name was associated in Keats's mind with the bludgeoning by the Scottish reviewers, and that 'the subconscious self, disturbed by the association, automatically and defensively substituted Byron's name for his', to avoid awakening pain. Other—and similar—evidence is given in support of the writer's opinion that the effect of the hostile reviews upon Keats's mind was 'immediate, serious and prolonged', and not, as Colrin considered, an instance of 'delayed action' damage.

R. C. Churchill, writing in *The Contemporary Review* (March) on *Keats and Marlowe* (see Chap, VIII, p. 107) begins by attempt-

ing to assess which constituted a greater loss to English letters, the death of Marlowe or the death of Keats. He points out that whereas we have some idea of the direction which Keats intended his poetry to take, 'of Marlowe's mind we know nothing'. Middleton Murry's verdict that 'Keats would have had no rival outside Shakespeare' is quoted, but not Tennyson's that 'Keats, had he lived, would have been the greatest of us all'.

M.L.N. (April) contained an interesting paper on *Keats and Coleridge: La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, by Mary R. Thayer. This traces the possible influence of Coleridge's *Love*, 'the song in that poem sung to Genevieve by her lover', upon Keats's imagination at the time when he was writing *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*. The suggestion is made that the chance encounter with S.T.C. on Hampstead Heath (recorded in the same letter to his brother George which covered the first draft of *La Belle Dame*) may have 'set Keats to reading Coleridge afresh'.

The re-opening of Wentworth Place, Hampstead, after war-damage repair, inspired a leader on *Keats and Ourselves* in *T.L.S.* (10 Nov.). Norman Hampson queried (22 Dec.) the leader writer's verdict that the *Grecian Urn* Ode represented 'the mainstay of Keats's final view of life' and suggested that this might more probably be found in the *Ode to Autumn*. In a vigorous footnote the leader writer defended his opinion, pointing out that *Autumn* is a descriptive poem, not involved with the artist's thoughts on things in general.

When Swinburne called *The Cenci* the 'greatest English tragedy since Shakespeare' he was probably thinking of it as a reader not as a potential spectator: but no one who has conned *A Stage Version of Shelley's 'Cenci'*[6] can have any doubts as to the play's essential 'actability'. This text is based upon the Bellingham Theatre Guild's production at Washington in March 1940. Only five previous performances had been recorded, and that without any wealth of relevant detail; the editors had to rely upon their own judgment and make their own rules. It was not their object, as they make clear, to 'streamline' the play, but to produce it as

[6] *A Stage Version of Shelley's 'Cenci'*, by Arthur C. Hicks and R. Milton Clark. Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho. pp. 156. $3.50.

Shelley wrote it. This stage version was prepared not only to stimulate other companies of actors to make the same bold experiment, but also to prove that this play 'takes on a greater emotional intensity if the reader visualizes the action while imagining that the beautiful lines are being spoken in the theatre'. There is a good analysis of argument and action, but some of the stage directions are startlingly colloquial: e.g. '*Olimpio and Marzio scurry up left*'.

Kenneth N. Cameron and Horst Frenz contributed to *P.M.L.A.* (Dec.) an article on *The Stage History of 'The Cenci'* which might profitably be studied in connexion with the book noted above. They provide an admirable account of early attempts to get the play acted, of subsequent productions in Europe and America, and of the various reactions not only of the dramatic critics but also of such members of the general public as were allowed to see the performances. Of particular interest to English readers are the excerpts from criticisms in this country of Dame Sybil Thorndike's production in 1922. These show that James Agate, St. John Ervine, Maurice Baring and Charles Morgan concurred in the verdict that *The Cenci* is stageworthy and that Shelley was 'a born dramatist'.

The unfinished historical tragedy, *Charles I*, gives Kenneth N. Cameron the material for a little study, *Shelley's Use of Substitute Material in 'Charles I'* (*M.L.Q.*, June). He shows that, in addition to Hume, Shelley made use of Clarendon, and of the eight-volume English History of Dr. Johnson's *bête noire*, Mrs. Catherine Macaulay. This lady had a pro-Cromwellian and anti-Royalist bias closely akin to Shelley's own. Another probable source may have been Bulstrode Whitelocke's *Memorials*, but in interpretation Shelley stuck closest to Mrs. Macaulay, while fusing 'all four in the crucible of his mind'.

In *Shelley and the Reformers* (*E.L.H.*, March) Cameron touches upon the political rather than the strictly literary aspect of Shelley's activities. The hard fight preceding the Reform Bill of 1832 could hardly fail to enlist the poet's warmest sympathies, as is well shown in his *Proposal for Putting Reform to the Vote* in 1817. Whig influences were not negligible at Field Place, and Sir Timothy was a supporter of Fox in Parliament. Cameron stresses

Shelley's admiration for Sir Francis Burdett, to whom he alluded in the *Victor and Cazire* poems and to whom he dedicated *The Wandering Jew*. It is worth while to be reminded that when Shelley was at Oxford he had every intention of replacing his father on the Whig benches and of devoting himself to the advancement of liberty through Parliamentary channels: and Cameron is probably right in considering that the terms of the *Proposal* show Shelley to have 'planted his banner firmly in the camp of the Moderates'.

The Philosophical View of Reform, not published till 1920, proposes abolition of the National Debt, disbandment of the standing army, etc., a plan more detailed than that enunciated by Burdett in 1809 but less full than the plan put forward by Cobbett in the *Political Register* in October 1816. Shelley's scheme was not wholly derivative: his views on female suffrage and the secret ballot were hardly those of Bentham, Cobbett or Cartwright.

Then we see him moving away from the Moderates, and, characteristically, throwing in his lot with the more extreme and visionary wing of the Reform party. 'To Shelley', says Cameron, 'the Reform movement was part of a vast sweep of progressive historical forces out of the past into the future of a democratic republic and, beyond that, into the Godwinian equalitarian state, the grand vision of *Prometheus Unbound*.'

A letter on *Shelley and Hogg* by Frederick L. Jones (*T.L.S.*, 23 June) reiterated the view that Hogg was fully as Radical as Shelley and may have written the original draft of *The Necessity of Atheism*.

Richard Fogle in *The Abstractness of Shelley* (*P.Q.*, Oct.) defends Shelley from the current reproach of 'abstractness', and demonstrates that where this attribute *is* to be found in his poetry it implies 'no lack of value'. Among modern critics, it appears, 'abstract' has somehow become 'synonymous with bad'. Contrasting Keats with Shelley, Fogle says that Keats 'permits things to rest in their complexity' while Shelley 'consciously imposes upon them the order of his intellect'. We have then an analysis of Platonic and Neo-platonic influences, illustrated with references to modern critical commentaries. This shows the elusiveness of Shelley's genius, for there is sharp divergence of opinion among these commentators. 'As a poet', Fogle points out, 'Shelley is not to be confined to any single set of beliefs; he is abstract in that his

poetry continually climbs towards abstraction on the steps of concrete imagery.' Despite his brave words in *Adonais* (ll. 460–3) it may be doubted whether Shelley was wholly anxious to desert he beautiful world of appearances for the cold perfection of the One. His key-symbol, the veil, like his other symbols, is symptomatic of a 'fundamental dualism' in Shelley's conception of the relationship between mind and nature.

Fogle in *E.L.H.* (Sept.), under the title of *Romantic Bards and Metaphysical Reviewers*, stoutly defends Shelley—together with the other great Romantics—against the adverse verdict of the New Criticism. This verdict is shown to be foreshadowed in T. E. Hulme's *Romanticism and Classicism* and forcibly expressed in T. S. Eliot's *Sacred Wood*. Fogle follows these and similar denigrating criticisms in detail, and refutes one by one the charges brought by the critics. He calls Shelley their 'favourite whipping boy', and holds that the new doctrines are to be found 'hardened and set' in Cleanth Brooks's *Modern Poetry and Tradition*. Finally he lays it down that 'conceiving of poetry in the last analysis as a disjunctive series of metaphors existing in a void . . . the New Critics are unfitted for dealing with a poetry like Shelley's in which form and content, thought and emotion, thing and idea, are truly and imaginatively conjoined'.

'*Epipsychidion*' *and* '*The Hound of Heaven*' were the subject of an interesting letter (*T.L.S.* 17 March) from E. H. W. Meyerstein, who notes a striking parallel between the famous stanza at the close of Thompson's poem 'where the Divine Rescuer stands self-revealed' and *Epipsychidion*, l. 230 *sqq*. This he thinks, is either 'a possible sublimation of Shelley's metal into Roman Catholic doctrine' or the 'workings of a poet's memory'; and he cites Thompson's own saying that 'Spartan law holds good in literature, where to steal is honourable, provided it be done with skill and dexterity'.

An Unpublished Shelley Letter was given by David Lee Clark in *M.L.N.* (May). Written from Bagni di Lucca to Charles Ollier in August 1818, in touches upon the 'little poem', *Rosalind and Helen*, and contains this comment upon Keats: 'he has a fine imagination

and ought to become something excellent; but he is at present entangled in the cold vanity of systems'.

The last volume of the Shelley trilogy,[7] following *The Athenians* (1943) and *Harriet and Mary* (1944), edited by Walter Sidney Scott, is in some respects the most important of the three. There is fresh material of considerable interest in the unpublished letters of Mary Shelley and Thomas Love Peacock, and there is an addition to the Shelley canon in the form of a hitherto unknown prose fragment of some thousand words. Particularly valuable to future biographers will be the pages that reveal the anxious tinkerings of Hogg with the more startling passages in the letters of his friend.

The Deaths of Glossin and Hatteraick in 'Guy Mannering' suggested an interesting article by Coleman O. Parsons (*P.Q.*, April). He traces the details of the murder and suicide to Lambert Dorneau's *Dialogue of Witches*—of which there was a copy in the Abbotsford Library—and other seventeenth-century sources. To these he is able to add several of later date: and he points out that R. L. Stevenson in *Thrawn Janet* (as well as Walter Scott in *Guy Mannering*) is indebted to Sir Francis Grant's 'unpolished but forceful narrative' published at Edinburgh in 1698.

Parsons also wrote (*N. & Q.*, 13 Jan.) on *The Supernatural in Scott's Poetry*, continuing his survey on 27 Jan., 24 Feb and 10 March. On 2 June J. G. Dunlop had a query concerning the dramatization of the Waverley novels: James C. Corson replied (14 July) with a well-documented note, *Scott's Novels: Dramatized Versions*.

Parsons further (*N. & Q.*, 15 Dec.) discussed *The Influence of Grillparzer on 'The Heart of Midlothian'*. He traces certain touches of rather Teutonic melodramatic colour to *Die Ahnfrau*, a *Schicksal drama* of 1817. 'While preserving the ruthless justice of German fate-tragedy', says Parsons, 'Scott also reflects the native quality of John Knox. The sinner is thrust from grace because sin destroys.'

[7] *Shelley at Oxford. The Early Correspondence of Percy Bysshe Shelley with his friend Thomas Jefferson Hogg, together with letters of Mary Shelley and Thomas Love Peacock, and a hitherto unpublished Prose Fragment by Shelley*, ed. by Walter Sidney Scott. The Golden Cockerel Press, 1944. pp. 79. £3 3*s*.

Under the heading, *Is Thy Servant a Dog?* L.B.W. had a note (*N. & Q.*, 19 May) citing a passage in R. H. Hutton's *Life of Scott* —the attractive passage which gives a picture of Jane Welch Carlyle's usually timid Blenheim Cocker frisking affectionately round Scott every time they met in the streets of Edinburgh.

John D. Kern attributed (*M.L.Q.*, Sept.) to Scott a hitherto unindentified review of Alexander Fraser Tytler's *Essay on Petrarch, Quarterly Review*, Sept. 1812.

Alan Lang Strout continued in *N. & Q.* (30 June, 14 July, 28 July, 25 Aug., 8 Sept., 22 Sept., 6 Oct. and 20, 3 Nov., 17 Nov.) his valuable extracts from the correspondence between Lockhart and Croker, now preserved in the William L. Clements Library in the University of Michigan. The interest of some of these letters may be personal and political rather than literary, but they are none the less significant for all students of Lockhart's earlier and later 'contacts'.

On 2 June Strout contributed to *N. & Q.* an article on *John Gibson Lockhart as Ogre*, showing how, with the aid of Lord Patrick Robertson, he 'eviscerated' that respectable scientist, David Boswell Reid, of 'Ventilation' fame. 'Even in maturity', observes Strout, 'Lockhart retained more than a gleam of that *Keckheit* that had made him so redoubtable a contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*': but his treatment of Reid is 'an illustration of wickedness curious in a man of fifty-one'. Incidental light is thrown upon the reviewer's 'compunctious visitings' about his treatment of Keats.

A powerful team, consisting of John D. Kern, Elizabeth Schneider and Irwin Griggs, dealt (*P.M.L.A.*, March) with *Lockhart to Croker on the 'Quarterly'*. This, they claim, is the first systematic examination of this correspondence for information relating to the authorship of articles appearing in the *Quarterly*. A valuable analysis, it gives, by direct quotation and occasional summary, the evidence for the attributions here made: it also reveals in how many instances one reviewer was aided or supervised by another: e.g. Thomas Arnold on Early Roman History, 'edited' by John Coleridge Taylor, and W. E. Gladstone on the Clergy Relief Bill, by Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter.

In *The Possible Origin of Lockhart's 'Adam Blair'* (*N. & Q.*, 17 Nov.) Coleman O. Parsons put forward the theory that Lockhart

may have borrowed some of his ideas from Adolf Müller's successful play, *Die Schuld*, translated into English in 1819 by R. P. Gillies, who was a friend both of Lockhart and of Scott.

The Independence of Landor was the theme of an interesting essay by Charles Morgan in Menander's Mirror (*T.L.S.*, 27 Jan.): and R. H. Super wrote (*M.L.Q.*, Sept.) on the problem as to *When Landor Left Home*, suggesting that the poet was living—though precariously enough—with his family at Fiesole 'for at least four months beyond the date of his supposedly final departure'.

Landor and the 'Satanic School' provided R. H. Super with the material for a well-documented study (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.). This is concerned chiefly with Landor's relations with Byron, Leigh Hunt, Southey and other contemporary writers, and prominence is given to Southey's attack on the *'Satanic School'* in the preface to *The Vision of Judgment*. In his later years, says Super, Landor 'came close to allying himself' with this very school, 'but proved himself to be, as always, a dangerous ally'.

The Princeton University Library Chronicle, Volume VI, contained a poignant article by Jeremiah S. Finch, *Charles Lamb's 'Companionship . . . in almost Solitude'*, the companion being, naturally, the much-loved and greatly missed Emma Isola. This article was based on a collection of manuscript letters given by Charles Scribner to the Princeton University Library in 1913.

John W. Bullitt, writing on *Hazlitt and the Romantic Conception of the Imagination* (*P.Q.*, Oct.), discussed Hazlitt's views on the functions, powers and limitations of imagination and reason. 'The imagination', said he, 'because it can use at one time all the half-buried elements of past experience, is superior to abstract reasoning.'

Wayne D. Clark traced (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) in *Hazlitt and Rousseau* a passage from Hazlitt's essay on Rousseau to a passage from *La Nouvelle Héloise*, a lengthy passage which the critic, quoting from memory, telescoped into eleven words.

William Price contributed an interesting paper on *Hazlitt and Malthus* to *M.L.N.*, (April).

Howard O. Brogan's article on *Thomas Moore, Irish Satirist and*

Keeper of the English Conscience (*P.Q.*, July) would be even more interesting than it is if the writer were better acquainted with the historical background. It was not 'inertia'—it was anything but inertia—which caused the Prince Regent to retain the Tory administration on his advent to power in 1811: it was his certain knowledge that the Whigs, if restored to office, would make a shameful peace with Napoleon. None the less Brogan's study of Moore's less-known political writings deserves the attention of everyone interested in the subject: and he reaches the just and striking conclusion that 'while Byron, for all his faults, achieved magnanimity, Moore could not rise above justice'. He could, however, sink below it.

Cecilia Hennel's essay on *Thomas de Quincey, Symptomatologist* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) is medical and psychological rather than literary or critical in its approach. De Quincey's illness after the death of little Kate Wordsworth is diagnosed as infantile paralysis—the same as that from which she died. We have a highly technical analysis of his self-recorded symptoms during the summer of 1812, when he believed that he was suffering from nympholepsy: and we see how after his restoration to health he recovered a normal attitude towards the child, and neither his visionary personification of her nor his passionate grief appeared again.

Four literary centenaries were remembered in 1945—those of Sydney Smith, Thomas Hood, R. H. Barham, and the Irish poet, Thomas Davis.

A full-page article on *The Smith of Smiths* (*T.L.S.*, 24 Feb.) celebrated the first of these, and on 5 May followed *Thomas Hood: the Poet Behind the Jester's Mask*. On 19 May a letter from Derek Hudson, *Hood and Praed*, claimed a dead-heat between the two poets in the matter of 'word-fun' or paronomasia.

The publication of Thomas Hood's letters[8] from the Dilke Papers in the British Museum was well timed, and the editing and annotating show both sympathy and skill. As the latest letter belongs to February 1843 no new light is thrown on the courageous, tragi-comic struggle that preceded Hood's death, and it may be doubted

[8] *Letters of Thomas Hood: from the Dilke Papers in the British Museum*, by Leslie A. Marchand. Rutger's Studies in English, Number Four. pp. viii + 104.

whether he himself would have cared to see the appendix of broken fragments rescued from oblivion.

Thomas Hood: a Centenary Note by L. B. (*N. & Q.*, 19 May) reminds us of how Hood's friends, including Landor, Browning, and Monckton Milnes, rallied round him as his life waned, and gives the decorous, regretful obituary—or almost obituary—paragraph which appeared in *Hood's Magazine* just before his death.

