proclamation, Latimer was brought from Lincolnshire, and lodged on the 13th of September in the Tower. On the 14th Cranmer also was sent to the Tower. As Latimer passed through Smithfield he said that the place had long groaned for him. In the following March, 1554, Hugh Latimer, with Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, was tranferred to a prison at Oxford. There were to be public disputations between those in power and the accused prisoners. Latimer was baited on the 18th of April. Age and infirmity, a mind never practised in scholastic disputation, and the practical fact that the dispute was a form with its end predetermined, caused Latimer to content himself with a declaration that he held fast by his faith. After trial, under a commission issued by Cardinal Pole, Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford, on the 16th of October, 1555. When the lighted fagot was placed at the feet of Ridley, Latimer exclaimed: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as I trust shall never be put out."

Miles Coverdale (§ 26, 29, 58), made Bishop of Exeter under Edward VI., was deprived and imprisoned by Queen Mary before he went abroad; and after many wanderings, settled at Geneva, where he was still active in Bible translation.

John Fox, who in later years compiled a painful record of the persecutions for religion in his time, was born in 1517, at Boston, in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Brazenose College, Oxford, and became fellow of Magdalene. He wrote Latin plays on Scriptural subjects before he devoted himself wholly to the great religious controversies of his day. Then he studied Hebrew, read the Greek and Latin fathers, was accused in 1545 of heresy, and was expelled from college. He next lived with Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlcote, near Stratford-on-Avon, as tutor to his children; then he came to London, and after the execution of the Earl of Surrey, John Fox was employed as tutor to his children. At the beginning of Mary's reign Fox was protected by the Duke of Norfolk, but he presently escaped to Basle, where he lived as correcter of the press for the printer Oporinus, and resolved to write his Martyrology.

We need not dwell on the reaction against Church Reformers in the reign of Mary. The best thought of the country was not with it, and it gave nothing to English literature but the quicker

spirit of antagonism that embittered controversy in succeeding years. In January, 1554, Sir Thomas Carew failed in a demonstration against Queen Mary's union with Philip of Spain, son of the Emperor Charles V. Before the end of the month, Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger, son of the poet, headed insurrection against the proposed marriage, marched to London, and there yielded himself prisoner on the 7th of February. He was executed on the 11th of April. Mary was married to Philip of Spain on the 25th of June. In 1555 seventy-one heretics were executed; in 1556, eighty-three; in 1557, eighty-eight; in 1558, forty.

John Heywood (§ 49), who had not been banished from court in the reign of Edward VI., and who had shown real liking for Queen Mary when she was a princess, in her father's lifetime, remained at her court, and had her confidence. After her death he went abroad, and died at Mechlin in 1565.

Nicholas Udall (§ 48, 58) also retained Mary's good-will. He had spoken highly of her in a special Prologue to her part of the translation from Erasmus's New Testament Paraphrase, and he was employed, by her warrant, in directing a dramatic entertainment for the feast of her coronation; also in preparing dialogues and interludes to be performed before her. In 1554 or 1555, Udall was made head master of the school settled at Westminster by Henry VIII., in 1540. In November, 1556, Mary re-established the monastery, and there was an end of Udall's office, but a month later there was an end also of his life.

Sir Thomas Smith (§ 51, 56) under Mary was deprived of all his offices, but had for his learning a pension of £100.

Sir John Cheke (§ 51, 56), at the death of Edward VI., was one of those who sought to secure the succession of Lady Jane Grey. He was sent to the Tower, but for his learning his life was saved, and he was permitted to leave England. While abroad his estates were confiscated. He was seized by Philip at Brussels, and sent to England, where he escaped death by recantation. The queen then gave him means of life, but made life a torture by compelling him to sit on the bench at the judgment and condemnation of those heretics who did not faint in the trial of their faith. His age was but forty-three when he died, in September, 1557.

Two books were printed by Richard Tottel in 1557, namely, *Tottel's Miscellany*, and a *Hundreth Good Pointes of Husband-*

rie, by **Thomas Tusser.** Tottel's Miscellany was a collection of verses, known in society, but never before published, by the Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and others. Thomas Tusser's poem was the first edition of a work afterwards much enlarged. These were new books at the accession of Elizabeth, and are related to the early literature of her reign.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

1. ON New Year's-day, 1540, when Francis I. and Charles V. rode into Paris together (ch. vi. § 43, 54), the Emperor was on his way through France to punish Ghent. The Netherlands passed in 1477 to Austria, by marriage of Mary of Burgundy with Archduke Maximilian. Charles V. was born of marriage between Archduke Philip, heir by right of his mother to the Netherlands, and Joanna, who being the second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, was, after the death of intervening persons, heir to the monarchies of Spain. Thus Charles acquired by inheritance both Spain, which was essentially Catholic, and the Netherlands, with a population kindred to our own.

The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands differed in character and constitution, but they all sent deputies to a States-General, which had no power of taxation, and acknowledged appeals to a Supreme Tribunal at Mechlin. Four of these provinces were duchies—Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Guelderland; seven were counties—Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Artois, Hainault, Namur, and Zutphen; five were seigniories—Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen; and the seventeenth—Antwerp—was a margraviate. Charles was himself born and bred in Flanders; he talked Flemish and favoured Flemings. The Netherlanders, therefore, liked him, though their temper was republican, and his was a despotic rule. He taxed them heavily because they were more prosperous than their neighbours. It was revolt in Ghent against an excessive tax that Charles went to put down in 1540. He did put it down with a strong hand, compelling the chief citizens to kneel before him in their shirts, with halters round their necks.

The spirit of the Reformation spread also among these people

of the Netherlands; and Charles V. battled in vain against it. He sought to bring into Flanders the Inquisition, which had been re-instituted in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1480; but the people rose and expelled the Inquisitor-General who had been sent to them by the pope. A modified Inquisition was established, with provision made in 1546 that no sentence of an inquisitor should be carried out until it had the sanction of a member of the Provincial Council. Thus in the Netherlands thousands died for their faith, while the English Reformers were during the reign of Edward VI. gathering strength.

In October, 1555, Charles V., aged about fifty-six, abdicated at Brussels in favour of his son Philip II., then twenty-eight years old, a small, thin, sullen man, fair-haired and blue-eyed, with a great mouth, a protruding lower jaw, and a digestion spoilt by pastry. He had been married about fifteen months before to Queen Mary of England; and Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger had been executed for rebellious objection to the wedding (ch. vi. § 60). Philip received from his living father Spain, with all its outlying dominion, a month after the sovereignty of the Netherlands had been transferred to him. His dignity as head of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles resigned in favour of his brother Ferdinand. In September, 1556, Charles sailed for Spain, and he died in his seclusion at Yuste about two months before Anne Boleyn's daughter became Queen of England.