Under the appropriate heading of *Mirth and Marvel* (*T.L.S.*, 16 June) Barham's centenary received ample recognition. The writer put forward the unusual theory that Barham was 'completely, mysteriously at home with the spiritual world as the average man of the Middle Ages knew it' and *that*, 'in spite of some shocking blunders, was the world of the *Legends*'. He is 'back among the miracles of Corpus Christi, and we can hear the spectators' shouts'. This view rules out the verdict that Barham used this vehicle as anti-Roman propaganda; 'even in the most farcical stories the Saints prove too much for Satan'; and 'one might almost imagine that, under the cloak of his urbanity, the poet was insinuating argument for and not against the Church of Rome'. Yet it could well be objected that Barham's humour is remote from the *naïveté* of the humour in the miracle plays, and even more remote from the 'reverent irreverence' pervading their gayer passages.

Olidrius provided (*N. & Q.*, 16 June) an amusing postscript to the centenary tributes: *R. H. Barham's Daughter's Opinion of 'The Ingoldsby Legends'*. This is quoted from a New York bookseller's catalogue. Mrs. Bond, *neé* Barham, expressed surprise that her father should be remembered by the *Legends* 'when so much of his real work is forgotten'.

The centenary of Thomas Davis, Irish Protestant patriot and pioneer nationalist, attracted little attention in England but was worthily commemorated in Eire. In his foreword to the collected *Essays and Poems*[9] Mr. de Valera commends them earnestly to the attention of young teachers and of Irish youth in general: and if sincerity, lofty idealism, and burning vision qualify a writer for immortality, Davis will not die.

[9] *Thomas Davis: Essays and Poems.* Dublin: A. H. Gill. pp. 18+240. 7*s.* 6*d.*

T. W. Moody's pamphlet,[10] perpetuating a centenary address delivered in Trinity College, Dublin, at a public meeting of the College Historical Society, is more than a conventional tribute. It is rich in warm sympathy with his subject, and yet balanced by a just sense of perspective. 'The living Davis', it concludes, 'is a challenge to all the pettiness, intolerance, cynicism and sloth among us': and few poets have won, or deserved, a finer epitaph.

Carlyle on Portraits of Frederick the Great by L. Ettlinger (*M.L.R.*, Oct.) demonstrates, with the aid of unpublished MSS. in the State Archives of Berlin (before 1939) Carlyle's visual approach to a subject, his characteristic attempt to 'round off the vision before his inner eye'.

One of the outstanding literary biographies of the year was Dame Una Pope-Hennessy's *Charles Dickens*.[11] It seems improbable that any future biographer will handle with a nicer balance of candour and compassion that aspect of the novelist's private life which many would prefer not to contemplate very closely. The background is cleverly sketched in and the characterization is vivid throughout; the one thing lacking is any critical appraisement of Dickens's art. No doubter will be converted into a Dickens devotee by the not-very-attractive and not-always-accurate summaries of the novels offered here: but those who are already sealed of the tribe of Boz will prize this new and sensitive study of the fallible, unstable genius to whom they owe so much.

Several also of the briefer considerations of Dickens dealt with his family affairs rather than with his literary activities, though in *Q.Q.* (Autumn) there appeared an article by George H. Clarke entitled *Dickens Now* which contained this interesting passage:

> 'The present focusing of the Dickens portrait brings sharper definition. On the one hand he is seen as a tendentially vulgar, over-hearty, over-sentimental Victorian showman . . . on the other, he silences the showman and speaks like a seer to and for the humanity that makes all men one.'

In *Contributions of Early American Journals to the Study of*

[10] *Thomas Davis, 1814–45*, by T. W. Moody. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis. pp. 64. 2*s*. 6*d*.

[11] *Charles Dickens*, by Dame Una Pope-Hennessy. Chatto and Windus. pp. xii+476. 21*s*.

Charles Dickens by C. W. Houtchens and L. H. Houtchens (*M.L.Q.*, June) some new light is thrown on *The Village Coquettes* and on the novelist's relations with Ellen Tree, afterwards Mrs. Charles Kean. The authors point to the hitherto unexplored fresh contemporary material in the old files of American periodicals such as the *New York Mirror* and *Knickerbocker*.

E. L., under the heading, *More Blunders of Celebrated Authors* (*N. & Q.*, 13 Jan.), remarked upon the surprising way in which Captain Cuttle's missing hand grows again in Chapter XII of *Dombey and Son*.

V.R. in *Dickens and a Classical Reference* (*N. & Q.*, 2 June) questions the commonly received opinion that there is no allusion to the classics in any of Dickens's novels, and suggests Priam's hair standing on end (in *Our Mutual Friend*), though admitting that it may have been derived rather from Dryden's *Æneid* than from Virgil's.

Frederick C. White challenged in a note on *Dickens and His Children* (*N. & Q.*, 20 Oct.) John Betjeman's verdict in a *Daily Herald* article that the novelist was 'a callous father'. This drew forth two rejoinders on 15 December. William Kent, while agreeing that Betjeman's view is less than just, pointed out one or two small errors in White's letter and hinted at a confusion between Mrs. Dickens and Mamie Dickens. Prebendary G. W. Saunders, taking a view more favourable to Dickens, incorporated in his note a hitherto unpublished letter, dated 21 December 1860, from the novelist to one of the partners in the East India House of Robert and Benjamin Brown by whom his son Frank was then employed.

It is probable that the problem of whether Dickens was or was not offered a baronetcy in March 1870 can only be solved by application to the Heralds' Office or other appropriate authority. Some critics take seriously both letters addressed by him to Arthur Helps on that subject: others regard each as equally jocular. V.R. wrote on *Dickens and a Baronetcy* in *N. & Q.*, 17 Nov., and on 15 Dec. Leslie C. Staples, editor of *The Dickensian*, continued the discussion.

In the last of his studies of Dickens in his editorial capacity,

Dickens's Influence as an Editor (*S. in Ph.*, Oct), Gerald G. Grubb recapitulates and sums up, stressing the salutary nature of that influence, and enumerating the innovations by which Dickens enriched not only his own periodical enterprises but the whole press of the period. Among these novelties were numbered special supplements, informal and lively *critiques* of music and drama, travel letters and despatches from special correspondents abroad.

In the *Contemporary Review* for January W. H. Graham wrote on *Thackeray and 'The Virginians'*, concentrating chiefly on Thackeray's delineation of Dr. Johnson and other eighteenth-century figures, and awarding him 'the Chair of Augustan Studies in the Ghostly University'.

Readers of Stewart W. Holmes's paper, *Browning, Sordello, and Jung* (see *Y.W.*, xxii, 206) will turn with interest to his further contribution to the poet's psychology, *Browning, Semantic Stutterer* (*P.M.L.A.*, March), in which he adopts a fresh line of approach to Browning's 'inability to express himself clearly on what we may call metaphysical matters'. Like a stutterer, he apparently 'confused the level of abstractions and dealt with the thing-word relationship intentionally rather than extensionally'. The cause and cure of such impediments are considered on the scientific (therapeutic) level, and evidence is drawn from Browning's letters to prove that he realized his own 'verbal impotence'. He might have been somewhat disconcerted to find this unintelligibility diagnosed as being 'due to semantic blockages', or 'obstructions of the nervous system': but he would have found comfort in the proposition that, as long as he wrote 'Art' rather than metaphysics, 'he avoided the paths' that were obstructed by these 'blockages'.

Also in the March *P.M.L.A.* there was an article by C. N. Wenger, *Clio's Rights in History: Browning's 'Cristina and Monaldeschi'*. Wenger indicates that in writing this poem Browning strayed far from historical fact, and tabulates various inaccuracies, major and minor, in his version of the story.

Frank Underhill wrote in *T.L.S.* (6 Oct.) on *The Young Browning*, giving some immature lines *On Louvel's Reply* signed 'Robert Browning Junr.' These came from an old notebook of the writer's grandfather, who was a colleague of Browning *père*. The age of

the poet at the time of composing this piece of juvenilia is given as 'between seventeen and eighteen': but on 13 September Sir Frederick Kenyon pointed out that in 1820, the presumed date, the future poet was under eight years of age. None the less, in view of his 'self-acknowledged precocity', Sir Frederick 'would not be prepared to say that these lines were not a production of his at the age of $7\frac{3}{4}$'.

In Margaret R. Grennan's able but sometimes slightly vehement book[12] we have yet another example of the increasing interest in the Politics of Letters. With writers like Shelley and Wordsworth, Southey and Morris, poet and politician frequently melt into each other, but they are as frequently to be found disassociated. There seems to be a danger that preoccupation with their political creeds (not all, or always, consistently adhered to) may impair the critic's enjoyment and understanding of their poetry. Morris's verse is not assessed, analysed or 'appreciated' here. It is his synthetic medievalism, his curious imposition of innovation upon tradition, and what would now be called his Left-Wing tendencies, which fill the field.

The Gondal Poems and Emily Brontë provided M. H. Dodds with a suggestion of some interest (*N. & Q.*, 5 May). This is to the effect that the two separate Gondal fragments printed by Robert Bridges as one in his anthology, *The Spirit of Man*, may be the beginnings of the never-completed story of Queen Augusta's early years. In this view Fanny Ratchford concurs.

Frederick Mulhauser considered *Clough's 'Love and Reason'* in *Mod. Phil.* (Feb.), giving a new account of the genesis of the poem, and a new explanation of the 'impersonal, stilted and intellectualized' quality which modern critics find in his early love lyrics.

William Blackburn contributed a study of *The Background of Matthew Arnold's 'Literature and Dogma'* to *Mod. Phil.* (Nov.), and—after naming the great religious controversies of the early 1870's which lie behind that book—traced the political, social and theological history of an eventful and spiritually passionate period

[12] *William Morris, Medievalist and Revolutionary*, by Margaret R. Grennan. King's Crown Press (Columbia U.P.). pp. x+173. $2.50.

as reflected in the mind and the thought of Matthew Arnold at that time.

E. A. Greening Lamborn gave his view on *Matthew Arnold's Tree* (*N. & Q.*, 24 Feb.). Like Sir Edmund Chambers he is convinced that the contemporary identification of the *Thyrsis* tree is the only correct one.

> Dost thou ask proof? One tree yet crowns the hill.
> 'Show us another', he exclaims, 'that does—or did!'

An Injustice to Froude was pointed out by M. E. V. (*N. & Q.*, 2 June). The 'little postscript' which, according to Kegan Paul, 'put an end' to the series of Lives of the English Saints under Newman's editorship is shown in its right perspective: and Herbert Paul's action in turning 'a pietism into a witticism' in his *Life of Froude* is condemned.

In the *Dublin Magazine* (April–June) J. Lyle Donaghy, discussing *William Allingham*, lays it down that, 'in spite of the thinness and lightness of his vein of genius', he became a master of one of the more robust forms of literary expression—namely, the ballad. The poem in which he is here said to have come nearest to greatness is *The Lover and the Birds*.

Three articles in *M.L.N.* (May) may be grouped together here. Ernest E. Leisy, in *Francis Quarles and Henry Thoreau*, demonstrated how frequently Thoreau was influenced by Quarles when writing *A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers*. William S. Ward answered his own question *Was Henry Kirke White a Victim of the Review Press?* in the negative. In *Sources of J. S. Mill's Criticism of 'Pauline'* C. N. Wenger declared that it was Mill's own mental crisis, 1826–7, and Carlyle's comments on William Glenn's spiritual state in 1832, which enabled Mill to make his notes on Browning's *Pauline*, 'so discerning a piece of criticism'.

The Annual Lecture on a Master Mind given under the Henriette Hertz Trust was devoted in 1945 to John Ruskin.[18] Sir R. W. Livingstone, while acknowledging that Ruskin's eclipse 'is easy

[18] *Ruskin*, by R. W. Livingstone. O.U.P. for British Academy. pp. 20. 2*s*.

to understand', claims that 'with all his distractions and distresses, he found what Communist Russia and Nazi Germany in their different ways have sought, what we are still seeking, an integrated principle of existence for the individual and the State'. The battle of his life was fought on many fields and many fronts, but on all it was a struggle for the supremacy of the human spirit over the material forces . . . which lay insidious siege to it. 'For that reason', concludes Livingstone emphatically, 'his teaching is even more needed to-day than when he wrote, nor, until the nature of man or the conditions of human life change, will it lose its importance.'

In *Ruskin's Influence To-day*[14] J. Howard Whitehouse, Warden. of Bembridge School, Coniston, and President of the Ruskin Society, has assembled the addresses given on 8 February 1944 to commemorate the 125th anniversary of Ruskin's birth. The speakers included R. W. Inge. Sir Kenneth Clark, George Sampson, C. P. Gooch, Osbert Lancaster and the President himself.

Tennyson appears to have been remembered only in W. D. Paden's article in *M.L.N.* (April), *Tennyson and Persian Poetry Once More*, and Edward Fitzgerald in connexion with the Persian rose tree on his grave, concerning which there was a prolonged correspondence in *T.L.S.* during the summer and autumn.

James E. Tobin contributed to *N. & Q.* (21 April and 5 May) a valuable study of *Early Nineteenth-Century Drama*, with lists of titles, dates, and—when possible—names of publishers. From these lists to the theatres in which the plays were acted is an easy transition.

Mary T. Odell has deserved well of all students of the subject by her three books on the theatres at Brighton and Worthing. Of the three only one has been made available for notice in *Y.W.—More About the Old Theatre at Worthing*[15]. It is an attractive volume, beautifully produced and illustrated, and full of anecdotes of old players and playhouses as well as old plays. Some of the play-bills are irresistibly reminiscent of those chapters of *Pendennis* which deal with Miss Fotheringay, Captain Costigan and Bingley the

[14] *Ruskin's Influence To-day*, ed. by J. Howard Whitehouse. O.U.P. pp. 30 2*s.* 6*d.*

[15] *More About the Old Theatre at Worthing*, by Mary Theresa Odell. Aldridge Brothers, Worthing. pp. 194. 15*s.*

Manager: nor is the ghost of Vincent Crummles very far away.

Among the many 'stars' who appeared on the stage of the old theatre at Worthing were Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean. It was a happy thought on the part of William J. B. Carson to collect and publish *Letters of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean relating to their American Tours.*[16] These letters are of considerable interest, but to many readers the introductory matter will be even more welcome.

William S. Ward had a thoughtful article on *Some Aspects of the Conservative Attitude towards Poetry in English Criticism, 1798–1820* (*P.M.L.A.*, June). The term 'Conservative' is used in its critical and not its political sense: and we are informed roundly that 'during few periods have the review and literary departments of the magazines been so full of banal religious and political cant as during the first two decades of the nineteenth century'. It is curious, however, that ability should be denied to the contributors then ranged under the banners of the *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh Review*, and more curious still to see *La Belle Assemblée* cited as a serious literary periodical of any weight or substance.

A straggler from 1943 which must not be left unrecorded is '*Without Benefit of Clergy*' *in Victorian Fiction* by David D. Johnson, appearing in Volume 4 of *Philological Studies*, the West Virginia University bulletin. The essay is 'an attempt to ascertain to what extent—if at all—the work of the Victorian novelists was characterized by fear of sex', with either suppresssion or over-emphasis as the result. To overcome the monotonous tendency of the course of true love to run smooth in real life (though not in romance) it seems that the Victorian novelists had recourse to five different devices, here neatly tabulated. The fifth device is to make the sex-relationship irregular 'by placing it outside the pale of social sanctions and conventions'. Examples are given from Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, George Eliot, Trollope, Thackeray, Mrs. Gaskell and Thomas Hardy. The conclusion reached is that it was apparently 'not so much the sex-theme itself as the realistic presentation of it that shocked Victorian sensibilities'.

[16] *Letters of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean relating to their American Tours*, ed. by William J. B. Carson. Washington Univ. Press. pp. ix+181. $2.50.

Robert C. Le Clair's *Three American Travellers in England*[17] are James Russell Lowell, Henry Adams and Henry James. Though some of the judgments passed are a little obvious, and some of the information proffered is (to the English reader) a trifle superfluous, we are in good and interesting company throughout.

[17] *Three American Travellers in England*, by Robert Charles Le Clair. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press. pp. vii+223.

XIV

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

II

By H. V. ROUTH

THOUGH in present conditions the works of some authors were not obtainable, sufficient material has been supplied to show that this year has shed valuable light on twentieth-century literature.

Perhaps it will be most helpful to begin with the collection of bibliographies published by the American Modern Language Association.[1] It is much more than a history of books. It reviews all the authorities gathered round this or that important line of research, so that the student knows where to begin his specialized reading. The editors may justly claim to have noted every piece of printed matter worth printing. Generally the entries are left to tell their own tale, but here and there a book is accompanied by a concise yet highly critical summary (some of the best by C. F. Harrold) in order to emphasize its special usefulness. Apparently the Association has selected for comment those publications which run the risk of being overlooked—or over-valued. The survey covers (1) bibliographical material, (2) economical, political, religious and social environment, (3) the movement of ideas and literary forms, (4) individual authors. So it is almost a skeleton history of middle- and late-Victorian literature. In fact the Foreword claims 'to have forged an instrument for research that has done more for a proper understanding of the Victorian world than any other single achievement of the last fifty years in this field'.

But with the map thus spread open on the table one realizes that the bibliographies bear directly on the twentieth century; not only by their records on e.g. Butler, Kipling, Yeats, Henley and Stevenson, but because they draw our attention to what the nineteenth century over-emphasized or under-emphasized in its culture

[1] *Bibliographies of Studies in Victorian Literature, 1932–44*, ed. by W. D. Templeman. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press. pp. lx+450.

and civilization, thereby provoking the reaction of the Edwardians and neo-Georgians, particularly in politics, religion, and literary criticism.

Every book lover will also be glad to recognize out-of-the-way volumes which one notes and then forgets; for instance V. Sommerfield's *London Buses*, Max Levy's *Der Sabbath in England*, L. M. Stark's English Literature as reflected in *Book Plate Design*, and W. Mathews's *Cockney Past and Present*.