If Charles had been in some respects a Fleming among the Spaniards, Philip, born and bred in Spain, was a Spaniard among the Flemings. His court in Brussels was almost wholly Spanish, his advisers were Spanish grandees; the chief of them, Philip's pliant favourite, Ruy Gomez, afterwards Prince of Eboli, who usually counselled peace, and the Duke of Alva, counsellor of war. Philip had remained in England with Queen Mary after his marriage to her in July, 1554, until some weeks before his father's abdication. He did not return to England until March, 1557, when, for reasons of his own, as King of Spain, he urged England into war with France. Paul IV. was seeking, by alliance with France, to loosen the hold of Spain upon Italian soil. Philip, therefore, caused England, in June, 1557, to declare war against his enemy of France, and in July, having gained his point, left England never to return. On the other side, Mary of Guise, then Regent of Scotland, was incited by King Henry II. of France to attack England. The Duke of Savoy, with the Spanish army of the Netherlands and

English reinforcements, gained in August a great victory over the Constable Montmorenci, at St. Quentin, and then, through advice of Philip, lost the opportunity of pressing victory by an advance. He stayed to press siege of the town, which was not taken till a fortnight later. The Duke of Guise, coming from Italy, was made Lieutenant-General of France, assembled a fresh army, and by surprise took Calais and Guines from the English in January, 1558, thus making a happy end of English domination on French soil. On the 24th of the following April, Guise's niece, Mary Stuart, the Queen of Scots, then about sixteen years old, was married to Francis, the French dauphin, a youth of her own age; and by a secret article of the marriage contract, Scotland and France were to be united under one sovereign if Mary died childless. When Mary of England died, on the 17th of November, 1558, Elizabeth was twenty-five years old, and the Queen of Scots was held by many in England, and by most in France, to have a more legitimate right to the throne. The new queen took for her chief counsellor Sir William Cecil, then aged thirty-eight, the Lord Burleigh of after years, and made Cecil's brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon (they married two daughters of Sir Anthony Coke) her Lord Keeper. Philip of Spain, her sister's widower, thought it good policy to offer his hand to Elizabeth of England, on condition that she would profess the same religion he professed, and maintain it and keep her subjects true to it. Elizabeth dead, the English throne would pass to the Queen of Scots—through her to France. The marriage of Elizabeth, though not to Philip, was therefore desired by her people. Spain was the first power of the world, and France the second. England had declined during the reign of Mary. Her active fleet consisted of seven coast-guard vessels, and eight small merchant brigs and schooners altered for fighting, besides twenty-one vessels in harbour, of which all but six or seven were sloops and boats. But Spain and France were rival powers, and for a time Elizabeth could make the jealousies of one serve to protect England from the other. The endeavours of Spain and England to procure restitution of Calais were suspended for some months; and in April, 1559, the belligerents, Spain helping England in negotiation, made peace in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. In the following July, at festivities in celebration of this peace, Henry II. of France was killed by an accident, and was succeeded by the eldest of his seven children, the young husband of Mary Queen of Scots,

who was ruled by the Guises, through their niece, his wife, during the seventeen months of his reign. Francis and Mary called themselves King and Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The chief endeavour of the Guises was to subdue the Church Reformers, or Huguenots, as they were called, from "Eguenots," a French corruption of the German "Eidgenossen" (sworn associates). Oppression by the Guises produced organised resistance, part political, and part religious. Elizabeth in England had restored Cranmer's liturgy; established in the Prayer-book a choice of prayers to meet differences of opinion, and other compromises; dissolved the monasteries which Mary had refounded; sent to the Tower, where they were well lodged and had no axe to fear, those bishops who refused allegiance to her supremacy; and held her own, although the Protestantism of the English towns was represented by much smaller numbers than Catholicism of the rural districts. To foreign menace the young queen could reply with spirit that "her realm was not too poor, nor her people too faint-hearted, to defend their liberties at home and to protect their rights abroad." In December, 1560, Francis II. died, and the next brother, a boy in his eleventh year, became king as Charles IX. His mother, Catherine de' Medici, ruled in his name, at first with a desire to please all parties, and allay their strife.

Soon after the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, which ended war between France and Spain, King Philip left the Netherlands under the regency of his half-sister, the Duchess Margaret of Parma, natural daughter of Charles V. Philip parted from the Netherlands in August, 1559, with a "Request" for three millions of gold florins; and information that he had commanded the Regent accurately and exactly to enforce every existing edict and decree for the extirpation of all sects and heresies. The Request was not assented to without an emphatic counter-request from each of the provinces, and a remonstrance from the States-General, signed by the Prince of Orange, Count Egmont, and others, urging the withdrawal of Spanish troops out of the Netherlands. Very soon after Philip had returned to Spain, at an *auto-da-fé* in October, he swore by the cross of his sword to give all necessary favour to the holy office of the Inquisition; and to a young man, one of thirteen then burnt alive before him, who asked how he could look on and suffer such things to be done, he answered, "I would carry the wood to burn my own son withal, were he as wicked as you."

2. John Knox, after his imprisonment in the French galleys (ch. vi. § 53), had been in England from 1549 to 1554, and as one of Edward VI's chaplains had been associated with men of the English Reformation. He spent two of the five years in Berwick, two in Newcastle, and one in London. He found his first wife at Berwick, and married her before he was driven out of England by the persecutions under Mary. He was then in different places on the Continent, at Dieppe, at Frankfort, until 1555, when, after a short visit to Scotland, he became the pastor of an English congregation at Geneva. There he worked with Calvin, who had become supreme, and made the city what Knox took to be "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles." It was from Geneva, just before the accession of Elizabeth, that Knox issued, without his name, his *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women.* His wrath was against the rule of the three Marys, Mary of Guise, queen dowager and regent of Scotland, Mary Queen of Scots, and Queen Mary of England, and on behalf of "so many learned and men of grave judgment as this day by Jezebel are exiled." In his preface he said that men had offended "by error and ignorance, giving their suffrages, consent and help to establish women in their kingdoms and empires, not understanding how abominable, odious and detestable is all such usurped authority in the presence of God;" and he ended with this sentence: "My purpose is thrice to blow the trumpet in the same matter, if God so permit: twice I intend to do it without name, but at the last blast to take the blame upon myself, that all others may be purged." After such preface he began his book, a small quarto, about as big as a man's hand, with the assertion that "to promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion or empire above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to His revealed will and approved ordinance, and finally it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice." Women are not worthy to rule. "I exempt," said Knox, "such as God, by singular privilege and for certain causes known only to Himself hath exempted from the common rank of women, and do speak of women as nature and experience do this day declare them. Nature, I say, doth paint them further to be weak, frail, impatient, feeble and foolish: and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruel, and lacking the spirit of

counsel and regiment." He quoted Aristotle's opinion, "that wheresoever women bear dominion there must needs the people be disordered, living and abounding in all intemperancie, given to pride, excess, and vanity; and finally, in the end, that they must needs come to confusion and ruin." He argued for the subjection of woman from Scripture and the Fathers, adding, as he quoted Chrysostom, "Beware, Chrysostom, what thou sayest; thou shalt be reputed a traitor if Englishmen hear thee, for they must have my sovereign lady and maitresse, and Scotland hath drunk also the enchantment and venom of Circes." Instances of exceptional women like Deborah, Knox argued, will no more prove the right of a woman to judge Israel, than the instance of Solomon will prove polygamy a right of man. "Moreover," he said, "I doubt not but Deborah judged what time Israel had declined from God: rebuking their defection and exhorting them to repentance, without usurpation of any civil authority. And if the people gave unto her for a time any reverence or honour, as her godliness and happy counsel did well deserve, yet was it no such empire as our monsters claim." "Let all men," he said at the end, "be advertised, for the trumpet hath once blown." Knox blew no other blast, and would have recalled this if he could, although he did state in advance that the argument of his "Second Blast" was well to proclaim how through one woman England had been betrayed to Spain, and Scotland to France through another. That the issuing of such a book should coincide in time with the accession of Queen Elizabeth was unlucky for the argument of the Reformer. Knox had cut off retreat from his position. He might rank Elizabeth with Deborah; but he had refused to clothe even Deborah with civil authority, not doubting that she had "no such empire as our monsters claim." Moreover, he had pledged himself to two more blasts from the same trumpet; and if his argument was good, the elevation of yet another woman to supremacy would make its enforcement only the more necessary.

A reply to Knox was published at Strasburg by John Aylmer, in the spring of 1559, called "*An Harborowe for Faithful and True Subjects against the late blown Blast concerning the Government of Women, wherein be confuted all such reasons as a stranger of late made in that behalf, with a brief Exhortation to Obedience.*" It ended with praise of Elizabeth's simplicity of dress as a princess, her disregard of money, love

of books. Her first schoolmaster said to the writer that he learnt of her more than he taught. "'I teach her words,' quod he, 'and she me things. I teach her the tongues to speak, and her modest and maidenly life teacheth me works to do.'" She had patiently borne affliction. "Let us help her who is come to be our Judith and our Deborah; help with our means, with hearts that will either win or die, and with obedience to God's lieutenant, our sovereign." England calls to her children—England, of whom came that servant of God, their brother, John Wiclif, "who begat Huss, who begat Luther, who begat Truth. Let us seek to requite her with thankfulness, which studieth to keep us in quietness." John Aylmer, the author of this answer to Knox, was born in 1521. He had been tutor to Lady Jane Grey, and made study so pleasant to her that he was the cause of her delight in it. In 1553 he was Archdeacon of Stow. In the reign of Mary he was a Protestant exile at Zurich. Having returned to England after the accession of Elizabeth, he made himself agreeable to the queen. In 1562 he became Archdeacon of Lincoln, and in 1576 Bishop of London. In that character we shall meet with him again.

3. **John Knox,** who had not made himself agreeable to the queen, and could not obtain from her, in 1559, a passport through England to Scotland, was obliged to go by sea. His presence in Scotland had been called for, in March, 1557, by the nobles who favoured the Reformation. He had consulted Calvin, and parting from his congregation at Geneva, had come as far on his way home as Dieppe, when he found that his friends had lost courage, and no longer sought a thorough reformation. From Dieppe he wrote, in October, 1557, an earnest letter to the Lords whose faith had failed; another to the whole nobility of Scotland; others to special friends. His letters revived zeal. In December, 1557, the Scottish Reforming nobles met in Edinburgh, and drew up an agreement known as the First Covenant. It bound them to strive even to death "to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His congregation." The Scottish Reformers, who had resolved to abstain from Mass, formed small congregations in private houses; the word Congregation thus became common among them, and the Earl of Argyll and other Reforming nobles who had signed this covenant were now called Lords of the Congregation. They advised and ordained that the Missal be put aside, and that the Common Prayer be read in all parishes; but as this

would not be immediately done, they added counsel that "doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto, till God move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers." The book of Common Prayer here intended was King Edward's service-book. The Archbishop of St. Andrews met this movement by burning for heresy Walter Mill, a pious parish priest, eighty-two years old, who said from the flames, "I trust in God that I am the last that shall suffer death in Scotland from this cause." He was the last; last of about twenty. His death quickened reaction. Adherents of the Congregation multiplied. A petition was presented to the queen-regent for freedom of worship, and the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper in the vulgar tongue; freedom to all for exposition of the Scripture; and amendment of the scandalous lives of the clergy. Mary of Guise, personally amiable, though not trustworthy, assented on condition that the Reformers did not preach publicly in Edinburgh or Leith. In November, 1558, the Lords of the Congregation sought to obtain right of worship in the language of the people from a convention of the Roman clergy, and would have succeeded if they had consented to retain in the services the Mass, with faith in purgatory and prayers for the dead. In November, 1558, the Estates were to meet in Edinburgh, and to Parliament also the Lords of the Congregation were resolved to carry an appeal. They sought of it suspension and modification of Acts against heresy, sought check upon the power of the spiritualty. The queen-regent, in good temper and good policy, spoke them fair until she had secured the aid of the Protestant nobles for the marriage of her daughter with the dauphin, which took place in April, 1558; also till she had won from them, in the Parliament which met in November, their consent to the conferring of the crown of Scotland on the dauphin as king-consort. That was the state of affairs in Scotland when Mary of England died, and Elizabeth became queen in her stead.

But then there was a new hope for the Guises. Since Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate, the Queen of Scots was Queen also of England. In England itself there was a large Catholic rural population; and the Guises governed Scotland on one side of her, France on the other. A Scottish synod in March, 1559, repelled the petition of the Congregation; the queen-regent supported the synod, and summoned Reforming

preachers to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May. Their friends determined to come with them, unarmed protectors. The regent, alarmed, checked their approach, and caused them to stop at Perth, by promise to withdraw the summons. Then she commanded that the preachers should be declared rebels because they did not come to Stirling. That was the state of affairs in Scotland when John Knox landed at Leith.

He went to Perth, and in the church there preached against idolatry. After his congregation had dispersed, a priest prepared to celebrate Mass; this fired the magazine of zeal. All images and ornaments within the church were broken to pieces; the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars and the Charterhouse were sacked. For this excess armed force was brought against the excited citizens. They shut their gates and issued letters to the queen-regent, the nobility, and "to the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates and their shavelings within Scotland." The Earl of Glencairn with two thousand men checked the queen's troops, and Perth was opened to her on condition that none of the inhabitants should be molested on account of their religion. The Lords of the Congregation quitted Perth next day, after entering into a second Covenant for mutual support and defence. The queen-regent did not keep faith with the citizens of Perth, and thereby lost more of the confidence of Scotland. Knox went into Fife. More churches had their images and altars broken. He went boldly to St. Andrew's. The archbishop left the town, Knox preached in the cathedral church on the driving of traffickers from the temple, and after his sermon the people proceeded to deface all churches in the town and destroy the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries. The queen threatened again with troops. The people flocked together and were formidable. The queen temporised. The people marched on Perth, compelled the new garrison to surrender, and then burnt the beautiful Abbey of Scone, in which from ancient time the kings of Scotland had been crowned. Destruction of monasteries went on. The cry was, "Down with the crows' nests, or the crows will build in them again." Finally, the Lords of the Congregation were in Edinburgh, whence the queen-regent had fled. They claimed the Reformation of Religion and expulsion of the French, who were said to have devoted the land to their own uses, and already to have set up a Monsieur d'Argyll among themselves. Edinburgh was surrendered upon favourable terms, and the

Lords of the Congregation went to Stirling. There they signed their names to a third Covenant, designed to check the tampering of the queen-regent with individuals. They pledged themselves not to treat with her separately.

Francis and Mary having become King and Queen of France, French soldiers landed at Leith, also a legate from the pope, and three doctors from the Sorbonne. Now, therefore, the Lords of the Congregation looked to England, and corresponded much with Sir William Cecil. In July, 1559, John Knox enclosed to Cecil a letter for Queen Elizabeth, expressing his attachment to her and her government, though he abided, he said, by the general principles laid down in his "First Blast." Cecil, in answer, simply began his letter with the text, "There is neither male nor female, but we are all one in Christ," and then passed to other matters. Elizabeth still kept Knox at a distance. Correspondence was continued by the Scottish Lords. The Scottish movement for Church Reform and against French rule went on with the knowledge of Elizabeth, and with the aid of English money. It took presently the form of a plan for replacing the queen-regent by the Earl of Arran. In October, 1559, with open concurrence of Knox, the queen-regent was deprived of her office by "us the Nobility and Commons of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland." But the Reforming barons were unable to hold their ground against disciplined troops. They left Edinburgh, and acted each in his own country, looking still to England for help difficult to give, since Scotland and England were at peace. But Elizabeth did, on the ground of danger to England from a French conquest of Scotland, undertake by secret treaty at Berwick to assist in expelling the French. In April, 1560, the English besieged Leith, while the Lords of the Congregation signed a fourth Covenant, pledging themselves to pursue their object to the last extremity.

The queen-regent died in the midst of these troubles. France and England agreed on a treaty by which soldiers were withdrawn on both sides. Strife was ended, and peace was proclaimed at the Edinburgh market cross in July, 1560. Nothing was said about Church Reformation, but the way was laid open for it. The Three Estates met on the 1st of August, and on the 17th adopted for the nation a Confession of Faith in twenty-five articles, which embodied the opinions of John Knox. On the 24th the Estates added to their work three Acts, 1,

annulling all previous Acts regarding censures of the Church or worshipping of saints; 2, abolishing the pope's jurisdiction within the realm; and, 3, making it criminal to say a Mass or hear a Mass. The first offence was to be punished with confiscation of goods, the second with banishment, the third with death. Edmund Spenser was at this time about seven years old.