The more one studies modern and contemporary literature, the more one feels that the division into centuries is artificial, if inevitable. One age hands on its message to the next, yet each insisting on the right to be itself. So here is the place to consider W. H. Gardner's[2] centenary volume on G. M. Hopkins who died in 1889, and came alive again about 1918. There are still book-lovers who realize that if you wish to enjoy a poet, you must first understand the sources of his inspiration: the fuel on which the fire kindled. Such is the justification and appeal of Gardner's excellent commentary. He is at pains to make clear that Hopkins was a born poet, richly endowed with the quality of 'searchingness'; that is to say, his genius went in quest of what Clive Bell has termed *significant form*. Hopkins was also profoundly religious, only too conscious of personal sin, yet as a Jesuit absorbed in the obligation and ideal of contact with God. This self-dedication did not (as many think) inhibit his poetic inspiration but confined it to the deepest necessities of the spirit. Thus his output was restricted but intensified. As an undergraduate and layman at Oxford he learnt most about the secrets of art from Pater. As a priest he learnt from Dun Scotus how to blend poetic experience with the intimations of the Holy Spirit—'an insight, by Divine Grace, into ultimate reality; seeing the "pattern, air, melody" in things, from, as it were, God's side'. This significance he termed *inscape* (the word borrowed from Dun Scotus) and the perception of it *instress*. Thus the quest for *significant form* became the quest of God's significance in his creation. This development is the key to the otherwise incomprehensible *Wreck of the Deutschland*, a poem rich in emotional instress and illumination, and in which the mystery of evil

[2] *Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844–1889): A Study of Poetic Idiosyncracy in Relation to Poetic Tradition*, by W. H. Gardner. Secker and Warburg, 1944. pp. xvi+304. 25*s*.

is imaged as an almost superhuman glimpse into God's infinitude, crushing the human consciousness.

The reader, then, who would master Hopkins's poetry, must begin, not end, by mastering the spiritual influences which possessed his soul, and we must be grateful to Gardner for his lucid and enlightened exposition of the schoolman's teaching, and all that the Jesuit discipline meant for this subtle, sensitive writer. The critic certainly has the scholarship to be in sympathy with his scholarly author.

Thus assured, Gardner turns with amazing industry and hardly less courage to explain the undeniable difficulties of the Hopkinsian (Gardner's word) style and technique. His inquiry into the literary problems is less convincing than his exposition of the poet's mind, simply because the examination of a difficult subject does not make the difficulties easy.

Nevertheless Gardner gives what help he can. While discussing 'Sonnet Morphology' he points out that the traditional English sonnet was too short for Hopkins, so he lengthened it; that he produced effects by his parallelisms (i.e. duplicate statements) and his compounds by substitution (e.g. quick gold); that the force of his artistry can chiefly be traced to the vividness of his ideas. The critic himself is very effective when he explains the blending of *overthought* (i.e. what any careful reader can understand) with *underthought* (i.e. what has to be divined and may imply more than the poet meant) and illustrates the correspondence and contrast from *The Book of Job*, Shakespeare and the Metaphysical Poets. He is at his best when reminding us that in Hopkins's belief the pageant of men and nature is for the devout and observant eye a part of the observer, an aspect of his spiritual and emotional states ('Being draws-home to Being'), an expression of his soul. So what this poet perceived through his 'tactile' sense, worked downwards into the complex secrets of his spirit.

As one of the fascinations of literature is its contrasts, we can turn from Hopkins to an almost contemporary who trod a very different path with equal earnestness and idiosyncrasy. W. E. Henley[3] is a comparatively minor author, but J. H. Buckley claims that his significance is more than considerable if viewed in relation

[3] *William Ernest Henley: A Study in the 'Counter-Decadence' of the 'Nineties*, by J. H. Buckley. Princeton Univ. Press. pp. xi+234. $2.75.

to his age. 'Only in the perspective of an earlier philosophy of action may we understand Henley's peculiar position in the late-Victorian period. Only thus may we see his "activist" ethic in relation to the religion of the 'seventies, the art and drama of the 'eighties, the politics and poetry of the 'nineties.' In other words Henley represented the age-long English tradition of self-reliance and self-assertion, which had continued as an undercurrent throughout the nineteenth century, though indistinct and uncertain of itself, somewhat submerged beneath the decadence of the *Fin de Siècle* and the spurious cult of 'art for art's sake'.

So after a perhaps unnecessarily long introductory chapter on 'Towards the Unconquerable Soul', he starts with the story of his hero's childhood, its poverty, hopelessness, and the tubercular arthritis which left the ardent aggressive youth lying for months in the Edinburgh Infirmary, there to make peace with his own soul; to resolve that life, not happiness was the only object for living; to compose *In Hospital* and *Invictus*; and to form a life-long friendship with Stevenson.

Henley then realized that he was not a born poet, but might become a literary influence, perfecting his personality by making journalism an art. So he entered upon his life-long mission to impose his ideas and ideals on his age and at the same time earn his living; never making a concession to public taste and consequently always at loggerheads with his publishers and editors. By 1886, despite continuous quarrels with the magnates of Fleet Street, his self-assurance and energy had established his reputation as a versatile authority on many subjects.

Meanwhile England had become imperial-minded, so Henley edited *The Scots Observer*, *An Imperial Review*, and came forward as a militant Tory, almost eighteenth century in his bluff enthusiasms, dreaming of a united far-flung England, eventually to overspread the globe. His paper first published *Barrack Room Ballads* in 1890, thereby sacrificing its prestige, for the poems were coldly received, until they appeared in book form in 1892.

In 1890 appeared the first collected edition of his essays as *Views and Reviews*. In the same year he revived or re-christened the *Scots Observer* as *The National Observer* and gathered round him almost all the literary talent of the rising generation—'Henley's young men' or 'The Henley Regatta'—infecting them all with his ironic, incisive, truculent paradoxical style, and leaving the plain reader

uncomfortable and perplexed. His spirit still lives in the work of Kipling, Wells, Shaw, Bennett, Galsworthy and Forster, though they may not have been conscious of his influence.

This sketch gives no idea of Buckley's powers of vivid narration, nor his talent for creating backgrounds. The age comes to life again, as gathered round his hero. The intellectual atmosphere also comes to life, and his comments on theories of art, and problems of literary technique are worth noting for their own sake.

Stevenson, as we have seen, was a friend and sympathizer of Henley's; like him an invalid, and perhaps for that same reason infected with a passion for what Buckley terms 'virilism'. So the reader will be glad to refresh his memory with V. S. Pritchett's[4] selection of his works. A selection is, in a sense, an effort at criticism, and the selector announces that he has 'taken what seemed to me the best and most representative of the writer's prose work in all its phases'. All novel readers will be grateful for the little-known *The Beach of Falesa*, 'which is a new Stevenson, the first to land in the country that Somerset Maugham was to annex for English letters'. All will welcome *Travels with a Donkey*; but some will be doubtful about *The Suicide Club*; and most will regret that the selections are not dated. It is a pity that the editor could not find space for one or more of his author's essays in criticism, e.g. 'Books that have influenced me' or 'Style'. We should have returned to the stories with renewed zest, mindful of the technician as well as the artist. The short picturesque introduction is a vivid impression of Stevenson's extravagant personality; nor does Pritchett fail to dwell on the sterner side of his character, the Calvinistic conception of evil, and the theme of the damned soul.

Stevenson is often compared or contrasted with Herman Melville.[5] Both were possessed by the spiritual restlessness and inward discontent which pervaded almost all the creative writers of this period, and drove them to extravagance of thought or action. According to W. E. Sedgwick this urgency amounted to demonism in the American novelist. Melville is famous because he is the

[4] *Novels and Stories by R. L. Stevenson*, selected with an Introduction by V. S. Pritchett. Pilot Press. pp. xv+615. 15*s*.

[5] *Herman Melville: The Tragedy of Mind*, by W. E. Sedgwick. Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P., 1944. pp. 268. 15*s*. 6*d*.

literary discoverer of the South Seas in *Typee*, *Omoo*, *White Jacket* and, of course, *Moby Dick*. That much is granted. But he ought to be studied for very much more. His range of interests was great, his perceptiveness penetrating; he had the great man's genius for fusing his myriad impressions into some principle, some overwhelming conviction, so that the whole varying and ever-expanding pageant became a bird's-eye view which 'gets lodged in the innermost folds of experience'. This experience carried him roving over two opposite worlds. At one pole our acceptance and love of all that is beautiful and soothing within the range of our senses; at the other pole the reality of underlying horrors; the consciousness of evil, madness, sin, and the forces of destruction, of the ancient powers of creation which work freely amid the cannibal life in the depths of the sea, and still survive in our instincts and impulses.

It was Melville's genius to explore the underlying nightmare of reality, and exemplify its grim significance in all he observed and enjoyed throughout his adventurous and restless life. So every novel contained not only vivid pictures of wild seas and exotic lands, but some development of his soul: the tension, between Good and Evil, as mirrored in the observer's searchings of heart. Sedgwick claims that Melville has surpassed Shakespeare when defining this dualism and dichotomy. The actual stories merely externalize the 'tragedy of the mind'. The climax of this moral and artistic endeavour is *Moby Dick* in which the white whale symbolizes evil, Ahab symbolizes man and the theme is 'the mind's effort to sustain itself'. Ahab 'dies in the grip of his own evil, his heart wracked by hate'.

The book is in places somewhat inconclusive and repetitious, but the author died before its final revision.

Rudyard Kipling[6] might also be classed among this group of writers, who were seldom at peace with themselves because rarely at peace with the world around them. So one is glad to turn to a new portrait of this elusive character, presented by a novelist (author of *Tortèval*) who has lived in India. He is a student perhaps more of men than of books and is writing for those who use literature as a telescope or microscope wherewith to satisfy their

[6] *Rudyard Kipling:* a new appreciation by Hilton Brown, with a Foreword by Frank Swinnerton. Hamish Hamilton. pp. 224. 10*s*. 6*d*.

curiosity in human beings. His subject would ask for no more erudite interpreter, though he might not agree with all his commentator's conclusions. Incidentally we learn that his author's first name was Joseph.

Brown reminds us that Kipling was of Scottish extraction, without the slightest touch of Eastern blood, and that his character was a blend of docility and curiosity. Thus, while in India, he was quite content to accept British standards, to believe firmly in the English ideals of administration—in his day, the imperial rulers were at their best—and constituted *The Law* which all lesser breeds must obey. So he had no interest in the social and political movements already stirring beneath the surface. He could not imagine an 'Indian India'. On the other hand, he was fascinated by the surface-glitter and mystery of Oriental civilization. But he never gave himself time to absorb their significance. The experiences and observations which he handled with such brilliance and mastery were the impressions, sometimes the inventions, of a very young man between seventeen and twenty-four years of age.

In 1892 he married into the Balestier family, and went to live with them at Vermont. Many of his admirers will be surprised to learn how that experiment ended in a tragi-comedy—not unlike one of Kipling's own stories—and the almost world famous author hurried back to England, to escape a ridiculous and humiliating situation. In 1902 he finally settled in the 'Old Country', there to live among squires, parsons and peasants, always trying to hide his personal self and domestic intimacies from prying eyes, like a hunted creature, the victim of a privacy complex.

At this period, after the Boer War, the tone of his writing deepens. He begins to turn from assurance to doubt, from soldiers, miners, machinery and imperialism, to mystery and the 'moonlight adventures of the mind'. So his humanity was born, and his genius matured. But he continued to be an irrepressible preacher, almost a Hebrew prophet out of season, and as insatiably curious as ever, though too easily satisfied with the short and ready answer, which his vivid imagination transformed into art.

There follows a good chapter (VI) on 'The Critical Attack'. He was accused of insincerity, brutality, unprogressiveness, the pose of superior wisdom ('spoof omniscience', 'technical pedantries'), false humour. It was alleged that his soldiers and women are unconvincing. By this negative method, discussing and generally

refuting the criticisms, Brown creates a positive idea of his author's accomplishment, and notes that while his own countrymen so often talked about the 'banjo-bard', 'journalese', the 'jingoist', the Continent from the first took him seriously as one of England's great writers.

Lest the reader should still be in doubt, the biographer ends with two chapters on his author's claim to immortality. The advocacy is too discursive to be summarized, nor is it new to Kipling lovers. Others would do well to remember that he acquired his style and method of presentment at one stroke in youth, and maintained a 'relative stability' for over fifty years of vivid and powerful writing. Even if his mind gradually shifted from actuality to mysticism, his manner remained the same—much to the discountenance of the reading public.

Kipling was one of 'Henley's young men', like him a man of action, relying on the resources within himself, and obviously antagonized by certain tendencies in modernist culture, though deeply versed in our older literature. One feels this spirit of protest behind all the authors so far considered. What was their grievance? The answer is supplied in William Gaunt's essay on the aesthetic movement.[7] He maintains that the so-called decadent school was itself a revolt against the culture and personalities which held sway in the mid-Victorian era, and he traces its origin back to influences which began to stir almost as soon as Victoria ascended the throne. Strictly speaking, *The Aesthetic Adventure* is not a book of literary criticism. Gaunt dwells on pictures even more than on books, and on France at least as much as on England, and on personalities even more than on theories. In fact, he is at his best in the evocation of an atmosphere and a background. Some of his observations are worth remembering. For instance, of Pater, 'this Spartan care for form was something new in English literature'; Ruskin's lectures were popular because of their humanity; George Moore's *Confessions of a Young Man* was inspired by J. K. Huysman's *À Rebours* and by *Marius the Epicurean*. Strange as it may sound, he has something to say of Wilde which is new, especially his habit of paradox. If the proverbial wisdom of mankind is natural, then to convert that wisdom into art you must turn it inside out and thereby perhaps hit on a new truth; for instance 'nothing succeeds like

[7] *The Aesthetic Adventure*, by William Gaunt. Cape. pp. 224. 10*s*. 6*d*.

excess'. Gaunt sums up: the aesthetic movement 'had some of the character of a witty play, performed by highly accomplished actors who wrote (very brilliantly) their own words; who also created situations, merely by virtue of their personality, in which there was a comedy they had not intended or foreseen'. No wonder the more active or earnest spirits looked elsewhere for direction and enlightenment.

According to Gaunt, one of the most elusive and erratic adherents of the group was Francis Thompson.[8] He was certainly unfitted to move within their circle, but T. L. Connolly tells us something about his true friends and the gracious influences which softened his wayward existence.

Naturally we hear much—though not too much—about the Meynells, Coventry Patmore, Sir John Lavery, Father Wilkinson and Scawen Blunt. We also learn much about the poet's deep religious sensibilities and the time he spent in Sussex, and above all the significant quotations not only from his published poems, but also from his little-known note-books and diaries. Nevertheless this record is a book to peruse rather than to study. The author has himself the instincts of a poet, especially an awareness of landscape and atmosphere whether in cities, on the South Downs, or by the sea; and his otherwise welcome responsiveness sometimes intervenes between the inquirer and his subject.

We have noted that the authors most worth studying were in revolt against the aesthetic movement which was itself a revolt. Against what? A picturesque and very human answer comes from Sir Osbert Sitwell[9] in the first volume of his fascinating autobiography. Of course it sheds a many-coloured light on the childhood of the rather pathetic little boy of the frontispiece in a mock sailor suit, and on his sister and brother, but the story is not in the least egoistic, except as an opportunity for touches of humour. It is valuable as a close and intimate study of Victorianism in the grandeur of its setting sun. No one can bury themselves in these pages

[8] *Francis Thompson, In His Paths: A Visit to Persons and Places associated with the Poet*, by the Rev. T. L. Connolly. The Bruce Publishing Co. Milwaukee. pp. xii+203. $2.75.

[9] *Left Hand, Right Hand: An Autobiography*, by Osbert Sitwell. Vol. i, *The Cruel Month*. pp. xiii+271. 15*s*.

without knowing more about the opulence and unofficial authority of 'the very important personages' of the kind that Disraeli and Trollope took for granted. Future biographers of the Sitwells will find the volume to be indispensable; so will students of the 'nineties and the Edwardian era.

The Sitwells' story gains in point, if compared with the life of Beatrice Webb.[10] A generation earlier, Miss Potter would have moved in the same circles and been trained to learn the value of money, to play her part in the London season—that other university for good manners, self-control and experience in 'society'—and end by contracting an advantageous marriage. She used to meet many great and rich men, but as the spirit of the new age was in her head she also insisted on meeting many poor men who ought to have been rich or great, and also those who planned to give them a fair chance in the social struggle for life. On this new-world background we catch glimpses of Herbert Spencer, Joseph Chamberlain, Bernard Shaw and the Fabian Society, H. G. Wells as its adherent and then as its opponent, the founding of *The New Statesman*. These contacts might have led no further than an intellectual pastime, if Miss Potter had not married Sydney Webb. Her husband maintained that every social enterprise should not only be organized as a science, but should publicly render an account to the community of its objects and achievements. His slogan was 'measurement and publicity'. So the two settled down to a lifework of documentation, constructiveness and propaganda. If their long series of voluminous treatises are not literature, they exacted the experience of a man of letters. The chapter on 'The Art of Note-taking' in *Methods of Social Study* might have been designed for a scholar studying in the Bodleian. Lest their researches should seem to savour too much of statistics (though they went much further), one must remember that Beatrice's *My Apprenticeship*, which comes to an end in 1932, is a spiritual autobiography, the study of a soul in quest of a profession and a faith. In fact, this book exemplifies a conspicuous tendency in contemporary thought, itself a reaction from the 'activist' ethics of Henley, the virilism of Stevenson, the romantic realism of Kipling, the self-concentration of Hopkins, and the dilettantism of the aesthetic movement.

[10] *Beatrice Webb*, by Margaret Cole. Longmans. pp. 197. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Unfortunately no book has come to hand which arouses our curiosity in the latest phases of literary experience, except David Daiches[11] compact little volume on Virginia Woolf. He points out that in the old days we were all more or less agreed on standards of behaviour, morals, social values, reactions and emotions. The same figures and symbols were in everyone's mind. The Kaiser War saw the final dissolution of this common background of belief and attitudes. The same action or situation now seems something different to every other person. The only standard is each individuality in relation to itself; that is to say: sensibility. Reality is subjective not objective. If human beings are to mean anything to you, you must stand on their level, become a part of them for the nonce, get inside their brains, especially their memories—the complex of hoarded impressions which make up this present moment of their life. Your only *point de repère* is their own past which implies their future.

Such was Virginia Woolf's problem, and Daiches goes carefully through her novels to show how she gradually evolved her point of view and technique. *Mrs. Dalloway*, 'the dissolution of experience into tenuous insights'; *To the Lighthouse*, 'a work in which plot, locale and treatment are so carefully bound up with each other that the resulting whole is more finely organized'; *Orlando*, 'the relation of the individual to the flux of history, of the present moment to the stream of time'; *The Years* 'conveys her unique sensibility by sheer luminosity of language'; *The Waves*, 'more ambitious but more elusive'. In a word the Woolfian personality is a 'unity arising out of continual change, consciousness a continual blending of reminiscence and anticipation'.

Daiches has made a courageous attempt to catch and photograph our most elusive novelist. Readers can be left to decide whether her commentator was well advised to present her way as the only way. In any case they will return to the novels with a livelier curiosity and a clearer discernment.

P. Dickinson's[12] anthology of *Soldiers' Verse* is also stimulating. The majority of the pieces were composed during the last seventy or eighty years, and by poets who used war as the suggestion, the

[11] *Virginia Woolf*, by David Daiches. Editions Poetry. pp. 151. 7*s.* 6*d.*

[12] *Soldiers' Verse*. Verses chosen by P. Dickinson, with Original Lithographs by W. Scott. F. Muller. pp. viii+119. 10*s.* 6*d.*

occasion of their verses. A certain poetic excitement is their real theme. The anthologist intensifies this effect by not classifying his selection under the names of the authors, but distributing them according to the rise and fall of emotion, the 'grateful vicissitude' of moods which is one of the pleasures of reading poetry. So one gets a very fair idea of what modern verse can accomplish and impart; war serving as an inconspicuous link.

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

To the books dealt with above there have to be added notices of a number of articles bearing on this period. A notable feature is the sudden appearance of a variety of studies of Charles Reade's works. On the other hand the prolonged recent flow of articles on Anthony Trollope, with one peculiar exception, almost entirely ceased for the time being in 1945.

J. O. Bailey's article on *Hardy's 'Imbedded Fossil'* (*S. in Ph.*, July), takes its title and starting-point from the scene in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, where Henry Knight hanging to a cliff has his attention arrested by an imbedded fossil, and lets his mind sweep back over all that has befallen 'between this creature's epoch and his own'. This suggests to Bailey an examination of some of the influences of science on Hardy's writings.

Though not scientifically educated he had been strongly attracted by Darwin's *Origin of Species* and the theory of evolution. Bailey gives various examples of his use in the novels of biological terms. He was also specially fond both in his novels and poems of figures of speech from astronomy, and he drew also upon geology and physics.

Bailey discusses the influence of science on Hardy's thought and his character-drawing, and continues, 'His imagination had a way of vaulting out of the immediate mundane world into the realm of science. The process was, apparently, like a double vision, a view of phenomena, and then a view of space-time beyond them. . . . He presented man's life in terms not only of "brief candle" and "grass that is cut down", but of geologic flickers too transitory for the Immanent Will to notice.'

Wayne Burns in *More Reade Notebooks* (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.) gives some account of four of Charles Reade's commonplace books in addition to those described by E. G. Sutcliffe in *S. in Ph.* in 1930. They belonged to the late M. L. Parrish and appear to be now in the Princeton University Library. They contain some of the raw material which Reade worked up into his fiction.

Notebook 1, dated 1861–2, has a note on the inside front cover, 'The true basis of characters in fiction is Biography', and it contains *inter alia* references to a number of biographies on some of which he drew in his novels. Notebook 2 contains chiefly advertisements of houses for sale or to let, and though Reade may have collected them as possible fictional material, they were more probably intended for use in his business transactions. Notebook 3 relates to the United States, and specially to the question of negro slavery, and the notes seem to be either for a projected novel or a work on slavery in U.S.A. Notebook 4 contains notes and newspaper cuttings on women, which illustrate Reade's conception of the sex on which he considered himself an authority.

Emerson G. Sutcliffe discusses *Unique and Repeated Situations and Themes in Reade's Fiction* (*P.M.L.A.*, March). He states that Reade had the romancer's fondness for rare, even unparalleled, incidents and heaped up thousands of them in his notebooks for use in his fiction. He at times draws attention in his novels to the unusual character of the incidents that he is describing. Yet, as Sutcliffe points out, the unusual itself falls into patterns. Hence 'women in men's clothes, premature interment . . . disasters are perennial yet extraordinarily events which are among the staples of journalism and of Reade's notebooks and novels'. Sutcliffe illustrates this fondness for repetition from a number of the novels and seeks to account for Reade's practice. But he pays tribute to Reade's versatility in the choice of his main themes and backgrounds.

Sutcliffe's article was the subject of a leader in *T.L.S.* (14 July) entitled *A Signature Tune.*

Wayne Burns writing on *Pre-Raphaelitism in Charles Reade's Early Fiction* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) examines the nature, intent and originality of the art criticism in *Christie Johnstone* (1850). This has its chief exponent in Charles Gatty who denounces 'the hum-

bugs of the brush, who, to imitate Nature turn their back on her. Paint an out o'door scene indoors!' Reade depicts Gatty as an enthusiastic follower of the main doctrine of the P.R.B., 'to encourage and enforce an entire adherence to the simplicity of nature'. He became a close friend of Millais and gloried in buying his picture of 'Sir Isumbras'.

The pre-Raphaelite doctrine also influenced Reade's own fictional method, of aiming at realistic truth. 'I propose never to guess where I can know.' In order to describe a prisoner in gaol he visited Oxford and Reading prisons. Burns quotes a number of Reade's dicta to the same effect; e.g. 'Fiction is not lying. . . . Let any man look into fiction scientifically, for a change, and he will find all fiction with a bottom is founded on fact.'

In *Thomas Coryat and Charles Reade* (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, April) Henry Bett shows that in writing *The Cloister and the Hearth* Reade borrowed extensively from Coryat's *Crudities* relating his Continental travels in 1608. The list of parallel incidents and linguistic expressions is striking.

Lee Elbert Holt in an article on *The Notebooks of Samuel Butler* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) compares the original six volumes in the Chapin Library of Williams College (with a replica in the British Museum) with the extracts published by Henry Festing Jones, supplemented later by further extracts edited by A. T. Bartholomew. Jones admitted in his preface that he had rearranged and selected his material. But Holt urges that he should have given a more precise account of the extent and nature of his editorial revisions. These were as follow:

Jones omitted the dates of the notes, thus making it impossible to trace the development of Butler's ideas. He amalgamated into one notes written at different times. He omitted sayings by himself which Butler had preserved, or included them in a form which suggested that they were Butler's own remarks. He made a number of verbal changes, some for the sake of clarity, but others for less defensible reasons.

In *Trollope in New Zealand* (*N. & Q.*, 14 July) K.S. recalls that the novelist visited Lake Taupo in the northern island about September 1872. Alfred Cox who visited the lake in the following

year relates a conversation with the local guide who was one of a crew who rowed Trollope on a broiling day both ways across this large lake. The guide complained that though Trollope took many a good nip of whiskey he never offered a tot to the rowers. 'Writing prettily', he said, 'is one thing and acting like a gentleman is another.'

R. E. Walters discusses *Melville's 'Isolatoes'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.). The term was invented by Melville to describe persons 'not acknowledging the common continent of men, but each Isolato living in a separate continent of his own'. Some of these are involuntary outcasts from society, but Melville was more interested in those such as Ahab and Pierre, who chose isolation. Walters argues against the view held by some readers that Melville was sympathetic to extreme individualism and anticipated Nietzsche. He pitied the Isolatoes but regarded them as bringing disaster upon themselves and others.

Tyrus Hillway in *A Note on Melville's Lecture in New Haven* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) refutes the suggestion in *American Notes and Queries* (Oct. 1842) that Herman Melville cancelled a lecture scheduled by the Young Men's Institute in New Haven for 30 December 1857 because of an unfavourable editorial printed that morning in the local *Journal and Courier*. Documentary proof of the delivery of the lecture is provided by a report of the Committee of the Institute. Moreover Melville's account book shows that a fee of fifty dollars was collected for the lecture. Hillway also gives reasons for his view that the editorial was 'not an attack upon Melville but a chivalrous effort to smooth his way'.

In *An Incipient Libel Suit Involving Poe* (*M.L.N.*, May) William H. Gravely, Jr., draws attention to proceedings arising out of the publication in June 1843 issues of *The Dollar Newspaper* of Poe's prize tale, *The Gold Bug*. In the Philadelphia *Daily Forum* for 27 June 1843 appeared an article, 'The Gold Bug—A Decided Humbug', signed 'D.', which Gravely reproduces in full. The writer was Francis H. Duffee, who indicted the tale as a 'signal abortion', and insinuated that the publishers of *The Dollar Newspaper*, the prize-awarding committee and Poe had all connived in a plan to defraud the public.

On 30 June 1843 the *New York Herald* announced that a suit for damages had been brought against Duffee. On 4 July an editorial in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, also reprinted by Gravely, stated specifically that 'Edgar A. Poe, Esq. . . . has commenced a suit for libel against one Francis H. Duffee'. The editorial also made a contemptuous reference to an apology by Duffee in *The Spirit of the Times* on the previous Saturday. It may have been due to this apology that the case seems to have gone no further.

Thomas O. Mabbott in *Sources of Poe's 'Eldorado'* (*M.L.N.*, May) refers to O. S. Coad's interpretation of the poem (see *Y.W.*, xxv, 202), and suggests that it combines echoes of literary sources with references to Poe's personal experiences. Among the literary sources for *Eldorado* Mabbott indicates the last stanza of 'Tom-a-Bedlam Song', H. B. Hirst's 'The Unseen River' in his poetical collection. *Coming of the Mammoth* (1845) and the twelfth chapter of Moore's *Epicurean*.

P. Mansell Jones has followed up his article on *Poe, Baudelaire, and Mallarmé* (see *Y.W.*, xxv, 201) with another on *Poe and Baudelaire: The Affinity* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.). He gives an account of the Frenchman's translations from Poe, beginning in July 1848, and extending especially between 1852 and 1865. Jones points out that though Baudelaire translated *The Raven* his renderings are chiefly of the prose tales. But it is in sending his mother a copy of the poems that he speaks of 'la resemblance intime . . . entre mes poêsies propres et celles de cet homme', and assures her that she will find in them 'du beau et de l'étrange'. It is in these words 'beau' and 'étrange' that Jones finds the clue to the 'resemblance', the affinity between the pair. 'They fit the *Fleurs du Mal* as they do everything Poe wrote.' And Jones adds that this sense of affinity with Poe was stimulated in Baudelaire by a belief in similar misfortunes, and the reaction 'between the mind reflected in the tales and ideas and that of the man who translated or adapted them'.

In *Leopardi and 'The City of Dreadful Night'* (*S. in Ph.*, July) Lyman A. Cotten discusses the relation between the work of the Italian pessimist poet and that of James Thomson. The author of *The City of Dreadful Night* (1880) himself acknowledged such a relation by dedicating the poem to Leopardi, and by prefacing it

with two fragments from his *Canti*. As far back as 1862 in his prose phantasy, *A Lady of Sorrow*, Thomson had quoted four lines from *Amore e Morte*; in November 1867 he had begun publishing a series of translations from Leopardi's *Operette Morali* in the *National Reformer*; and in October 1868 to the same periodical he sent the first instalment of a biography of the Italian poet which ended unfinished in February 1870. In the same year he completed fifteen of the twenty-two cantos of *The City of Dreadful Night*.

One curious link between the two poets was that Leopardi had a horror of his native town, Recanati, similar to Thomson's nightmare vision of London. Some of the phrases used by the Italian about Recanati in his letters, e.g. *l'orrenda notte* seem, as Cotten suggests, to have been the source of the title of Thomson's poem. It is in his letters even more than in his *Canti* that Leopardi gives voice to his despairing cry, '*tutto é nulla*', and it is the letters that 'come closest in tone and expression to *The City of Dreadful Night*', for in Cotten's vivid phrase, 'the classic calm of the *Canti*, even in the utterance of despair, is at the opposite pole from the Gothic shadows and terrors of Thomson's poem'.

To the echoes of other writers in A. E. Housman's poems G. B. A. Fletcher adds a few in *Reminiscences in Housman* (*R.E.S.*, July). The most significant is the comparison of

> *To think that two and two are four,*
> *And neither five nor three,*
> *The heart of man has long been sore,*
> *And so is like to be.*
>
> (*Last Poems*. XXV)

with Dr. Johnson's words at St. Andrews on 19 August 1773. 'Sorrow is interest in humanity. As you cannot judge two and two to be either five or three, but certainly four, so when comparing a worse present state with a better which is past, you cannot but feel sorrow.'

In *The Archetypal Imagery of T. S. Eliot* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) Genevieve W. Foster gives an interpretation of Eliot's earlier poetry in terms of C. J. Jung's views of the relation of analytical psychology to poetic art. 'The worth', she states 'of many writers

of our time embodies the search for a new image and a new value. . . . A group of the poems of T. S. Eliot exhibits both the search and the rising image with peculiar clarity.' In a subtle detailed analytical criticism Miss Foster traces the search for the image in *The Waste Land* and *The Hollow Men*, while in *The Journey of the Magi* and several other poems she finds that the image is gradually apprehended.

Hermann Peschmann in *The Later Poetry of T. S. Eliot* (*English*, Autumn) discusses *The Four Quartets* and their relationship to his earlier work. He traces in some detail the development of the thought in the four poems, *Burnt Norton*, *East Coker*, *The Dry Salvages* and *Little Gidding*, and aims at showing that the charges of reaction brought against Eliot are not justified, that 'the later poetry has evolved clearly, logically, and undeviatingly from the early work . . . the seed of *Little Gidding* was sown in *The Waste Land*'.

Peschmann also finds that these poems exhibit in a striking degree the steady increase of Eliot's mastery of his verbal medium. He even goes as far as to say that he has succeeded in 'the embodying of the ineffable in the clearest and most concrete imagery without in any way compromising its ineffability'.

Mark Baker writes on *Ernest Christopher Dowson* in *English* (Summer). He singles him out as '*par excellence* the poet of the nineties', who had an exceptional gift of handling the Alexandrine like the French Alexandrine as a normal vehicle of expression. Baker emphasizes Dowson's precise choice of words which makes of him 'a very fine technician in verse'. He interweaves his two chief themes of love and death, for his love affairs were unhappy and he was haunted by fears, too soon realized, of an early death. His scope was limited by the fact that he was an urban poet for whom the country was merely an artistic background.

In *The Rediscovery of Emily Dickinson* (*Q.Q.*, Autumn) Coleman Rosenberger tells the remarkable story of the belated publication of much of the best work of this American poetess. The earliest selection of her verse appeared in 1890, four years after her death, and was followed by a second volume in 1891 and a third in 1896. In 1894 two volumes of her letters were edited by Mrs. Todd who

had been part editor of the selected poems. Not till 1914 did a further selection of poems appear, edited by Emily's niece, Madame Bianchi. In 1924 Conrad Aiken made Emily Dickinson 'a figure of international importance' by publishing in London *Selected Poems of Emily Dickinson* with a critical introduction. At the same time Madame Bianchi re-edited the four previous volumes in what she called 'a final complete edition', and also the 1894 edition of the Letters together with a long Life.

Madame Bianchi told Aiken that there were no more of Emily's poems, and a family feud prevented further action till 1945 when Mrs. Todd and her daughter, Mrs. Bingham, edited *Bolts of Melody: New Poems by Emily Dickinson*, which included no less than 668 hitherto unpublished pieces. Mrs. Bingham also related the story of these strange happenings in a volume dealing with Emily's 'literary début'.

The service that Aiken performed for Emily Dickinson is to some degree repeated for himself by G. Rostrevor Hamilton in his paper on *The Floodlit Mind: A Study of Three Poems by Conrad Aiken* in *R.S.L., Essays by Divers Hands*, vol. xxii. The three poems are *Senlin*, *Punch* and *Festus*, which Hamilton considers not to have received their due measure of appreciation. 'The central figure in each poem aspires to be a reflection, if not an epitome, of all mankind.' Hamilton gives a detailed and subtle analysis of each of the poems with illustrative quotations. He compares *Senlin* to a ballet, *Punch* to a puppet-show, and *Festus* to a pageant. Of the three, *Punch* displays most effectively Aiken's mastery over variations of metre and rhythm. *Festus* is the least successful, but taken together the trio vindicate Aiken's claim to be a truly original poetic voice.

An obituary memoir in *T.L.S.* (3 Feb.) of Arthur Symons, who died on 22 January 1945, emphasized the view that he was more truly a creative artist in his best critical prose than in his poetry. He showed his powers when at the age of thirty he published his *Studies in Two Literatures* (1895) followed by *The Symbolist Movement in Literature* (1897). A mental breakdown in 1908 restricted his later output, but in *The Romantic Movement in English Poetry* (1909), *Studies in the Elizabethan Drama* (1920) and other volumes, some of his best work before his breakdown was collected. His

criticism is of a kind that depends little upon systematic thinking and 'must stand or fall by the personal quality of the critic, the particular quality of the object and the power of these two qualities to make happily together'.

Further tributes to Symons, with some additional facts, came from Simon Jesty (*T.L.S.*, 24 Feb.) and Allan Wade (ibid., 10 March).