4. The sweet spirit of song rises in the early years of Elizabeth's reign like the first chirping of the birds after a thunderstorm. *Tottel's Miscellany*, issued in June, 1557, as *Songes and Sonnettes, written by the Ryght Honorable Lorde Henry Haward, late Earl of Surrey, and other* (ch. vi. § 60), was as a brake from which there rose, immediately before the reign began, a pleasant carolling. Among the smaller song-birds there were two with a sustained rich note, for in this miscellany were the first printed collections of the poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt (ch. vi. § 43) and the Earl of Surrey (ch. vi. § 44, 46). This is our earliest poetical miscellany, if we leave out of account the fact that pieces by several writers had been included, in 1532, in the first collected edition of Chaucer's works. Tottel's first edition contained 271 poems, the second contained 280; but 30 poems by Grimald, which appeared in the first edition, were omitted in the second, which appeared a few weeks later, so that between the two there were 310 poems in all. In 1559 there was a third edition of the "Miscellany;" in 1565, the year after Shakespeare's birth, a fourth; the eighth, and last of the Elizabethan time, in 1587. During the reign of Elizabeth other books of the same kind appeared: *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, collected by Richard Edwardes, of Her Majesty's Chapel, then dead, for a printer named Disle, and published in 1576; *A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, edited by Thomas Proctor, in 1578, with help from Owen Rawdon; *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites*, by Clement Robinson and divers other, in 1584; *The Phœnix Nest*, edited by R. S., of the Inner Temple, gentleman, in 1593; *England's Helicon*, edited by John Bodenham, in 1600; and *A Poetical Rhapsody*, edited by Francis Davison, in 1602. The most popular of these was *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*. In the first edition of *Tottel's Miscellany* there were thirty-six poems by the Earl of Surrey, to which four were added in the next issue; ninety by Sir Thomas Wyatt, to which six were added; forty by Nicholas Grimald; and ninety-five by unnamed authors, among whom were Thomas Church-

yard, Thomas Lord Vaux, Edward Somerset, John Heywood, and Sir Francis Bryan. **Nicholas Grimald** was born about 1519, in Huntingdonshire, was educated at Christ's College, took his B.A. in 1540, in 1542 was incorporated at Oxford, and elected a probationer fellow of Merton College, Oxford. In 1556, Tottel published for him a translation of "Tully's Offices." His connection with Tottel at this time, omission of so much of his verse from the second edition of the "Miscellany," and reduction of his name in that edition to the initials N. G., make it possible that Grimald edited the "Miscellany." In 1558, Tottel issued a second edition of Grimald's translation of the "De Officiis." Grimald was dead in May, 1562. Two poems of his which were not omitted in the second edition have especial interest as the first specimens in English of original blank verse (ch. vi. § 47). One was a piece of one hundred and fifteen lines, on *The Death of Zoroas, an Egyptian Astronomer, in First Fight that Alexander had with the Persians*, beginning :

> "Now clattering arms, now raging broils of war,
> Can pass the noise of taratantars' clang"—

("taratantars" altered in the next edition to "dreadful trumpets"). The other was a somewhat shorter piece, upon the *Death of Cicero.*

5. In 1559, Richard Tottel printed "in Flete Strete, within Temple Barre, at the signe of 'The Hand and Starre,'" a translation into English verse of "the sixt tragedie of the most grave and prudent author, Lucius Anneus Seneca, entituled *Troas*, with divers and sundrie additions to the same, newly set forth in Englishe by **Jasper Heywood,** student in Oxforde." John Heywood (ch. vi. § 49) had two sons – Ellis, the elder, a good scholar, who joined the order of the Jesuits in 1560; and Jasper, who was born about 1535, was educated at Oxford, and, some months before the publication of his version of the *Troas*, being twenty-three years old, had resigned a fellowship at Merton College for fear of expulsion. He was elected to a fellowship of All Souls', but left the University, and in 1561, having held by his father's faith, became a Roman Catholic priest. He joined the Jesuits, studied theology for two years, and, after some time abroad, returned to England as Provincial of the Jesuits in 1581. He went abroad again, and died at Naples in 1598. Some poems of his are in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices;* and he translated from Seneca, in the first years

of Elizabeth's reign, not only the *Troas*, but also the *Thyestes*, in 1560, and the *Hercules Furens*, in 1561. Other men set to work on other tragedies. **Alexander Neville** published, in 1563, a translation of the *Œdipus;* **John Studley** translated four—*Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, and *Hercules Oetœus;* **Thomas Nuce** translated *Octavia*, and the *Thebais* was translated by **Thomas Newton**, who, in 1581, collected the ten translations into a single volume, published as *Seneca: his Tenne Tragedies, translated into Englysh.* These translations indicate the strong influence of the Latin tragedy upon the minds of scholars and poets in the birthtime of our native drama. There is no blank verse in them. Jasper Heywood opened his *Troas* with a preface in Chaucer's stanza, but he wrote his dialogue chiefly in couplets of fourteen-syllabled lines. Thus, for example, Hecuba begins:

> "Whoso in pomp of proud estate or kingdom sets delight,
> Or who that joys in princes' court to bear the sway of might,
> He dreads the fates which from above the wavering gods down flings,
> But fast affiance fixed hath in frail and fickle things;
> Let him in me both see the face of Fortune's flattering joy,
> And eke respect the ruthful end of thee, O ruinous Troy!"

Sometimes the measure of the dialogue changes to four-lined elegiac stanza, which is the measure also of a chorus added by Jasper Heywood himself to the first act:

> "O ye to whom the Lord of land and seas,
> Of life and death, hath granted here the power,
> Lay down your lofty looks, your pride appease,
> The crowned king fleeth not his fatal hour."

At the opening of the second act of the "Troas," Jasper Heywood raised the sprite of Achilles, and made him speak in Chaucer's stanza:

> "The soil doth shake to bear my heavy foot,
> And fear'th again the sceptres of my hand,
> The poles with stroke of thunderclap ring out,
> The doubtful stars amid their course do stand,
> And fearful Phœbus hides his blazing brand;
> The trembling lakes against their course do flyte,
> For dread and terror of Achilles' sprite."

The other translators followed Jasper Heywood's lead. With some further variety in the choruses, these are the metres into which the poets of the first years of Elizabeth translated the tragedies of Seneca.

6. In the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign the revived taste

for classical literature not only, through Plautus and Seneca, became part of the early story of our drama, but showed itself variously in the form of bright translations from the Latin. Gavin Douglas's translation of the Æneid (ch. vi. § 32), finished in 1513, was first printed in 1553. **Thomas Phaer,** who was born at Kilgarran, in Pembrokeshire, studied at Oxford and at Lincoln's Inn, became advocate for the marches of Wales, afterwards doctor of medicine at Oxford. In May, 1558, in the days of Philip and Mary, six months before Elizabeth's accession, there appeared, "*The Seven First Books of the Eneidos of Virgil,* converted in Englishe meter by Thos. Phaer, Esq., sollicitour to the King and Queenes Majesties, attending their honourable counsaile in the Marchies of Wales." He continued the work, and had begun the tenth book, when he died, in 1560, and was buried in Kilgarran Church. In 1562 there were published, dedicated to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, Phaer's *Nyne First Books of the Eneidos.* The translation was completed with less ability by **Thomas Twyne,** a Canterbury man, practising as a physician at Lewes, and published in 1573. Phaer, who was a fair poet, wrote also on law and medicine. His "Virgil" is in the same fourteen-syllabled rhyming measure which we have seen used in the translation of Seneca.