Charles R. Sanders discusses *Lytton Strachey's Revisions in 'Books and Characters'* (*M.L.N.*, April). He collates the variants in the texts of the essays and reviews republished by Strachey in the above volume (1922) and their original form when they appeared in periodicals from 1904 onwards. Sanders concludes that at that date Strachey already had an unusual sense of style, but that the revisions show that 'his skill and taste continued to develop with time'.

Alice R. Benson discusses *Problems of Poetic Diction in Twentieth-Century Criticism* (*P.M.L.A.*, March). She gives a summary of the views of sixteen English critics during the period from the first writings of the Imagists to the start of the Second World War. A condensed analysis of so many different views on such a subject, even though it is confined to words and does not include metre or rhyme, is necessarily somewhat stiff going though useful for reference. Among the problems dealt with are whether verse is a necessary condition of poetry; whether customary syntax, as contrasted with inversion, furthers the ends of poetry; whether these ends may be met 'by the use of the words of ordinary speech, of words set apart especially for poetry, of archaic words, adjectives, abstractions, and words evoking concrete imagery'. The place of metaphors, figures of speech, and images also comes under review.

Roger L. Green (*English*, Summer) estimates the place to-day of *The Romances of Rider Haggard.* He sketches briefly the career of Haggard, son of a Norfolk squire, especially in South Africa, before the publication of *King Solomon's Mines* and *She* which set him for a few years from 1885 in the front rank of popular novelists. Other successes were *Allan Quartermain* (1887), *The World's Desire* (1890), in collaboration with Andrew Lang, and *Nada the Lily* (1892), which

Green considers his masterpiece. After the publication of *Montezuma's Daughter* (1893) his vogue declined.

Green classes Haggard as 'a born story-teller first and foremost, and as such almost without a rival'. He was more a man of action than a student and the story was thus more important to him than the form. It is to the epic or saga literature that Haggard's romances are to be compared. He had no special gift for characterization though his women are more successful than his men, and when he began to aim at a 'style' which was not natural to him, it was laboured. But even in his later adventure and other romances he retained his vivid narrative powers, and Green finally claims 'that of all writers of pure fiction, certainly for the last hundred years, Rider Haggard got nearest to the true spirit and innermost meaning of romance as a real influence on our lives and thoughts'.

Green also writes on *Lewis Carroll and the St. James's Gazette* (*N. & Q.*, 7 April). Between May 1881 and December 1890 twenty-four letters by C. L. Dodgson appeared in the *St. James's Gazette*, then edited by Frederick Greenwood. Of these only three have been recorded. They are on a variety of subjects, some of them under Dodgson's own name, others under his pseudonym. The most significant of them, here reproduced in full, is a retort on 19 July 1867 to some Kensington ladies who were trying to have it made illegal for children under ten to act on the professional stage. Dodgson gives an account of three very lively children with whom he had spent an afternoon on the Brighton Pier, and who had been acting in a dramatized version of *Alice in Wonderland*, one of them playing the chief part.

In an article on '*The Black Band*' *Scandal* (*T.L.S.*, 17 Feb.) Montague Summers gives for the first time a full list of the romances contributed by Miss Braddon in serial form to the *Halfpenny Journal*, belonging to John Maxwell, whom later she married. In number one of the *Halfpenny Journal*, 1 July 1861, began *The Black Band, or The Mysteries of Midnight* by Lady Caroline Lascelles, which was concluded on 23 June 1862. It was followed by a number of other serials by the author of *The Black Band*. When *The Black Band* was published in New York by Hilton and Co., under the title *What is this Mystery?* Miss Braddon denied that she was the author. This was one of the circum-

stances that led to an attack on her in *The Athenaeum* of 16 February 1867. The developments that followed are traced in detail by Summers who also suggests why she was anxious to preserve her anonymity.

In *N. & Q.* (21 Oct. 1944) L. J. R. Bailey gave an account of the Royal West London Theatre in the nineteenth century from the 1830s to 1847. In *Fresh Notes on the Royal West London Theatre in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (*N.&.Q.*, 16 June) Gerald Morris supplies further information from playbills and carries on the story of this theatre till 1892. On 12 December of that year there was a jubilee celebration of its re-opening and rebuilding by John Loveridge on 12 December 1842. Morris claims that it is the senior extant Tudor playhouse.

Charles D. Williams has some *Notes on Juvenile Drama* in *N. & Q.* (14 July). They include, *inter alia*, an account of the plays for toy theatres published since 1919 by Lines of Oxford Street, particularly a new version, with seven characters, of 'Sinbad the Sailor'. Williams mentions among users of the toy theatre J. E. Flecker, John Gielgud, F. Anstey and Noel Coward. He adds details of his own experiences with juvenile drama, both as a boy and, for the benefit of others, as an adult.

Williams's notes may be taken as a supplement to an article dealing with an antecedent period for *Juvenile Drama* by M. W. Stone in the first number (Oct.) of a new quarterly, *Theatre Notebook*. Stone gives an account of the beginnings of Juvenile Drama about 1812 with the plays published by William West and J. H. Jameson. He gives a list of the latter's plays up to 1827. A change then took place, when the Skelts and J. K. Green issued lower priced plays intended not for younger people but for actual children, and juvenile drama became the toy theatre.

XV

BIBLIOGRAPHICA

By STRICKLAND GIBSON

THE most important bibliographical work published in 1945 bearing on English studies was Donald Wing's *Short-title Catalogue of English Books from 1641 to 1700*, vol. 1.[1] The catalogue represents the holdings of 210 libraries and collections in Great Britain, Ireland, Canada, the United States, and five Continental libraries. Every common book has been given ten locations, five in Great Britain and five in the United States. In the former class the editor has attempted to record one copy in Scotland and one in Ireland, as well as in London, Oxford and Cambridge. The Catalogue, which when complete will contain over 80,000 entries, follows the main lines of the Bibliographical Society's *Short Title Catalogue*, but with some important differences. Periodicals are excluded, asterisks indicate pamphlets of less than 50 pages, and main entries are numbered consecutively within each letter of the alphabet with the alphabetical letter prefixed to the number. References are also given to eleven standard bibliographies (cf. Madan, Keynes, Fulton, Steele, etc.). The writer of the general introduction says of the Catalogue what Pollard said of the S.T.C., that it is 'a dangerous work for any one to handle lazily' and that those who use the 'book as anything more than a finding-list must be on their guard'. The opening words of every title 'have been regarded as sacred', and anonymous books have been rigorously catalogued under the first word of the title, not an article. For instance, *Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough* is under ADAM; *An Elegie upon Dr. Tho. Fuller* is under ELEGY. Unfortunately many Latin titles are so abbreviated as to be meaningless. An entry under CAMBRIDGE, *Mœstissimæac lætissimæ academiæ* (1684–5) may readily suggest to the historian events that made the University both mournful and

[1] *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English books printed in other countries 1641–1700*, compiled by Donald Wing. Vol. I, A1–E2926. Printed for the Index Society. Columbia Univ. Press: New York. pp. xvii+562.

joyful, but is generally unhelpful. In the same heading we suspect that some 'sacred words' have been omitted in *Threnodia in obitum* (1670). Wing's *Catalogue* is a great achievement and scholars should repay him by careful and unhurried usage.

In 1942 the Bibliographical Society commemorated its jubilee by publishing a collection of retrospective studies.[2] Everyone will agree that the Society has been the chief inspirer of bibliographical investigation in this country, and that its contribution to English studies has been of outstanding importance. F. C. Francis traces the history of the Society from which it appears that Dr. Copinger sowed the seed, which, watered and fostered by Pollard, has produced such a noble growth of scholarly works. Greg contributes the chapter on Bibliography. His view that bibliography is the study of books (MS. and printed) as material objects was put forward in *The Library* as long ago as 1914. Here it is reaffirmed. 'In the ultimate resort', he says, 'the object of bibliographical study is . . . to reconstruct for each particular book the history of its life, to make it reveal in its most intimate detail the story of its birth and adventures as the material vehicle of the living word.' He also emphasizes the close connexion of bibliography with textual criticism which 'leads one to wonder whether it may not in the end be necessary to bring most textual criticism within the province of bibliography'. F. S. Ferguson writes on English books printed before 1641, noting the chief articles that have appeared in *The Library* and the circumstances that led to the publication of the *Short-Title Catalogue*, the tentative programme of which was sketched by Pollard in his 'Plans for bibliographical work in the sixteenth century'. Ferguson gives the welcome news that a chronological rearrangement of the Catalogue is in progress 'which will make the information more easily useful to students of the development of English culture and of the history of printing'.

The most valuable study in the volume is F. P. Wilson's *Shakespeare and the 'New Bibliography'* in which Pollard, Greg, and McKerrow have been the chief actors. In his first chapter Wilson investigates the beginning to 1909, a period which saw Greg's *List of Plays written before 1643* (1900) and *Masques and Pageants*

[2] *The Bibliographical Society, 1892–1942: Studies in Retrospect.* Cambridge U.P. for the Bibliographical Society. pp. vii+215.

(1902), the first important contributions of the Society to English studies. Then, in 1908, came Pollard and Greg's examination of imprints; entry or non-entry in the Stationers' Register; licensing; and piracy. The remaining chapters are on 'The printing of plays', 'Dramatic MSS.'; 'The Copy for the Quartos and the Folio'; and 'Principles of textual criticism'. Wilson in sixty pages has written the best summary so far of bibliographical method applied to Shakespeare and the dramatists, of which Greg is the acknowledged master.

The activities of the Society in the eighteenth and nineteenth century studies have been inconsiderable. Those of the eighteenth century, mostly represented by articles in *The Library*, are recorded of Harold Williams. For contributions to the nineteenth century Michael Sadleir has even less material, but he pays a well-deserved tribute to T. J. Wise. 'Between 1880 and 1907', he says, 'only three works appeared which actually bore his name; but his ceaseless activity as a collector, as an avowed producer of fascimiles of rare items, and as a zealous member of the Shelley, Browning and Brontë Societies, was a stimulus to nineteenth-century bibliographical research that can hardly be over-stressed.' To this might be added Wise's generosity in lending his treasures for the use of scholars.

Two important books supplementing Carter and Pollard's *Enquiry into the nature of certain 19th century pamphlets* were published in the United States, both edited by Fannie E. Ratchford. In the *Letters of T. J. Wise to J. H. Wrenn*,[3] which provides an interesting side-light on the formation of the Wrenn Library, Miss Ratchford seeks to prove that in the forging of *Runaway slave at Pilgrim's Point* Edmund Gosse was accessory. Mr. Blunden, however, has definitely rejected Miss Ratchford's identification of Gosse's handwriting on the proof-sheet. *Between the Lines*[4] is important as it prints (with facsimile) 'the only document yet brought to light directly naming Wise as forger and with him H. Buxton Forman as accessory'. The incriminating statement is in Wise's hand

[3] *Letters of Thomas J. Wise to John Henry Wrenn*, ed. by Fannie E. Ratchford. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. pp. xiv+591+xvii. $7.50.

[4] *Between the Lines. Letters and memoranda interchanged by H. Buxton Forman and Thomas J. Wise. With a foreword by Carl H. Pforzheimer and an introductory essay and notes by Fannie E. Ratchford.* Austin: Texas (Univ. of Texas Press). pp. xii+33 (25 plates). $8.

and reads, 'Quite so, and we print "Last Tournament" in 1896 & want "someone to think" it was printed in 1871'.[5] This lamentable and sordid history of forgery and fraudulent book-dealing has one bright side for the University of Texas—'Wise gave Wrenn much more than any dealer ever gave his client, for without Wise's knowledge, experience, and energy Wrenn—or any other collector of his day—could not have built the Wrenn Library.'

The attention of students interested in seventeenth-century dramatic literature has been drawn in Chapter XI, p. 153–5 a very useful work of reference in Woodward's and McManaway's *Check list of English plays, 1641–1700.*[6] Location of copies is given in sixteen American libraries; reference to English libraries is given only when the item in question is not to be found in America. The compilers state that three-fourths of the 1,340 separate items are both available in the Folger and the Huntington Libraries, and that Harvard and Yale each possess more than half.

Although McMurtrie's bibliography[7] of Mississippi imprints does not directly bear on English studies, it is just worth recording that out of the 230 titles, representing a literary output of thirty-three years, only four can be described as 'literature', all in verse. The first production of the Mississippi press was *The galley slave, a ballad,* but no copy has survived.

The bicentenary of the death of Swift was commemorated at Cambridge by an exhibition to which H.M. the King, Lord Rothschild, and Mr. Harold Williams contributed all the exhibits except four. This was the finest collection of Swift's work, manuscript and printed, ever to be shown in public.[8]

[5] See also *T.L.S.*, 28 April, 14, 21 July 1945; 1 June, 28 Sept., 14 Dec. 1946; 10 May 1947. *J.E.G.P.*, XLIV, pp. 229–38 (1945).

[6] *A Check List of English Plays 1641–1700*, compiled by Gertrude L. Woodward and James G. McManaway. Chicago: The Newberry Library. pp. x+156.

[7] *A Bibliography of Mississippi Imprints, 1798–1830*, by Douglas C. McMurtrie. The Book Farm, Beauvoir Community. Mississippi. pp. 168.

[8] *A Catalogue of Printed Books and Manuscripts by Jonathan Swift. Exhibited in the University of Cambridge to commemorate the 200th anniversary of his death, 19th October, 1945.* C.U.P.

The following articles appeared in *The Library*.[9] In *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (Dec. 1944–March 1945) W. W. Greg reviews in detail William Amos Abrams's edition of that play, published in 1942. Abrams reprints in his edition the chapbook, *The Life and Death of the merry Deuill of Edmonton*, by T.B. with which the play is closely connected. On the relation between the play and the chapbook Greg contributes some valuable comments. While paying a tribute to Abrams's conscientious editing, diligence, and general success Greg nevertheless points out that he has failed to overcome all the difficulties in a play that presents an unusual number of problems to an editor. See also above, Chapter VIII, p. 112.

In the same number Allan H. Stevenson writes on *Shirley's publishers: the partnership of Crooke and Cooke*. When Shirley resided in Dublin (1636–40) thirteen first quartos of his plays were published in London. The relevant entries in the Stationers' Register and the imprints of the plays show that certain bookshops in London and Dublin were associated with his publishers. The article is a useful contribution to literary relations between London and Dublin. (See also above, p. 119.)

The June number of *The Library* was presented to Walter Wilson Greg on the occasion of his seventieth birthday and contains a complete list of his writings based on his own list. The same number also contains an article by F. P. Wilson on *English Proverbs and Dictionaries of Proverbs*.

J. B. Leishman in *You meaner beauties of the Night* (Sept.–Dec.) has written an illuminating and amusing essay on transmission and transmogrification. Sir Henry Wotton's poem to the Queen of Bohemia (1620) first appeared in Est's *Sixt set of bookes* (1624), but in a very corrupt or very unrevised form. Leishman, having consulted all the MS. and printed versions in the Bodleian as well as the Wyatt MS., regards as authentic the version published by Isaak Walton in the *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1651).

J. M. Nosworthy's article on *The Marlowe manuscript*, now in the Folger Library, giving in an expanded form lines 812–27 of *The Massacre at Paris*, has been noticed more fully above (see Chap. VIII, pp. 104-5). The conclusion is that the MS. appears to be

[9] *The Library* (*Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*). New Series, vols. xxv, xxvi, Nos.3–4; Nos. 1, 2, 3.

an original first draft. *The Massacre at Paris* was printed between 1594 and 1596 in octavo, of which a copy with a few MS. notes is preserved in the Malone collection.

In *Notes on the Malone Society reprint of 'The Cobler's Prophecy'* Irene Mann attempts to explain, amplify, and correct the editors' comments on the bibliographical peculiarities of the quarto. The edition was based on collations of the British Museum, Bodleian, and Dyce copies. Miss Mann bases her discussion on the collation of five copies of the play in the Dyce, Harvard, Folger, Huntington and Pforzheimer Libraries.

In the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*[10] Harold S. Jantz surveys an almost unexplored field in *Unrecorded verse broadsides of seventeenth-century New England.* These broadsides, thirty-five in number, all printed between 1658 and 1700, are, all but three, funeral elegies. They rank low as literary compositions, but as the author of the paper says, they have the 'fascination of first things'. *The sweet singer of Michigan bibliographically considered* by A. H. Greenly is an account of the life and works of Julia A. Moore (1847–1920), a super-comic mortuary poet commended by Mark Twain, Bill Nye, Stephen Leacock, and Eugene Field. Her opposite number is Great Britain in Amanda McKittrick Ros. In *The early projected work of Nathaniel Hawthorne* Nelson F. Adkins examines and attempts to reconstruct the more important literary plans which Hawthorne failed to bring to completion. It was to such work that Hawthorne referred when he wrote of 'shadowy volumes of mine, more in number, and very much superior in quality, to those which I have succeeded in rendering actual'. The 'newest bibliography' is represented by *Dickens' Christmas Carol after a hundred years: a study in bibliographical evidence*, where Philo Calhoun and Howell J. Heaney describe the first state of the first issue of *A Christmas Carol* (1843). In their opinion the title-page should be printed in red and blue (not green), and the end-papers should be yellow (not green). The other clue is STAVE I (not ONE).

Under the rather obscure title *Annotated bibliography of A. E. Housman* (*P.M.L.A.*, June), R. W. Stallman brings together the evaluations of Housman's poetry and poetic-theory published

[10] Vol. 39. New York. $3.

from 1920 to 1945. He believes that 'for a stock-taking of criticism during the last quarter of a century, Housman's poetry and Housman's criticism suggests a perfect focal-point'. It is a valuable addition to Ehrsam's *Bibliography of A. E. Housman* (Boston, 1941).

The Bodleian Library acquired Ruskin's unpublished diary in about thirty volumes and a large collection of letters. These came with Mr. J. H. Whitehouse's gift to the University of Oxford of Ruskin's estate at Brantwood. Their eventual publication is vested in a committee of management in consultation with the Bodleian Curators.[11] The library also received as a donation from the Delegates of the Clarendon Press a 2nd Folio with the very rare Richard Hawkins' imprint. Two notable purchases were *Ignorancia Sacerdotum*, a fifteenth-century discourse in English, hitherto unrecorded, upon the elements of Christian belief and practice, and upon sin;[12] and *The First part of the nature of a woman. Fitly described in a Florentine historie, composed by C.M.* (London 1596), the only known copy.[13] The Bodleian already possessed the unique copy of the *Second part*.

The year was remarkable for the number of medieval MSS. that were sold by auction, mostly from the Harmsworth Library. The most important was the Ireland MS. of the Arthurian Romance which had been edited by J. Robson in 1842 for the Camden Society; this fetched £750. Other MSS. were Wyclif's version of the N.T. revised by John Purvey (fifteenth century), £310; a Wycliffite commentary on the Psalms (fourteenth century), £200; *Pricke of conscience* (fourteenth century), £85; another MS. of the same work with *The form of perfect living* and the *Lay Folk's Mass-Book* (fifteenth century), £100; a verse translation of the *Speculum vitae* (*c.* 1390), £120; *Lume au lais*, Rich's *Le miroir de l'Eglise*, etc., with two short poems in English, 'Swete ihu king of blise and 'Cristene man thu lerne of love' (fourteenth century), £195; a volume containing Maydestone's *Seven penitential Psalms*, *Pricke of conscience*, and the *Lamentations of St. Anselm* (*c.* 1400), £130; a metrical version of *Speculum humanae Salvationis* (fif-

[11] *Bodleian Annual Report, 1944–5.*
[12] *Bodleian Library Record.* ii. pp. 147–8.
[13] *Bodleian Annual Report, 1945–6.*

teenth century, edited for the Roxburghe Club by H. Huth in 1888), £180; a volume (*c.* 1400) containing *The epistle of Susannah, Quia amore langueo* (a sermon in English), the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, and *Vita de Dowele Dobet et Dobest secundum wit & reson* (757 lines, beg. 'Then irobid in russet I romyd abowten'), £225; Lydgate's translation of the *Troy Book* (late fifteenth century, used by H. Bergen for his edition of Lydgate E.E.T.S.), £240; Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* (fifteenth century), £110; Mannyng's *Handlyng synne* (fifteenth century), £98; Parker's *Dives and Pauper* (*c.* 1470), £92; *Pore caytif* (fifteenth century), £105; *Chronicle of Brute* (*c.* 1450), £165; the rhyming Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester (fifteenth century), £150; and Wotton's *Speculum Christiani* containing five sets of verses in English (fifteenth century), £100.

MSS. of a later date included *Ane buik off roundells* collected by David Melvill (1612) and containing 96 roundels and ten songs, mostly in the Lowland Scots dialect, £370; the autograph of Swift's *Atlas, Written 1712, to the Earl of Oxford*, £140; thirty letters of Samuel Johnson to Dr. John Taylor, £580; the autograph of Cowper's 'On Mrs. Montagu's feather hangings', £20; the correspondence of Thomas Gray with the Rev. William Mason from the Wantage Collection, £500; and an autograph letter of Malone to George Stevens (19 Aug. 1777) relating to his *Attempt to ascertain the order in which the plays of Shakespeare were written*, £15.

Four important collections of autograph letters and works of nineteenth-century authors were also sold at auction. These were autograph letters and works of William Godwin; thirty-one letters from Charles Lloyd and his wife to Thomas Manning; a collection of autograph letters of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Charlotte Brontë, Robert Browning, Swinburne, Ruskin, Gissing and Fitzgerald; and another collection of letters and MSS. of Victorian authors connected with the publishing firm of Bentley. Other nineteenth-century MSS. of interest were Hazlitt's *The damned author's address to his reviewers*; some poems by Borrow, £39; Rossetti's 'St. Agnes of intercession', an autobiographical item, £50; nine letters of Rossetti to Browning (1863–72), £44; and the autograph MS. of Trollope's *The Eustace diamonds*, £540; the MS.

of Charles and Mary Lamb's *Pride's Cure* was sold in the United States for $3,600.

Among printed books the following were the most important: Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman* (1550), £39; Recorde's *Whetstone of witte* (1557 and 1596), £82; *Seneca his tenne tragedies* (1581), £31; Nashe's *Martins months minde* (1589), £26; *The ende of Nero and beginning of Galba* (Oxf., 1591), £26; Spenser's *Shepheards Calendar* (1597), £42; Romei's *Courtiers academie* (1598), £66; Garzoni's *Hospitall of incurable fooles* (1600), £40; Nashe's *Summers last will* (1600), poor copy. £42; Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (1605-6), poor copy, £34; N. Baxter's *Sir Philip Sydney's Ourania* (1606), poor copy, £86; *The returne from Pernassus* (1606), 1st and 2nd editions, £130 and £80; Tourneur's *Revengers tragœdie*, 1st ed., 2nd issue (1608), £32; Spenser's *Works* (1611), £20; Marlowe's *Troublesome raigne of Edward the Second* (1612), poor copy, £55; Montaigne's *Essayes* (1613), £17; *The Weakest goeth to the wall*, 2nd ed. (1618), £62; J. Greene's *A refutation of the apology for actors* (1615), £37; Marston's *Jack Drums entertainment* (1616), £65; Shakespeare, 1st Folio, poor copy, £1,800; Herbert's *Temple*, 1st ed. (1633), poor copy, £45; Pope's *Essay on man*, 1st ed. with other first editions (1732–5), £110; a presentation copy of Lamb's *Essays of Elia*, 2 vols. (1833), £340; and E. B. Browning's *Battle of Marathon* (1820), £200. A collection of children's books sold at Sotheby's fetched £2,400; and a copy of Shelley's *Adonais* (1821) fetched $3,250 in New York.

INDEX I

AUTHORS AND TITLES

Abbott, W. C. (ed.), *Writings and Speeches of O. Cromwell*, 136
Adams, J. Q., *Author-Plot of an early-Seventeenth-Century Play*, 116
Adams, R. P., *Designs in More and Erasmus for a New Social Order*, 78
Adkins, N. F., *Early projected work of N. Hawthorne*, 235
Ainsworth, E. G. and Noyes, C. E., *C. Smart*, 172
Aldridge, A. O., *Shaftesbury and the Test of Truth*, 180; *Akenside and Imagination*, 181
Alexander, P., *Shakespeare's Punctuation*, 93
Allen, D. C., *A Note on Lyly's 'Midas'*, 104; *J. Donne's 'Paradise and Calvarie,'* 138
Akrigg, G. P. V., *The Renaissance Reconsidered*, 77
Anderson, M., *Alice Chaucer and her Husbands*, 59
Arngart, O., *The Word 'Shilling'*, 29
Atkinson, D. F., *One 'R.P.'*, 128; *Authorship of 'Mirror of Knighthood', Part Nine*, 128
Austin, H. D., *Origin of 'sundae'*, 30
Avery, E. L., *'I and II Henry IV' during first half of Eighteenth Century*, 98

Bailey, J. O., *Hardy's 'Imbedded Fossil'*, 219
Bailey, L. J. R., *The Royal West London Theatre*, 229
Baines, A. H. J., *Topography of 'L'Allegro'*, 147
Baker, C., *'Where once stood their plain homely dwelling'*, 177
Baker, M., *E. C. Dowson*, 225
Bald, R. C., *The Foul Papers of a Revision*, 117
Baldwin, T. W., *Passages which Spenser borrowed from Marlowe*, 105
Ball, R. H., *Cinthio's 'Epitia' and 'Measure for Measure'*, 91
Barnett, G. L., *G. Harvey's 'Castilio sive Aulicus' and 'De Aulica'*, 83
Bate, W. J., *Sympathetic Imagination in Eighteenth-Century English Criticism*, 181; *Hazlitt and Romantic Conception of the Imagination*, 197
Battenhouse, R. W., *Chapman and the Nature of Man*, 111, 127
Baum, P. F., *Chaucer's 'Glorious Legende'*, 57
Behre, F. *English gal (e), gol, goal*, 29
Bell, A., *'Teseillun'*, 28
Bell, C. F., *T. Gray and the Fine Arts*, 171; *Blake and Flaxman*, 182
Bell, K. H., *Shakespeare's History Plays*, 98
Benham, A. R., *Sir J. Suckling, 'A Session of the Poets'*, 139
Benkovitz, M. J., *'Prologue of Demon' of 'Ludus Coventriae'*, 72
Bennett, H. S., *Fifteenth-Century Secular Prose*, 71
Bennett, J. A. W., *Early Fame of Gawin Douglas's 'Eneados'*, 70; *Traherne in Brasenose Book of Benefactors*, 139
Benson, A. R., *Poetic Diction in Twentieth-Century Criticism*, 227
Bentley, G. E., *Shakespeare and Jonson: their Reputations in the Seventeenth Century*, 100, 115
Bentley, N. E., *Hudibras' Butler Abroad*, 156
Bethurum, D., *Shakespeare's Comment on Medieval Romance in 'M.N.D.'*, 92
Bett, H., *T. Coryat and C. Reade*, 221
Bickersteth, H. L., *Lectures for Eng. Assoc., Plymouth*, 11, 167
Blackburn, W., *Background of M. Arnold's 'Literature and Dogma'*, 203
Blum, E., *Shakespeare in the U.S.S.R.*, 101
Blunden, E., *'Elegant Extracts' of V. Knox*, 178
Boas, F. S., *Songs and Lyrics from the English Playbooks*, 17; *The Wars of Cyrus*, 87
Boas, G., *School Book of Light Verse*, 18

Boas, R. P., and Boas, R. P. Jr., *'Impeticos'* in *Twelfth Night*, II. iii
Bohman, H., *Studies in the M.E. Dialects of Devon and London*, 75
Bone, F. M. H., *'Shoote within' in 'L.L.L.'*, 99
Bone, G., *'Beowulf' in Modern Verse*, 39
Bonnard, G. (ed.), *Le Journal de Gibbon à Lausanne*, 160; *L'Importance du Deuxième Séjour de Gibbon à Lausanne*, 161
Bouslog, C. S., *Symbol of the Sod Seat in Coleridge*, 187
Boutemy, A. (ed.), *Extraits du 'De Nugis Curialum'*, 62
Bowers, F., *Evidences of Revision in 'F.Q.', III, i. ii*, 124
Bowra, C. M., *From Virgil to Milton* 143
Boyd, G. F., *Byron's 'Don Juan'*, 187
Bradner, L., *Spenser's Connections with Hampshire*, 122
Bressie, R., *Modern textual corruptions in M.S. Cambridge Additional 3470*, 73
Briggs, H. E., *Keats's ... Reactions to Criticism of 'Endymion'*, 190
Brogan, H. O., *Thomas Moore*, 197
Brown, H., *Gloss to the 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner'*, 186
Brown, Hilton, *R. Kipling*, 213
Brown, I., *I Give You my Word*, 17
Brown, W. C., *Churchill's Mastery of the Heroic Couplet*, 181
Bryson, G., *Man and Society*, 179
Buckley, J. H., *W. E. Henley*, 210
Buell, L. M., *A. Golding and the Earthquake of 1580*, 129
Bühler, C. F., *Campsall MS. of 'Troilus and Criseyde'*, 56; *Kelmscott Edition of the 'Psalmi Penitentiales' and Morgan MS.*, 73
Bullitt, J., and Bate, W. J., *Fancy and Imagination in Eighteenth-Century English Criticism*, 181
Burch, C. E., *Defoe and his Northern Printers*, 163; *'Defoe's first Seasonable Warning'*, 163; *An unassigned Defoe Pamphlet*, 163
Burns, W., *More Reade Notebooks*, 220; *Pre-Raphaelitism in C. Reade's Early Fiction*, 220
Bush, D., *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600–1660*, 133; *'Paradise Lost' in Our Time*, 145
Butterfield, L. H., *Annis and the General*, 172
Buxton, C. R., *Prophets of Heaven and Hell*, 143

Cady, F. W., *Inciting force in Shakespeare's Tragedies*, 95
Caldiero, F., *W. Wordsworth, Brooke and Masefield*, 185
Caldwell, J. R., *J. Keats' Fancy*, 189
Cameron, K. N., *Shelley and the Reformers*, 192; *Shelley's use of substitute material in 'Charles I'*, 192; and Frenz, H., *Stage History of 'The Cenci'*, 192
Carpenter, N. C., *Chaucer's Mother*, 59
Case, A. E., *Swift and Sir W. Temple*, 165
Castelain, M. (trs.) *Le Viol de Lucrèce*, 102
Carson, W. J. B. (ed.), *Letters of Mr. and Mrs. Kean relating to their American Tours*, 206
Cazamian, L., *L'Humour de Shakespeare*, 98
Cecil, Lord D., *Poetry of T. Gray*, 170; *F. Burney's Novels*, 178
Chambers, Sir E. K., *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages*, 76
Chapman, C. O., *Virgil and the 'Gawain-Poet'*, 65
Chapman, R. W., *Two Centuries of Johnsonian Scholarship*, 168; *Formal Parts of Johnson Essays*, 178
Chaytor, H. J., *From Script to Print*, 61
Chew, S. C., *Iconography of a Book of Christian Prayers*, 131; *R. Verstegan and the 'Amorum Emblemata' of O. van Veen*, 131, 138
Churchill, J. C., *Keats and Marlowe*, 107, 190
Clark, D. L., *An Unpublished Shelley Letter*, 194
Clark, W. D., *Hazlitt and Rousseau*, 197
Clarke, G. H., *Dickens Now*, 200
Clifford, J. L., *Mrs. Piozzi's Letters*, 178

Cline, R. H., *Four Chaucer Saints*, 49
Cohen, C., *Thomas Paine*, 171
Cohen, B. J., *A Catullian Echo in 'The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois'*, 109
Coffman, G. R. (ed.), *Studies in Language and Literature*, 24, 36; *Chaucer and Courtly Love Once More*, 50
Coghill, N., *The Pardon of Piers Plowman*, 67
Colcord, J. C., *Sea Language Comes Ashore*, 37
Cole, M., *Beatrice Webb*, 217
Collinson, W. E., *Basic English as an International Language*, 35
Connolly, T. L., *F. Thompson, in his Paths*, 216
Corcoran, M. I., *Milton's Paradise with reference to the Hexameral Background*, 142
Cotten, L. A., *Leopardi and 'The City of Dreadful Night'*, 223
Craig, H., *Recent Scholarship of the English Renaissance*, 77; *'The Shrew' and 'A Shrew'*, 94
Crawford, C. E., *E. Young and Wycombe Election*, 182
Crewe, Marquess of (ed.), *Essays by Divers Hands*, vol. xxii, 9
Crundell, H. W., *Chapman and the Grevilles*, 111

Daiches, D., *V. Woolf*, 218
Danby, J. F., *The Fool in 'King Lear'*, 96
Danchin, F. C. (trs.) *Timon d'Athènes*, 102
Daniells, R., *Baroque Form in English Literature*, 135
Darbishire, H., *A Phrase of Wordsworth's*, 184
Davis, C. R., *Ælfric's Translation of Job i, 6*, 46
Davis, H., *Some Swift MSS. in U.S.A.*, 165; *Conciseness of Swift*, 177
Dean, L. F., *Mercutio and medlars*, 97
Deane, A. C., *Time Remembered*, 12
Dewar, R., *R. Burns*, 178
Dickins, B., *The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy*, 70
Dickinson, P. (ed.) *Soldiers' Verse*, 218
Dodds, M. H., *A Forrest Tragaedye in Vacunium*, 119; *Gondal Poems and E. Brontë*, 203
Donaghy, J. L., *W. Allingham*, 204
Draper, J. W., *The Humors and Shakespeare's Characters*, 89; *Tempo of Shylock's Speech*, 99
Dunkin, P. S., *Authorship of 'The Fatal Extravagance'*, 167
Dyson, H. V. D., *'The Old Cumberland Beggar' and the Wordsworthian Unities*, 179

Eddy, W. A. (ed.), *Satires and Personal Writings by J. Swift*, 162
Ekwall, E., *Variations in Surnames in Medieval London*, 74
Ellis-Fermor, U., *The Frontiers of Drama*, 7
Elton, O., Grierson, Sir H. . . . and Webster, A. B. (eds.), *George Saintsbury: The Memorial Volume*, 11
Engel, C.-E., *Shakespeare in Switzerland in the XVIIIth Century*, 101
Ericson, E. E., *Dialect of Up-State New York*, 36
Ettlinger, L., *Carlyle on Portraits of Frederick the Great*, 200
Evans, B., *Psychiatry of R. Burton*, 135
Evans, B. I., *Lessons of the 'Areopagitica'*, 148
Evans, G. B., *A Seventeenth-Century Reader of Shakespeare*, 100
Evans, W. Mc., *An Early Lovelace Text*, 139
Ewing, E., *Burns's First Visit to Edinburgh*, 171
Ewing, J. C., *Some Missing Burns MSS.*, 171

Fan, T. C., *Percy and Du Halde*, 160
Fellheimer, J., *G. Fenton's 'Historie of Guiccardini' and Holinshed's 'Chronicles' of 1587*, 82
Ferguson, F. S., *English books printed before 1641*, 231
Finch, J. S., *C. Lamb's 'Companionship . . . in almost Solitude'*, 197
Fink, Z. S., *The Classical Republicans*, 149
Flatter, R., *Mad, Made and Maid in 'Henry IV', II, iv*; also Nosworthy, J., 98
Fletcher, G. B. A., *Reminiscences in Housman*, 224
Fletcher, H. F. (ed.), *J. Milton's Poetical Works reproduced in Photographic Facsimile, vols. i and ii*, 140