The other chief translation from the Latin poets in the early part of Elizabeth's reign was Arthur Golding's "Ovid," also translated into fourteen-syllabled lines. **Arthur Golding** was a Londoner, of good family, and lived at the house of Sir William Cecil, in the Strand. He translated Justin's "History" in 1564, and "Cæsar's Commentaries" in 1565, which was the year of the publication of "*The Fyrst Fower Bookes of the Metamorphoses,* owte of Latin into English meter, by Arthur Golding, gentleman." Ten years later, when Shakespeare was eleven years old, Arthur Golding published his complete translation of *The XV. Bookes of P. Ovidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphoses,* dedicated to Robert, Earl of Leicester. This was the book through which men read the "Metamorphoses" in English till the time of Charles I.

7. The fourteen-syllabled line is one of the favourite measures in the completed version of "*The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (ch. vi. § 54), collected into English metre by T. Sternhold, L. Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrue, with Apt Notes to sing them withall." This appeared in 1562, and was then attached for the first time to the Book of Common Prayer.

Among the "apt tunes" is that to which the 100th Psalm was sung, now known as "The Old Hundredth." It had been one of the tunes made by Goudimel and Le Jeune for the French version of the Psalms by Clement Marot.

8. Among the "others" who translated was **Thomas Norton,** whose initials were appended to twenty-eight of the Psalms, and who had a hand with **Thomas Sackville** in the writing of the first English tragedy. Thomas Norton, eldest son of a small landed proprietor, of Sharpenhoe, in Bedfordshire, was born in 1532. He became a good scholar and zealous Protestant, served in his youth the Protector Somerset, and then, in 1555, entered himself as a student of the Inner Temple. In 1561 he published a *Translation of Calvin's Institutes*, which went through five editions in his lifetime; and it was in this year that Norton, aged twenty-nine, joined Sackville in the production of the tragedy of *Gorboduc*. He was translating Psalms also, for it was in the following year, 1562, that the completed Psalter of Sternhold and Hopkins appeared. Thomas Sackville was four years younger than Norton. He was born in 1536, at Buckhurst, in Sussex, and was the son of Sir Richard Sackville, whom we shall find befriending Roger Ascham. Thomas Sackville went to Oxford at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and thence to Cambridge, where he took his degree of M.A. His University reputation as a poet was referred to by Jasper Heywood, before his version of Seneca's "Thyestes," published in 1560:

"There Sackville's sonnets sweetly sauste,
And featly fyned bee."

Thomas Sackville married, at the age of nineteen, the daughter of a privy councillor, and sat in a Parliament of Philip and Mary at the age of twenty-one, as member for Westmoreland. In the first year of the reign of Elizabeth he was member for East Grinstead, and took part in business of the House. When he left the University, Sackville had entered himself to the Inner Temple. Thus it was that he joined Norton, also of the Inner Temple, in the writing of *Gorboduc* for Christmas recreation of the Templars. Great lords had for many years kept servants paid to provide them with amusement. Records of the Augustine Priory at Bicester show that, in 1431, minstrels of different lords visited the monastery. In a like record of another house of the Augustines, such entertainers were before 1461 called mimes and players. A MS. of the time of Henry VI. laid against

those old entertainers a complaint raised also against the first professional actors in Elizabeth's day, that they profaned the holy days.

"Goddis halidays non observantur honeste,
For unthrifty pleyes in eis regnant manifeste."

From that time till the first years of Elizabeth's reign there had been itinerant performers, acting as retainers of the nobility. In the north, in 1556, there were six or seven persons acting in the livery of Sir Francis Leek. Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, had such theatrical servants, and wrote in April, 1559, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord President of the North, for their licence to play in Yorkshire, they having already leave to play in divers other shires. Mary suppressed plays which contained attacks upon her Church, and gave impulse to the production of miracle-plays. In 1556 the "Passion of Christ" was acted at Greyfriars in London, before the Lord Mayor and Privy Council. It was repeated in 1557, and in the same year, on St. Olave's night, the "Life of St. Olave" was acted in his church in Silver Street. Elizabeth on her accession required the licensing of plays and interludes, with refusal of licence to those touching questions of religion and government.

Court entertainments had been placed in 1546 under the management of Sir Thomas Cawarden, probably the first Master of the Revels; and at Christmas there was a Lord of Misrule. At Christmas in 1551, Holinshed says that in the place of the Lord of Misrule "there was, by order of the Council, a wise gentleman and learned, named George Ferrers, appointed to that office for this year, who being of better credit and estimation than commonly his predecessors had been before, received all his commissions and warrants by the name of Master of the King's Pastimes." But Sir Thomas Cawarden was Master of the Revels—or, in official language, Magister Jocorum, Revellorum et Mascorum—until 1560, when he died, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Benger. Elizabeth reduced the cost of her amusements. Mary had paid two or three thousand a year in salaries to her theatrical and musical establishment; Elizabeth reduced this, but still had salaried interlude players, musicians, and a keeper of bears and mastiffs. The gentlemen and children of the Queen's chapel were also employed as entertainers.

At Christmas, 1561, many of the queen's council were

present at the festivities of the Inner Temple; and the Lord of Misrule rode through London in complete harness, gilt, with a hundred horse and gentlemen riding gorgeously with chains of gold, and their horses goodly trapped. The play produced on this occasion was Sackville and Norton's *Gorboduc;* and on the 18th of January it was presented upon a great decorated scaffold in the queen's hall in Westminster by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple, after a masque. An unauthorised edition of it was published in 1565, as *The Tragedy of Gorboduc.* Our first printed tragedy appeared, therefore, when Shakespeare was one year old. "Ralph Roister Doister," our earliest comedy, was first printed in 1566, when Shakespeare was two years old. Thus Shakespeare and the English drama came into the world together. On the title-page of this unauthorised edition of "Gorboduc" it is said that the three first acts were by Norton. The authorised edition did not appear until 1571, and in that the name of the play appeared as *Ferrex and Porrex.* The argument was taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth's "History of British Kings" (ch. iii. § 8), and was chosen as a fit lesson for Englishmen in the first year of the reign of Elizabeth. It was a call to Englishmen to cease from strife among themselves. and knit themselves into one people, obedient to one undisputed rule. Each act is opened with a masque, or dumb-show; and as the play was modelled on the Tragedies of Seneca, there was at the close of every act except the last a chorus. Except for the choruses, Sackville and Norton used the newly-introduced blank verse as the measure of their tragedy. Hitherto this measure had been little used by us, and never in an original work of any magnitude. The plot of "Gorboduc" is very simple. Act I.—After a dumb-show of the bundle of sticks which could be broken only when they were no longer bound together, Videna, the wife of King Gorboduc, tells Ferrex, her eldest son, with "griefful plaint," that his father intends to deprive him of his birthright by equal division of his kingdom between both his sons. King Gorboduc will seek that day the consent of his council. Gorboduc then himself unfolds his plan to his council. One councillor argues at length that the king does wisely; another argues at length that equal division between the two sons is good, but not good to be made in their father's lifetime; a third, the good councillor, Eubulus argues at length that division of rule is bad for Gorboduc, bad for Ferrex and Porrex:

"But worst of all for this our native land.
Within one land one single rule is best:
Divided reigns do make divided hearts;
But peace preserves the country and the prince."

He recalls the civil wars that had been:

"What princes slain before their timely hour!
What waste of towns and people in the land!
What treasons heap'd on murders and on spoils!
Whose just revenge ev'n yet is scarcely ceas'd;
Ruthful remembrance is yet raw in mind.
The gods forbid the like to chance again."