Fogle, R., *Abstractness of Shelley*, 193; *Romantic Bards and Metaphysical Reviewers*, 194
Foster, G. W., *Archetypal Imagery of T. S. Eliot*, 224
Francis, F. C., *Bibliographical Society*, 231
French, J. M., *Notes on Milton*, 148
French, W. H., *'Widsith' and the Scop*, 41; *Franklin's Tale, l. 942*, 51
Funke, O., *Wege and Ziele*, 16, 28, 29

Galway, M., *Chaucer's Hopeless Love*, 53
Gardner, W. H., *G. M. Hopkins*, 209
Garrod, H. W., *Donne and Mrs. Herbert*, 117; *Latin Poems addressed by Donne to Dr. Andrews*, 135; *Composition of Gray's Elegy*, 178
Gates, W. B., *Reality of Shakespeare's Supers*, 91
Gaunt, W., *The Aesthetic Adventure*, 215
Generosa, M., *Apuleius and 'M.N.D.'*, 99
Gide, A. (trs.), *Hamlet*, 102
Gilbert, A. H., *Milton quotes from Petrarch?* 150
Gillett, E. (ed.), *Elizabeth Ham by Herself*, 162
Goffin, R. C., *'Here and howne'* in *'Troilus and Criseyde'*, 56
Goldschmidt, E. P., *Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in Print*, 73
Gordon, M. C., *Life of George S. Gordon*, 11
Gow, A. S. F., *Letters from Cambridge, 1934–44*, 12
Graham, W. H., *Thackeray and 'The Virginians'*, 202
Gravely, W. H., Jr., *Incipient Libel Suits involving Poe*, 222
Gray, A. (ed.), *Poems and Songs by R. Burns*, 162
Green, R. L., *Romances of R. Haggard*, 227; *L. Carroll and St. James' Gazette*, 224
Greenly, A. H., *The Sweet Singer of Michigan*, 235
Greg, W. W., *Shakespeare and 'Arden of Feversham'*, 97; *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, 112, 234
Grennan, M. R., *Lilliput and Leprecan*, 165; *William Morris*, 203
Grierson, Sir H., *Blake and Macpherson*, 182
Grubb, G. G., *Dickens's Influence as an Editor*, 202

Haber, T. B., *Housman's Poetry and the Lyrics of Shakespeare*, 101
Hall, R. A., Jr., *British Solomon Islands Pidgin*, 34
Haller, J. M., *Edward Eggleston, Linguist*, 36
Haller, W., *'For the Liberty of Unlicenc'd Printing'*, 148
Hamilton, G. R., *The Floodlit Mind*, 226
Hampson, N., *Keats's Odes*, 191
Hankins, J. E., *Spenser and the Revelation of St. John*, 124
Harrison, T. P., Jr., *Shakespeare's 'Hebenon' Again*, 96; *'Broom-Groves' in 'The Tempest'*, 100
Hartsell, *Wordsworth's 1835 Postscript*, 185
Hastings, E. T., *A Sixteenth Century MS. Translation of Latimer's First Sermon before Edward*, 80
Havens, R. D., *Sentimentalism in 'The London Merchant'*, 167; *Southey's Specimens of the Later English Poets*, 186
Hazen, A. T., *Bentley's Gray*, 171; and Mabbott, T. O., *Dr. Johnson and F. Fawkes's 'Theocritus'*, 168
Hedberg, J., *Syncope of the Old English Present Endings*, 26
Hegeman, D. v. B., *Boswell and Abt Jerusalem*, 169
Heine, A., *The Influence of Environment*, 100
Hennel, C., *T. de Quincey*, 198
Hicks, A. C., and Clark, R. M., *Stage Version of 'The Cenci'*, 191
Higgins, M. H., *Chapman's 'Senecal Man'*, 109
Hillmann, M. V., *Debateable Words in 'Pearl' and its theme*, 66
Hillway, T., *Melville's Lectures in New Haven*, 222
Holaday, A., *R. Browne and the date of Heywood's 'Lucrece'*, 112
Holbrook, S. C., *Husbands in Shakespeare*, 91
Holmes, S. W., *Browning, Semantic Stutterer*, 202

Holt, L. E., *Notebooks of S. Butler*, 221
Horner, C. J., *Steele and the Beef-Steak Club*, 163
Hornstein, L. H., *Chaucer Allusions by Sir E. Coke*, 59
Horsley, P. M., *G. Keate and the Voltaire-Shakespeare Controversy*, 101
Houtchens, C. W., and L. H., *Contributions of Early American Journals to Study of C. Dickens*, 200
Howell, A. C., *Sir T. Browne as Wit and Humorist*, 136
Howarth, R. G., *Untraced Quotations in Etherege*, 157
Hudson, A. P., *Byron and the Ballad*, 188
Hudson, D., *Hood and Praed*, 198
Hughes, A., *Date of 'Sumer is icumen in'*, 66
Humbert, A. M., *Verbal Repetitions in the 'Ancrene Riwle'*, 71
Hytier, J., *Les Arts de Littérature*, 15

Jackson, H., *Bookman's Holiday*, 17
Jackson, R. W., *Swift and his Circle*, 165
Jaggard, W., *MS. of 'M.W.W.', in Folger Library*; also McManaway, J. G., 95
Jantz, H. S., *Unrecorded verse broadsides of seventeenth-century New England*, 235
Jenkin, B., *'Antony and Cleopatra', the Monument Scenes*, 97
Jenkins, R., *Who is E.K.?* 123
Jesty, A., *A. Symons*, 227
John, L. C., *Elizabethan Letter-Writer*, 129
Johnson, D. D., *'Without Benefit of Clergy' in Victorian Fiction*, 206
Johnson, F. R., *Marlowe's 'Imperiall Heaven'*, 106
Johnston, G. B., *Ben Jonson: Poet*, 127
Jones, E., *Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1640–1800*, 63
Jones, F. L., *Shelley and Hogg*, 193
Jones, J. J., *Areopagitica, 1644–1944*, 148
Jones, P. M., *Poe and Baudelaire*, 223
Joseph, B. L., *Another Allusion to Tamburlaine before Marlowe*, 106; *L. Theobald and Webster*, 116
Judson, A. C., *Life of E. Spenser*, 121; *S. Woodford and E. Spenser*, 122

Kahrl, G. M., *T. Smollett, Traveler-Novelist*, 169
Kavanagh, P., *Early life of G. Farquhar*, 158
Keeton, G. W., *Tercentenary of the 'Areopagitica'*, 148
Kern, J. D., *Review attributed to Scott*, 196
Kernodle, G. F., *Symphonic Form of 'King Lear'*, 96
Keynes, G., *Gibbon's Library Catalogue*, 161; *Blake's Poetical Sketches*, 182
Kilbourne, H. R., *Dr. Johnson and War*, 168
Kirschbaum, K., *Shakespeare's 'Good' and 'Bad'*, 91; *Origin of the Bad Quartos*, 93; *True Text of 'King Lear'*, 93; *Mephistophilis and the Lost 'Dragon'*, 107; *1605 quarto of 'Fair Maide of Bristow'*, 116
Knights, L. C., *Explorations*, 152
Kocher, P., *A Marlowe Sonnet*, 105
Koht, H., *Shakespeare and Ibsen*, 101
Kökeritz, H., *Reduction of Initial 'kn' and 'gn' in English*, 28
Koller, K., *Falstaff and the Art of Dying*, 92
Krâmer, J. (trs.), *Shakespeare Sonnette*, 102
Kuhl, E. P., *Madame Eglantine*, 47; *Chaucer and the Red Rose*, 52; *Earl of Essex and Liberalism*, 131
Kuhn, S. M., *E and Æ in Farman's Mercian Glosses*, 45

Lamborn, G. A. G., *M. Arnold's Tree*, 204
Landa, L. H., *J. Swift and Charity*, 165; and Tobin, J. E., *J. Swift: Critical Studies, 1895 to 1943*, 164
Law, R. A., *Richard the Third*, 98
Lea, K., and Seaton, E., *'I saw Young Harry'*, 98
Le Clair, R. C., *Three American Travellers in England*, 207
Lehmann, J., *Shakespeare and Froissart*, 98
Leishmann, J. B., *'You meaner beauties of the Night'*, 234
Leisy, E. E., *F. Quarles and H. Thoreau*, 204

Lewis, C. S., *'Above the Smoke and Stir'*, 147; also Eisler, R., and Wright, B. A., *Verse-rendering of 'De Idea Platonica'*, 148; *Addison*, 176
Lievsay, J. L., *Tuvill's Advancement of Bacon's Learning*, 129
Livingston, C. H., *French 'Treteau': English 'Trestle'*, 30
Livingstone, Sir R. W., *Ruskin*, 204
Lloyd, B., *Authorship of 'The Welsh Embassador'*, 111
Löfvenberg, M. T., *An Etymological Note*, 27
Lombardi, M. (trs.), *Sansome agonista*, etc., 148
Loomis, L. H., *Auchinleck 'Roland and Vernagu' and the Short Chronicle*, 64
Lorimer, H. L., *Homer and Pope*, 167
Lüdeke, H. (ed.), *A. Pope: a Selection*, 162

Mabbott, T. O., *Donne and Valeriano*, 137; *Sources of Poe's 'Eldorado'*, 223
MacCarthy, B. G., *Women Writers*, 8
McCloskey, J. C., *Why not Fleance?* 96
Macdonald, C., *Drayton's 'Tidy' and Chaucer's 'Tidif'*, 51, 127
Macdonald, H., *J. Langhorne*, 178
McDowell, J. H., *Tudor Court Staging*, 84
McEvans, W., *'Harke, Harke, ye Larke'*, 95
McEwen, K. A., *Jonson and Juvenal*, 113
Mack, M., *MS. of Pope's 'Imitation of First Ode of Fourth Book of Horace'*, 166; *Letters of Pope to Atterbury*, 166
Mackenzie, E., *T. Percy and Ballad Correctness*, 160
McMahon, A. P., *F. Bacon's Essay 'Of Beautie'*, 129
McManaway, J. G., *Latin Title-Page Mottoes as a Clue to Dramatic Authorship*, 117
McMutrie, D. C., *Mississippi Imprints, 1798–1830*, 233
MacNalty, Sir A. S., *The Renaissance and its influence on English Medicine*, etc., 78
McNulty, J. B., *Autobiographical Vagaries of 'Tintern Abbey'*, 184; *Wordsworth's Tour of the Wye, 1798*, 184
Magoun, F. P., Jr., *Old West-Germanic Poetic Unity*, 44; *Domitian Bilingual of the O.-E. Annals*, 45–6
Malone, K., *Some Linguistic Studies of 1941–1944*, 20; *Good Anglo-Saxon*, 31; *Beowulf, l. 1125*, 39; *Finnsburg*, 40
Mander, G. P., *T. Tomkis*, 118
Mann, I., *The Cobbler's Prophecy*, 235
Marchant, L. A. (ed.), *Letters of Tom Hood from the Dilke Papers*, 198
Marilla, E. L., *Religious Conversion of H. Vaughan*, 139
Martin, L. C., *Shakespeare, Lucretius and the Commonplaces*, 92; *'Muing her Mighty Youth'*, 148
Mascaro, J., *Hindu Classics for English Readers*, 9
Mathews, E. G., *The Murdered Substitute Tale*, 108
Matter, H. (ed.), *Shakespeare, Übersetzt von Schlegel und Tieck*, 102
Mayoux, J. J. (trs.), *La Tempête*, 102
Menner, R. J., *Multiple Meaning and Change of Meaning in English*, 20
Meritt, H. D., *Old English Glosses*, 38; *Beating the Oaks*, 46
Meroney, H., *Early History of 'down' as an Adverb*, 27, 45; *Irish in the Old English Charms*, 42
Messinen, P. (trs.), *Les Comédies, Les Tragédies de Shakespeare*, 101
Meyerstein, E. H. W., *The Dram of Eale*, 96; *Ramiel in 'Par. Lost'*, vi, 372, 147; *'Episychidion' and 'The Hound of Heaven'*, 194
Miller, E. S., *The Christening in 'The Three Estates'*, 85; *'Magnificat Nunc Dimittis' in 'Misogonus'*, 86
Milnes, J. G. and Sweeting, E., *Marginalia in . . . 'De Proprietatibus Rerum'*, 74
Mincoff, M. K., *Plot Construction in Shakespeare*, 91
Mitchener, R. W., *Spenser and E.K.*, 122

Moore, J. R., *'The Tempest' and 'Robinson Crusoe'*, 101, 163; *Defoe's Sources for R. Drury's Journal*, 164; *A Rare Tract by D. Defoe*, 164
Moody, T. W., *Thomas Davis*, 200
More, L. T., *Life and Works of Hon. R. Boyle*, 151
Morgan, C., *Independence of Landor*, 197
Morley, M., *Sixteenth Century Stenography*, 94; *J. Willis: Elizabethan Stenographer*, 131
Morozov, M. M., *B. Pasternak's Translation of 'Othello'*, 101; *Shakespeare on the Stages of Erevan*, etc., 101
Moses, S. W., *'Clamour moisten'd' in 'King Lear', IV, iii*, 97
Mossé, F., *Manuel de l'Anglais du Moyen Age*, 24
Mozley, J. F., *John Bale*, 79
Muir, K., *Swinburne on Middleton*, 118
Mulhausen, F., *Clough's 'Love and Reason'*, 203
Muller, H. J., *Science and Criticism*, 13
Musgrove, S., *Beowulf on Perelandra*, 41; *Is the Devil an Ass?* 146

Nearing, H., Jr., *English Historical Poetry, 1599–1641*, 128
Neff, S. B., *Chaucer's Cressida*, 56
Neill, K., *Spenser's Acrasia and Mary, Queen of Scots*, 125
Neumann, J. H., *Dutch Element in American English*, 36; *Milton's Prose and Vocabulary*, 150
Nosworthy, J. M., *The Marlowe MS.*, 104, 234

Odell, M. T., *More about the Old Theatre at Worthing*, 205
Ogilvy, J. D. A., *'Forced Gait of a Shuffling Nag'*, 98
Oliver, H. J., *I. Walton's Prose Style*, 157
Oliver, L. M., *Rowley, Foxe, and the 'Faustus' Additions*, 108
Orwen, W. R., *Spenser and Leicester*, 123

Paden, W. D., *Tennyson and Persian Poetry Once More*, 205
Palmer, J., *Political Characters of Shakespeare*, 89
Parker, W. M., *Shakespeare Concordance Literature*, 93
Parker, W. R., *Milton's Last Sonnet*, 148; also Mabbott, T. O., 149; *Thomas Myriell*, 150
Parr, J., *Date and Revision of 'Knight's Tale'*, 47; *Chaucer and 'Partonope of Blois'*, 49; *Cressid's Leprosy Again*, 69; *More Sources of Rastell's 'Interlude of the Four Elements'*, 85; *Non-Alchemical Pseudo-Sciences in 'The Alchemist'*, 114; *The Horoscope in 'The Duchess of Malfi'*, 115
Parrott, T. M., *'The Taming of the Shrew'*, 94
Parsons, C. O., *Deaths of Glossin and Hatteraick in 'Guy Mannering'*, 195; *Supernatural in Scott's Poetry*, 195; *Influence of Grillparzer on 'The Heart of Midlothian'*, 195; *Possible Origin of Lockhart's 'Adam Blair'*, 196
Pasternak, B. (trs.), *Otello*, 102
Pearce, R. H., *Primitivistic Ideas in 'F.Q.'*, 125; *Eighteenth-Century Scottish Primitivists*, 181
Pearce, T. M., *La Misa del Gallo and Shakespeare's 'Bird of Dawning'*, 95
Pedicord, H. W., *Mr. and Mrs. Garrick: Unpublished Correspondence*, 169
Peery, W., *Lady Perfect and Sir J. Loveall*, 116
Pepper, S. C., *The Basis of Criticism*, 15
Peschmann, H., *Later Poetry of T. S. Eliot*, 225
Pool, P. (ed.), *Poems of Death*, 18
Pope-Hennessy, Dame U., *Charles Dickens*, 200
Potter, G. R. (ed.), *Sermon preached at Lincoln's Inn by J. Donne*, 138; *MS. versions of three sermons by Donne*, 138
Potter, F. A., *Power of Memory in Boswell and Scott*, 178
Pratt, R. A., *Chaucer's MS. of the 'Teseida'*, 54
Prescott, J., *Not in the Dictionaries*, 31
Price, W., *Hazlitt and Malthus*, 197
Pritchett, L. S. (ed.), *Novels and Stories by R. L. Stevenson*, 212

Putney, R., *Plan of 'Peregrine Pickle'*, 170

Quennell, P., *Four Portraits*, 175

Radford, G., *Crowther's Encyclopaedia of Phrases and Origins*, 33
Rainbow, M. F. E., *Marvell and Nature*, 139
Rajan, B., *Simple, Sensuous and Passionate*, 147
Ralli, A., *Autobiography*, 9
Randall, H. W., *Critical Theory of Lord Kames*, 173
Ratchford, F. E. (ed.), *Letters of T. J. Wise to J. H. Wrenn*, 232; *Between the Lines . . . H. B. Forman and T. J. Wise*, 232
Rathbone, J. E., *Political Allegory of the Florimell-Marinell Story*, 121
Read, H., *A Coat of Many Colours*, 16
Reese, G., *Political Import of 'The Misfortunes of Arthur'*, 86
Renwick, W. L., *Lesser Poets of Eighteenth Century*, 178
Rieu, E. V., *The Odyssey: A New Translation*, 19
Robertson, D. W., Jr., *'Manuel des Péchés' and an English Episcopal Decree*, 62
Robertson, J., *Early Life of G. Chapman*, 110
Rodman, G. R., *Sentimentalism in 'The London Merchant'*, 167
Rosenberger, C., *Rediscovery of E. Dickinson*, 225
Ross, J., *An Eighteenth-Century Playhouse*, 167
Rossiter, A. P., *Prolegomenon to 'Woodstock'*, 116
Rudwin, M., *Shakespeare's Influence in France*, 101
Russell, H. R., *Tristram Shandy*, 170
Russell, J. C., *'Buzones'*, 28; also Robertson, D. W., *ibid.*
Rylands, G., and Williams, C. (eds.), *The Duchess of Malfi*, 115

Sampson, G., *Gibbon's Proposal*, 161
Sanders, C. R., *L. Strachey's Revisions in 'Books and Characters'*, 227
Savage, H., *Lotez, Lote in 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'*, 66
Schlauch, M., *Chaucer's Doctrine of Kings and Tyrants*, 53
Schneider, E., *The Dream of Kubla Khan*, 186
Schmitz, R. M., *'Dr. Johnson and Blair's Sermons*, 168
Scott, W. S. (ed.), *Shelley at Oxford*, etc., 195
Scouten, A. H., *Shakespeare's Plays . . . when Garrick came to London*, 100; and L. Hughes, *First Season of 'The Honest Yorkshireman'*, 167; *J. Rich and the Holiday Seasons of 1732–3*, 167
Secord, A. W., *Defoe and R. Drury's Journal*, 163
Sedgwick, W. E., *H. Melville*, 212
Sewell, A., *Place and Time in Shakespeare's Plays*, 91
Shackford, M. H., *Wordsworth's Interest in Painters and Pictures*, 185
Sharpe, R. B., *Jonson's 'Execration' and Chapman's 'Invective'*, 127, 138
Sharrock, R., *Bunyan and the English Emblem Writers*, 156
Sheard, J. A., *Dialect Studies*, 34
Sherburn, G., *Pope at Work*, 177
Shipley, J. T., *Dictionaries of Word Origins*, 33
Shippen, E. P., *Eugenia de Acton*, 174
Siegel, P. N., *Petrarchan Sonneteers and Neo-Platonic Love*, 126
Silver, H. D., *A French Pun in 'L.L.L.'*, 99
Simmons, J., *Southey*, 186
Simpson, P., *Pertaunt-like*, 99; *Pampered Jades*, 105; *The Art of Ben Jonson*, 113
Sisam, K., *Seafarer*, 43
Sitwell, Sir O., *Left Hand, Right Hand: An Autobiography*, vol. i, 216
Sledd, J., *'Chamfred Browes'*, 123
Smith, F. M., *Relation of 'Macbeth' to 'Richard the Third'*, 96
Smith, R. M., *Lawman's 'Gernemuge'*, 32, 63; *Action at Actium*, 58; *Chaucer's 'Castle in Spain'*, 59; *Hamlet said 'Pajock'*, 95; *Macbeth's 'Cyme' One More*, 96; *Spenser and Milton*, 147
Spaeth, J. D., *Epic Conventions in 'Paradise Lost'*, 144

Spencer, T., *Poetry of Sir P. Sidney*, 125
Spitzer, L., *Anglo-French Etymologies*, 31; *Three Etymological Notes*, 31
Stallknecht, N. P., *Strange Seas of Thought*, 183
Stanislavski, K. S., *Production-book for 'Othello'*, 102
Staples, L. C., *Dickens and a Baronetcy*, 201
Starr, N. C., *The Dynamics of Literature*, 14
Starnes, D. T., *Shakespeare and Apuleius*, 92
Stearns, M. W., *Henryson and Lydgate*, 68
Stetson, R. H., *Bases of Phrenology*, 21
Stevenson, A. H., *Shirley's Publishers*, 119, 234
Stevinska, J., *Earlier References from J. Heywood's Works*, 84
Stewart, J. I. M., *'Julius Caesar' and 'Macbeth'*, 96; *The Blinding of Gloster*, 96; *King Cambyses's Vein*, 98
Stirling, B., *Shakespeare's Mob Scenes*, 91
Stoll, E. E., *Validity of the Poetic Vision*, 189
Stone, M. W., *Juvenile Drama*, 229
Strathmann, E. A., *1595 Translation of Du Bartas's 'First Day'*, 127; *Epitaph attributed to Ralegh*, 130; *Ralegh and the Catholic Polemists*, 130
Strout, A. L., *Correspondence between Lockhart and Croker*, 196; *J. S. Lockhart as Ogre*, 196
Super, R. H., *Landor and the Satanic School*, 197
Sutcliffe, E. G., *Unique and Repeated Situations... in Reade's Fiction*, 220
Sutherland, J., *English in the Universities*, 10; *Dull Duty of an Editor*, 166; *Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Prose*, 177; *Pope and Wordsworth*, 185
Svendsen, K., *Milton and 'Malleus Maleficarum'*, 147

Talbert, E. W., *Purpose and Technique of 'Poetaster'*, 114
Tannenbaum, S. A., *Claudius not a Patchcock*, 95
Taylor, G. C., *Shakespeare's Use of the Idea of the Beast in Man*, 90; *The Beetle and the Giant in 'Meas. for Meas.'*, III, i, 99
Taylor, H. W., *Particular Character*, 180
Taylor, R., *Shakespeare's Cousin, Thomas Greene, and his Kin*, 88
Templeman, W. D. (ed.), *Bibliographies of Studies in Victorian Literature, 1932–44*, 208
Thal, H. v., *Recipe for Reading*, 13
Thayer, M. R., *Keats and Coleridge*, 191
Tillotson, A. (ed.), *The Percy Letters*, vol. i, 159
Tillotson, G., *M. Arnold and Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, 179
Tobin, J. E., *A. Pope: Critical Studies, 1893–1944*, 166; *Early Nineteenth-Century Drama*, 205
Todd, R., *The Two Blakes*, 182
Trehern, E. M., *Notes on 'Hamlet'*, 95

Ullmann, S. de, *Romanticism and Synaesthesia*, 188
Umbach, H. H., *Metaphysical Style in Donne's Easter Sermons*, 138
Underhill, F., *The Young Browning*, 202; also Kenyon, Sir F., 203
Utley, F. E., *When Nettles ... Roses Red*, 68; *Wyatt as a Scottish Poet*, 83

Visiak, E. H., *The Animus against Milton*, 146
Vulliamy, C. E., *English Letter Writers*, 8

Wade, A., *Arthur Symons*, 227
Waith, E. M., *A Tragi-Comedy of Humors: 'The Loyal Subject'*, 118
Walpole, R. N., *Source MS. of 'Charlemagne and Roland', and the Auchinleck MS.*, 64
Walpole, V., *And Cassio High in Oath*, 96
Walters, R. E., *Melville's 'Isolatoes'*, 222
Ward, A. C. (ed.), *Specimens of English Dramatic Criticism, Seventeenth–Twentieth Centuries*, 19

Ward, W. S., *Was H. K. White a Victim of the Review Press?* 204; *Conservative Attitude towards Poetry in English Criticism, 1798–1820*, 206
Wearmouth, R. F., *Methodism and the Common People of Eighteenth Century*, 180
Weatherley, E. H., *Possible additions to Churchill Canon*, 182
Webb, H. J., *Works of Thomas Digges*, 129
Wells, J. E., *Wordsworth and Railways in 1844–5*, 184
Wells, R. S., *Pitch Phonemes of English*, 22
Wells, W., *Opening Stanzas of 'Muiopotmos'*, 123
Welply, W. H., *Spenser's Two Marriages*, 122
Wenger, C. N., *Clio's Rights in History*, 202; *Sources of J. S. Mill's Criticism of 'Pauline'*, 204
Whitbread, L., *Three Beowulf Allusions*, 41; *The Old-English Poem 'Almsgiving'*, 43
White, B., *Notes on Old and Middle English*, 46, 70
White, F. C., *Dickens and his Children*, 201
Whitehouse, J. H. (ed.), *Ruskin's Influence To-day*, 205
Whiting, B. J., *Ohthere and Egil's Saga*, 44; *'By my fader soule'*, 50; *Troilus and Pilgrims in Wartime*, 57; *Probable Allusion to 'Testament of Cresseid'*, 69; *Diccon's French Cousin*, 85
Wiggins, E. L., *Logic in the Poetry of J. Donne*, 137
Wiley, A. T., *J. Swift. Exhibition of Printed Books in the Univ. of Texas*, 164; *Wordsworth's 'Travelling Cripple'*, 184
Wilkinson, C. H. (ed.), *Essays and Studies*, vol. xxx, 9–10
Williams, A., *Motivation of Satan's Rebellion in 'Paradise Lost'*, 146
Williams, C. D., *Juvenile Drama*, 229
Williams, G., *Shakespeare and the Earl of Essex*, 93
Williams, H., *Swift Exhibition at Cambridge*, 165, 233; *Old Mr. Lewis*, 169; *Deane Swift, Hawkesworth and 'Journal to Stella'*, 177
Wilson, F. P., *English Proverbs and Dictionaries of Proverbs*, 131, 234; *Elizabethan and Jacobean*, 132; *List of Writings of D. N. Smith*, 179; *Shakespeare and the 'New Bibliography'*, 231
Wilson, H. S., *G. Harvey's Orations on Rhetoric*, 81; and Forbes, C. A. (ed.), *G. Harvey's 'Ciceronianus'*, 81
Wilson, J. D., *Origins and Development of Shakespeare's 'Henry IV'*, 97
Wing, D., *Short-title Catalogue of English Books from 1641 to 1700*, vol. i, 230
Withington, R., *Shakespeare and Race Prejudice*, 96
Withycombe, E. G., *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Names*, 32
Woodhouse, A. S. P., *The Approach to Milton*, 142
Woodward, G. L., and McManaway, J. G., *Check List of English Plays, 1641–1700*, 153, 233
Wright, B. A., *Masson's Diagram of Milton's Spaces*, 146
Wright, H. G., *Sir H. Parker, Lord Morley, and A. Dürer*, 79; *Sidelights on the reputation and influence of Dryden's Fables*, 155; *Cowper and Balzac*, 182; *Keats's 'Eve of St. Agnes'*, 189

Zeydel, E. H., *Literary Aspects of S. Brant's 'Narrenschiff'*, 82
Zink, S., *The Poetic Organism*, 16

II

SELECTED SUBJECTS

Addison, Joseph, 176–7
Aesthetic Adventure, The, 215–16
Aiken, Conrad, 226
Ancrene Riwle, 70–1
Anthologies, 17–19
Arnold, Matthew, 179, 203–4
Arthurian Romance MS., 236
Auchinleck *Roland and Vernagu*, 64–5
Autobiographies, 9, 12
Autograph Letters, 237

Bacon, Francis, 129–30
Bale, John, 79
Barham, R. H., 199
Basic English, 35–6
Beowulf, 39–41
Bibliographical Society, 231–2
Bibliographical Society of America, 235
Blake, William, 182
Bodleian Library Accessions, 236–7
Boswell, James, 175, 178
Boyle, Hon. Robert, 151–2
Braddon, M. E., 228–9
Brontë, Emily, 203
Browne, Sir Thomas, 136
Browning, E. B., 238
Browning Robert, 202–3, 204, 237
Bunyan, John, 155–6
Burney, Fanny, 178
Burns, Robert, 162, 171, 178
Burton, Robert, 135–6
Butler, Samuel (Restoration), 156–7
Butler, Samuel (Victorian), 221
Byron, Lord, 187–9

Carlyle, Thomas, 200
Carroll, Lewis, 228
Chapman, George, 109–11, 127, 138–9
Chaucer, Geoffrey, *Canterbury Tales*, 47–51; Chauceriana, 52–4; Chaucer's MS. of the *Teseida*, 54–5; *Troilus and Criseyde*, 55–7; *Legend of Good Women* and *House of Fame*, 57–9; Chaucer's family, 59; Allusions by Sir E. Coke, 59–60, 137
Churchill, Charles, 182
Clough, A. H., 203
Coleridge, S. T., 186–7, 191
Cowper, William, 182
Cromwell, Oliver, 136–7

Davis, Thomas, 199–200
Defoe, Daniel, 101, 163–4
Dekker, Thomas, 111–12
Dialects, 34–5, 75–6
Dickens, Charles, 200–2
Dickinson, Emily, 225
Donne, John, 137–8
Dowson, E. C., 225
Dryden, John, 155

Early Nineteenth-Century Drama, 205
Early Tudor Plays, 85–6
Eliot, T. S., 224–5
Emblems, 131, 138
English Christian Names, 32
English Historical Poetry, 1599–1641, 128
English Letter Writers, 8
English Literature at the close of the Middle Ages, 76
English Literature in the earlier Seventeenth Century, 133–5
English Plays, 1641–1700, list of, 153–5
English Proverbs, 131–2
English Renaissance, Recent Scholarship of, 77; Influence on Medicine, Surgery, and Public Health, 78
English Surnames, 74–5
Essays by Divers Hands, vol. xxii, 9, 167, 226
Essays and Studies, vol. xxx, 9–10, 171
Essex, Earl of, 131
Etherege, Sir George, 157–8
Etymologies, 28–31

Farquhar, George, 158
Fenton, Geoffrey, and Holinshed, 82
Fletcher, John, 118
Fitzgerald, Edward, 205
Fifteenth-Century Secular Prose, 71–72
From Script to Print, 61–2

Garrick, David, 169
Gibbon, Edmund, 160–1, 175–6
Gray, Thomas, 170–1, 178, 237
Greg, W. W., 231–2, 234

Haggard, Rider, 227–8
Hardy, Thomas, 219
Harvey, Gabriel, 81–2, 83–4
Hazlitt, William, 197, 237
Henley, W. E., 210–12
Henryson, Robert, 68–70
Heywood, John, 84–5
Heywood, Thomas, 112–13, 117
Homonyms, 20–1
Hood, Thomas, 198–9
Hopkins, G. M., 209–10
Housman, A. E., 224, 235–6

Irish in Old English Charms, 42–3

Johnson, Samuel, 168–9, 178, 237
Jonson, Ben, 100, 113–15, 127–8, 138–9
Juvenile Drama, 229

Kames, Lord, 173–4
Keats, John, 107, 188–91
Kipling, Rudyard, 213–15

Lamb, Charles, 197, 238
Landor, W. S., 197
Latimer's First Sermon before Edward, 80
Lawman's *Gernemuðe*, 63–4
Lillo, George, 167–8
Lockhart, J. G., 196–7
Lovelace, Richard, 139
Ludus Coventriae, 72
Lyly, John, 104

Malone, Edmund, 158–9, 237
Map, Walter, 62
Marlowe, Christopher, 104–8, 234–5, 238
Marvell, Andrew, 139
Medieval MSS., 236–7
Melville, Herman, 212–13, 222
Middle English Lyrics, 68
Middleton, Thomas, 117, 118–19
Mill, J. S., 204
Milton, John, Photographic Facsimile of Poetical Works, 140–1; the Approach to Milton, 141–4; *Paradise Lost*, 144–7; Minor Poems, 147; *Areopagitica*, 148; Miltoniana. 149–50
Misfortunes of Arthur, The, 86–7
Monmouth, Geoffrey of, 62
Moore, Thomas, 197–8
More, Sir Thomas, and Erasmus, 78–9
Morris, William, 203

Ohthere, 44
Old English Glosses, 38–9, 45
Old English Poems, 41–4

Paine, Thomas, 171–2
Pearl, 66–7
Percy, Thomas, 158–9
Percy, William, 119–20
Phonology, 21–4, 28–31
Piers Plowman, 67–8, 238
Pope, Alexander, 162, 166–7, 177, 185, 238
Poe, E. A., 223

Quincey, Thomas de, 198

Ralegh, Sir Walter, 130–1
Rastell, John, 85
Reade, Charles, 220–1
Restoration Comedy, 152–3
Reynolds, George, *Studies in honor of*, 56, 91, 94, 95, 96, 144
Rossetti, D. G., 237
Ruskin, John, 204–5, 236

Saintsbury, George, 11
Science, Criticism, and Aesthetics, 13–16
Scott, Sir Walter, 178, 195–6
Scottish Chaucerians, 70
Shaftesbury, Lord, 180
Shakespeare, William, Shakespeariana, 88–9, 91–3, 100–1; Character-drawing, 89–91; texts and sources, 93–5; tragedies, 95–7; history plays, 97–8; comedies, 99–100; Shakespeare and Jonson, 100; on the Continent and in translation, 101–3; and the 'New Bibliography' 231–2; rare 2nd folio, 236; 1st folio, 238
Shelley, P. B., 191–5, 238
Shirley, James, 118
Short-title Catalogue of English Books, 1641–1700, vol. i, 230–1
Sidney, Sir Philip, 125–6
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, 65–6
Sitwell. Sir Osbert. 216–17

Smart, Christopher, 172–3
Smith, David Nichol, Essays presented to, 176–9
Smith, Sydney, 198
Smollett, Tobias, 169–70
Soldiers' Verse, 218
Southey, Robert, 186
Sterne, Laurence, 175–6
Spenser, E., Life, 121–2; Minor Poems, 122–3, 238; *The Faerie Queene*, 124–5
Stenography, 131
Stevenson, R. L., 212
Strachey, Lytton, 227
Suckling, Sir John, 139
Swift, Jonathan, 162, 164–6, 177, 233, 237
Symons, Arthur, 226–7

Tennyson, Alfred (Lord), 204
Thackeray, W. M., 202
Theatres, 167, 205–6, 229
Thompson, Francis, 216
Thomson, James, 223–4
Thoreau, Henry, 204
Tomkis, Thomas, 118
Traherne, Thomas, 139
Trollope, Anthony, 221–2, 237
Tudor Court Staging, 84

Vaughan, Henry, 139
Victorian Fiction, Sex in, 206
Victorian Literature, Studies in, 208–9

Walton, Izaak, 157
Webb, Beatrice, 217
Webster, John, 115–16
Wilkes, John, 175
Wise, T. J., 232–3
Women Writers, 88
Woolf, Virginia, 218
Wordsworth, William, 179, 183–5
Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 83

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