Gorboduc having listened to his councillors, does what he meant to do. He assigns England north of the Humber to Porrex, and the south to Ferrex. A chorus then in four stanzas points the moral of this portion of the story. Act II.—After a dumb-show of a King who refused the good wine offered by age and experience, and took the poison offered by one who looked pleasanter, there are two scenes. One shows Ferrex between two counsellors, of whom one is a parasite, the other trustworthy. The parasite humours wrath against father and brother; the good counsellor seeks to prevent dissension. Ferrex resolves to prepare himself in arms against the possible devices of his brother, and leaves the stage in company with the bad counsellor. Porrex is then shown also between two counsellors; one of whom tells him that his brother is arming against him, and promoting a strife which the other counsellor endeavours to prevent. Porrex will not give Ferrex leisure to prepare his force, but will at once attack him. He also leaves the stage in company with his bad counsellor, and the good counsellor resolves to haste to Gorboduc "ere this mischief come to the likely end." Chorus then in four stanzas deplores the rashness of youth, and condemns the false traitor who undermines the love of brethren. Act III.—After a mask of mourners clad in black, who pass thrice about the stage, Gorboduc is shown as he lays before his best and worst councillor the tidings of the strife between his sons, tidings brought to him promptly by the peacemaker from each. While he is being counselled to use his authority as a father, and to make his power seen, a messenger comes to tell that Porrex has already carried out his threat, and slain his brother Ferrex. The father breathes revenge against the traitor son, and Chorus ends the act with moralising on the lust of kingdoms and the cruelty of civil strife. Act IV.—After a masque of the three Furies, each driving before her a king and

queen who had unnaturally slain their own children, Queen Videna laments for her firstborn, and breathes vengeance against Porrex:

> "Changeling to me thou art, and not my child,
> Nor to no wight that spark of pity knew."

King Gorboduc then has his son Porrex brought before him by Eubulus. Porrex expresses deep repentance, does not ask to live, but shows how the bond of love had been unknit by the division of the kingdom. His brother, he says, had hired one of his own servants to poison him. Gorboduc sends Porrex from his presence as an "accursed child" until he shall have determined how to deal with him. Then, while he laments to his councillors, a woman of the queen's chamber enters in distraction, and tells how Porrex has been stabbed in his sleep by his mother. At the close of the act the meditation of the chorus harmonises as usual with the matter of the dumb-show that preceded it. Act V. —After a dumb-show of war and tumult, the Dukes of Cornwall, Albany, Lloegria, and Cumberland possess the stage, and we learn that the people have risen and slain both Gorboduc and his queen. The lords, therefore—Eubulus one with them—are armed against the people, for, says Eubulus:

> "Though kings forget to govern as they ought,
> Yet subjects must obey as they are bound."

A long argument of Eubulus upon the best way to deal with "skilless rebels," is followed by the marching off of all the lords, except Fergus Duke of Albany, who stays to meditate the raising of himself to supreme rule. Fergus proceeds to his own kingdom to buy arms. Eubulus relates, with moralising, the misery and destruction of the people; the great lords return from

> "The wide and lazy fields
> With blood and bodies spread of rebels slain;
> The lofty trees clothed with the corpses dead,
> That, strangled with the cord, do hang thereon."

But a messenger brings news of the advance against them all of Albany with twenty thousand men. They hasten to more conflict

> "Upon the wretched land
> Where empty place of princely governance,
> No certain stay now left of doubtless heir,
> Thus leave this guideless realm an open prey
> To endless storms and waste of civil war."

One argues that for the welfare of their native land the crown

be adjudged to one of their own country by common counsel of them all:

"Such one, my lords, let be your chosen king,
Such one so born within your native land:
Such one prefer, and in no wise admit
The heavy yoke of foreign governance."

The play ends with a long moralising on the situation by Eubulus, which includes a glance at the danger to the kingdom:

"When, lo, unto the prince,
Whom death or sudden hap of life bereaves,
No certain heir remains."

Thus our first tragedy distinctly grew out of the life of its own time, and gave expression to much that lay deep in the hearts of Englishmen in the first years of Elizabeth's reign. The best poetry of the play is in the fourth act, which certainly is Sackville's; and the fifth may well represent the youth of one who gave his after life to state affairs.

9. With one other work of mark in the Elizabethan time, Sackville's name was associated before he turned from poetry, as pleasure of his youth, and gave his life to politics. This was the *Mirror for Magistrates*, a work that expanded as the reign went on into a long series of poems moralising those incidents of English history, which warn the powerful of the unsteadiness of fortune by showing them as in a mirror that "who reckless rules, right soon may hap to rue." A printer in Queen Mary's time seems first to have designed a long sequence of narrated Tragedies, as all tales of the reverse from high and happy fortune were then called. From the Conqueror downward, a series of poems from English history suggested by Boccaccio's "Falls of Illustrious Men" (ch. v. § 13) was to moralise the past for the use of the present, and teach men in authority to use their power well. In Sackville's mind, the plan of a mere rhyming sequel to Lydgate's "Falls of Princes" took shape nobly, and he meant himself to write a sequence of the tragedies, but he wrote only two poems, an *Induction*, which was designed as general introduction to the series of his own writing, and the *Complaint of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.* The Induction is the best of Sackville's poetry. It follows the old forms, and is an allegory in Chaucer's stanza. Opening, not with a spring morning, but with winter night and its images of gloom and desolation, the poet represents himself abroad, mourning the death and ruin of all summer glory, when he meets a woebegone woman

clad in black, who is allegorically painted as Sorrow herself. Her home is among the Furies in the infernal lake.

"Whence come I am, the dreary destiny
And luckless lot for to bemoam of those
Whom fortune, in this maze of misery,
Of wretched chance, most woeful mirrors chose
That, when thou seest how lightly they did lose
Their pomp, their power, and that they thought most sure,
Thou may'st soon deem no earthly joys may dure

By Sorrow the poet was to be taken

"First to the grisly lake,
And thence unto the blissful place of rest,
Where thou shalt see, and hear, the plaint they make
That whilom here bare swing among the best."

The descent of Avernus and the allegorical figures within the porch and jaws of hell—Remorse of Conscience, Dread, Revenge, Misery, Care, Sleep, Old Age, Malady, Famine, War, Deadly Debate, Death—are described with dignity and energy of imagination. In reading Sackville's Induction we find ourselves, indeed, very far on the way from Stephen Hawes (ch. vi. § 7) to Spenser. The poet, and Sorrow his guide, were ferried across Acheron, passed Cerberus, and reached the horror of the realm of Pluto. At the cry of Sorrow the rout of unhappy shades gathered about them; and first Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, when he could speak for grief, began his plaint, bade Sackville mark well his fall,

"And paint it forth, that all estates may know;
Have they the warning, and be mine the woe."

Sackville wrote in the series no other Tragedy than this, perhaps because his way of life drew him from literature, perhaps because he was too good a poet to be satisfied with this manner of work. His complaint of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, abounds in poetry of thought and musical expression, but the essential difference between a history and a poem makes itself felt. The unity of the piece as a poem is marred by faithful adherence to historical detail, and Sackville no doubt felt that he must either illustrate the good doctrine of Aristotle in his poetics, and write poems that were not exactly histories, or he must write histories that were not exactly poems. The very excellence, also, and intensity of his Induction struck a note which the sequence of tragedies, unless they were true poems, would not sustain.

Sackville left, therefore, to Baldwin and his friends the

working out of the printer's first idea. The work had been undertaken by William Baldwin, with aid chiefly from George Ferrers. In his hands the "Mirror for Magistrates" meant simply a long English sequel to Boccaccio, as versified in Lydgate's "Fall of Princes." It was a series of metrical biographies, begun and part printed in 1555, but stopped by the intervention of Stephen Gardiner, who was then Lord Chancellor, and who died in November of that year. After the accession of Elizabeth, a licence was obtained, in 1559, and in that year the "Mirror for Magistrates" was first issued. It had a prose introduction, showing how it was agreed that Baldwin should take the place of Boccaccio, that to him the wretched princes should complain, and how certain friends "took upon themselves every man fot his part to be sundry personages." Then they opened books of chronicles, and "Maister Ferrers (after he had found where Bochas left, which was about the end of King Edward the Third's reign) said thus:—'I marvel what Bochas meaneth, to forget among his miserable princes such as were of our own nation. . . . Bochas, being an Italian, minded most the Roman and Italian story, or else, perhaps, he wanted the knowledge of ours. It were, therefore, a goodly and notable matter to search and discourse our whole story from the first beginning of the inhabiting of the isle. But seeing the printer's mind is to have us follow where Lydgate left, we will leave that great labour to other that may intend it, and (as one being bold first to break the ice) I will begin at the time of Richard the Second, a time as unfortunate as the ruler therein.'" Ferrers began, therefore, with the fall of Robert Tresilian, Chief Justice of England, in Chaucer's stanza, with the lines lengthened from ten syllables to twelve. There are some other measures, but the greater part of "The Mirror of Magistrates" is in Chaucer's stanza, with prose talk by the company between the tragedies. The work, as published in 1559, contained nineteen tragedies; beginning with "Tresilian" and ending with "Edward IV." The greater number of these were written by Baldwin; Ferrers wrote three; and one, on Owen Glendower, was written by Phaer, the translator of Virgil. In 1563 another edition appeared, in which eight tragedies were added, one being Sackville's "Complaint of Buckingham," with the "Induction" placed before it, and another, the story of Jane Shore, by Thomas Churchyard.

William Baldwin, chief editor of "The Mirror for Magistrates," was an ecclesiastic, whose father had worked in a printing-

office. He graduated at Oxford, about 1532 was a schoolmaster. He wrote a metrical version of Solomon's Song, and was appointed in 1552 to set forth a play before the king.

George Ferrers was born at St. Albans, educated at Oxford, then student of Lincoln's Inn. He was in Parliament under Henry VIII., was patronised by Thomas Cromwell, imprisoned in 1542. He translated Magna Charta and some other statutes from French into Latin and English, was of the suite of the Protector Somerset, and is said to have compiled the part of Grafton's Chronicle which tells the history of Mary's reign. He composed interludes for the court; in 1553 he was the king's Lord of Misrule at Greenwich for the twelve days of Christmas (§ 8); he wrote other rhyme than that in the "Mirror for Magistrates;" and he died in 1579.

In 1574, **John Higgins** published *The First Part of the Mirror for Magistrates*, containing sixteen legends of his own, for the period from Brut to the birth of Christ. He opened his work with a general Induction in Chaucer's stanza, which was suggested to him by Sackville's. John Higgins was a clergyman and schoolmaster at Winsham, in Somersetshire, who wrote some scholastic books, and was alive in 1602, when he joined in a theological controversy. Editions of the "First Part" and of the "Last Part" of the "Mirror of Magistrates" were in demand till 1578, when there appeared a *Second Part of the Mirror for Magistrates*, containing twelve legends by Thomas Blenerhasset, and filling up in the wide scheme the period from Cæsar's Invasion to the Norman Conquest.

An edition of the "Mirror for Magistrates," in 1587, united the work of Baldwin and Higgins, adding chiefly new legends by John Higgins, but also a legend of Wolsey by Thomas Churchyard. This was the most complete form attained by the work during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was popular throughout the reign, and one of the sources from which dramatists, when they arose, drew plots for plays.

Thomas Sackville was knighted in 1567, the year after his father's death, and made a baron as Lord Buckhurst. He rose in the state, and after the death of Lord Burghley, in 1599, succeeded him as High Treasurer of England. Early in the next reign, in 1604, Sackville was made Earl of Dorset, and in 1608, being then seventy-two years old, he died while sitting at the Council Table.

10. **Thomas Churchyard,** born at Shrewsbury about 1520.

and a soldier in his earlier years, was not only the author of two of the better class of tragedies in "The Mirror for Magistrates" —"Jane Shore" and "Wolsey"—but a busy poet, whose literary activity began with Elizabeth's reign, and continued to its close. He died in 1604, after an unprosperous life of dependence upon patrons, and had these lines for epitaph:

> "Poverty and poetry his tomb doth inclose;
> Wherefore, good neighbours, be merry in prose."

His *Davie Dicar's Dream*, published in 1563, produced from Thomas Camel a metrical "Rejoinder to Churchyard," and led to a controversy of wits. Among Churchyard's numerous publications were, in 1575, "*The First Part of Churchyard's Chips, containing Twelve Labours*—not Herculean," a collection of twelve pieces; in 1578, *Praise and Report of Frobisher's Voyage*, a *Description of the Wars in Flanders*, a translation of the *Three First Books of Ovid de Tristibus*, and a description of his own devices for the entertainment of the queen in Norwich in that year. In 1579 he published *A Welcome Home to Frobisher;* the *Services of Sir William Drury, Lord Justice of Ireland;* and a piece on the *Miserie of Flaunders, Calamitie of France, Misfortune of Portugal, Unquietness of Ireland, Troubles of Scotland, and the Blessed State of England.* The chief of many works by Churchyard after 1579 was his patriotic poem on Welsh worthies, *The Worthiness of Wales*, published in 1587, with a dedication to the queen.

11. We will take the year 1579 as a dividing line between the earlier and latter part of Elizabeth's reign. The whole reign covered a period of forty-four years four months and a week. In 1579 a child born at Elizabeth's accession came of age; she had then reigned twenty-one years, and those who had grown up under the influences of her reign formed the new generation of Englishmen. Then the Elizabethan time bore fruit abundantly. In 1579, Spenser produced his first published work; the drama had just sprung into independent life; and young John Lyly published the "Euphues" which gave its name to an external fashion of Elizabethan literature. Before 1579, while the number of works of genius was yet small, both history and literature show how England was still gathering the force that after 1579 found its own various ways of intense expression.

12. John Bale was sixty-three years old, John Fox forty-one, John Jewel thirty-six, at the accession of Elizabeth. John Bale

(ch. vi. § 50) had printed at Ipswich, in 1548, and presented to Edward VI., the first edition of his (Latin) "Summary of the Illustrious Writers of Great Britain." In 1552, Edward VI. made him Bishop of Ossory; and he afterwards painted his difficulties with a flock of antagonist faith to his own, in a book called *The Vocation of John Bale to the Bishopric of Ossory in Ireland; his Persecutions in the same, and his Final Deliverance.* After the accession of Mary, Bale escaped to Switzerland, but he came to England upon the accession of Elizabeth, obtained in 1560 a prebend in Canterbury Cathedral, and died in 1563. The completed edition of John Bale's account of English Writers—*Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Brytanniæ Catalogus*—expanded from five centuries to fourteen, was published in folio by Oporinus, at Basle, in 1557 and 1559. It is our first literary history, inaccurate and warped by the controversial heat of the time, but important as an aid to study of our early literature.

13. **John Fox** (ch. vi. § 60) had in the reign of Mary worked as corrector of the press for Oporinus, of Basle, to whom he introduced himself by presentation of the first sketch of his history of the Church, warped also by the heat of conflict, and first suggested to him by Lady Jane Grey. At this he proceeded to work, writing it then in Latin. The first sketch was published in octavo in 1554. John Aylmer (§ 2), and more particularly Edmund Grindal, also exiles, aided Fox with information received out of England concerning the martyrs for their faith. At the accession of Elizabeth, Fox was in Basle with a wife and two children, poor, but with a more settled employment than he could afford immediately to leave. His friend Grindal went back to England, but Fox remained another year at Basle, and for a time suspended, as Grindal advised, the production of his enlarged history of troubles in the Church, because new matter in abundance would now surely come to light. This enlarged book appeared, in its first Latin form in folio, from the press of Oporinus, in August, 1559, and containing some facts that were omitted in the translations. In the following October, John Fox had returned to London, where he was housed by Aldgate at Christchurch, the manor-place of his old pupil the Duke of Norfolk. From Aldgate he went every Monday to the printing office of John Day, whence early in 1563 appeared in folio the first edition of his work in English as *Acts and Monuments of these latter and perillous Dayes, touching matters of the Church, wherein are comprehended and described the great Persecutions*

and horrible Troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, especiallye in this Realme of England and Scotlande, from the Yeare of our Lorde a Thousande unto the Tyme now present. Gathered and collected according to the true Copies and Wrytinges certificatorie, as wel of the Parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the Bishops' Registers which were the doers thereof, by John Foxe. To a right student the value of such a book is rather increased than lessened by the inevitable bias of a writer who recorded incidents that had for him a deep, real, present interest, and who had his own part in the passion of the controversy he describes. It vividly represents one aspect of the strong life of the sixteenth century. The book, dedicated to the queen, was ordered to be set up in parish churches for the use of all the people, except in times of Divine service. From the Duke of Norfolk's, Fox went to live near John Day, for whom he worked as author, translator, and editor. John Day, a Suffolk man, had been busy in Edward VI.'s time as a printer of Bibles. Under Mary he was at one time a prisoner, at one time an exile. Under Elizabeth he had a printing-office, growing in size, against the city wall by Aldersgate, and shops for the sale of his books in several parts of London. Letters to Fox are extant addressed to him as "dwelling with Master Day, the printer, at Aldersgate;" and also to "Master John Fox, at his house in Grubbe Street." In Grub Street, then, we have, during the early years of Elizabeth, John Fox, the martyrologist, housed in a quality not unlike that of the bookseller's hack, though he and his bookseller and printer were actually fellow-workers with a common aim, and that the noblest, whereby they were to earn bread in service of their country. Captain Pen had already taken precedence of Captain Sword. Fox held a prebend at Salisbury, although he was opposed to the compromise with old forms in the ecclesiastical system of the Church, and refused to subscribe to anything but the Greek Testament. He preached at Paul's Cross and elsewhere; but his most important work was that done with John Day.

John Day, the printer, was the only man of his calling who had types in the First English (or Anglo-Saxon) characters. One incident of the English Reformation was a revived study of First English, because that was a way to evidence of the antiquity of the Reformed Church. Sermons and writings of its first clergy would show that the Church of the Reformation was in agreement with the Church of England in its earliest state.

before corruption had crept in. Fox, therefore, studied First English, and one use made by him of Day's types was to produce, in 1571, dedicated to the queen, an edition of the *Saxon Gospels.* John Fox died in 1587.

14. **John Jewel**, born in Devonshire in 1522, had been tutor and preacher in his University of Oxford, and rector of Sunningwell, near Oxford. He bent under persecution after the accession of Mary, and subscribed to the Church of Rome; but was distrusted and went abroad. He returned to England at the accession of Elizabeth, and stood forward as one of the sixteen Protestants appointed to dispute before the queen with sixteen Catholics. He was in 1559 one of the commissioners for the extirpation of Catholicism in the West of England, and a few months later was made Bishop of Salisbury. His Latin Apology for the English Church—*Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*—published in 1562, was accepted as a representative book of its time, and was in the same year translated into English by Lady Anna, the wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon. John Jewel died in 1571, at the age of fifty, having broken his health by reducing hours of sleep to the interval between midnight and four in the morning.

15. The chief promoter of Fox's edition of the Saxon Gospels was Archbishop Parker. **Matthew Parker**, born in 1504, at Norwich, was the son of a merchant. At the age of twelve he lost his father, but he was educated carefully by his mother, who sent him to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. There he obtained a fellowship in 1527. In 1533 he preached his first sermon before the University, and obtained the good-will of Cranmer, who brought him to court. Anne Boleyn made him her chaplain, and tutor to her child Elizabeth. In 1537 he was made chaplain to Henry VIII., and then D.D. In 1541 he got a prebend in Ely, and soon afterwards a rectory in Essex. In 1544 he was Master of Corpus Christi College, and he held that office for nine years. In 1545 he was made Vice-Chancellor of the University, and rector of Landbeach, in Cambridgeshire. At the accession of Edward VI. Matthew Parker married. In 1552, King Edward gave him a prebend at Lincoln, having already made him his chaplain. During his exile, in the reign of Mary, Parker translated the Psalms into English verse, for comfort to himself like that of David, for whom in a time of trouble, as Parker says in his metrical preface:

"With golden stringes such harmonie
His harpe so sweete did wrest,
That he reliev'd his phrenesie
When wicked sprites possest."

This version of the Psalter, finished in 1557, was printed about 1560 by John Day. Parker published also, "against a civilian naming himself Thomas Martin, Doctor of the Civil Laws, going about to disprove the said marriages lawful," *A Defence of Priestes Marriages*, written by a learned man who died in the reign of Philip and Mary; with addition of his own "History of Priests' Marriages from the Conquest to Edward VI.'s Reign," which contains several quotations from First English. Upon her accession, Queen Elizabeth entrusted to Matthew Parker the revision of Edward VI.'s Service Book, and made him Archbishop of Canterbury in the place of Reginald Pole (ch vi. § 43), whose religious zeal had been in accord with the endeavours to suppress Protestant heresies, who had been made archbishop on the day after the burning of Cranmer, and who died a day after Queen Mary. For some time Matthew Parker objected to the appointment of himself, and it was not completed until 1559. He was zealous in the conflict of his time, learned in Church antiquities, and firm in support of the ecclesiastical system in the English Church.

There were produced early in the reign of Elizabeth two English versions of the Bible, which remained during the rest of her life commonly in use. These were the Geneva Bible, which appeared in 1560, and the Bishops' Bible, which appeared in 1568. *The Geneva Bible* was produced by the English congregation at Geneva during the reign of Mary, chiefly at the cost of John Bodley, the father of Sir Thomas Bodley. In 1557 the New Testament, translated by William Whittingham, Calvin's brother-in-law, was first published. It was translated from the Greek text as published by Erasmus, and revised from manuscripts collected by Genevan scholars. Calvin prefixed to it an "Epistle declaring that Christ is the End of the Law." Whittingham, then, with the aid of fellow-exiles, Gilby, Sampson, and others, turned to the Hebrew text, and instead of coming to England after the death of Mary, these labourers remained at Geneva to complete their work Hebrew scholarship had advanced, and the Geneva Bible, completed in 1560, four years before the birth of Shakespeare, was as faithful as its translators could make it. Various

readings were given in the margin, and there were notes on points not only of history and geography but also of doctrine, which distinctly bound this version to the religious school of Calvin. In the Geneva Bible appeared, for the first time, as a plan to secure facility of reference, the now familiar division of the text into verses. This was the household Bible of those whom we may call—using the phrase in a broad sense—the Elizabethan Puritans. In the dedication of it to Queen Elizabeth, the zeal of the Genevan Reformers was not less harsh than that from which they had suffered themselves in the reign of Mary. Elizabeth was reminded how the noble Josias "put to death the false prophets and sorcerers, to perform the words of the law of God. . . Yea, and in the days of King Asa, it was enacted that whosoever would not seek the Lord God of Israel should be slain, whether he were small or great, man or woman."

The zeal of Elizabeth was not so fierce. Her supremacy had been assured in civil and ecclesiastical matters, and uniformity in religion had been established by law. All persons in the Church, all graduates in the Universities, and all persons holding office of the crown, were required to take the oath of supremacy. A clergyman who did not use *The Book of Common Prayer*, or who spoke against it, was fined for the first offence a year's value of his living, and was liable also to six months' imprisonment. For the second offence his living was forfeited; and a third offence subjected him to imprisonment for life. The book had been prepared from a comparison of the first and second Service Books of Edward. Its introduction had been opposed, but when introduced there were, of 9,400 clergymen then in England, only 189 who became Nonconformists, and gave up their livings. Among the laity depreciation of the Book of Common Prayer was also liable to heavy punishment; and there was a fine of a shilling upon all persons who did not attend their parish church or some recognised place of worship on Sunday unless reasonable cause for absence could be shown. There was established also a High Court of Commissioners appointed under the Great Seal of England, to determine upon questions of "error, heresy, or schism." Roman Catholics were thus liable to punishment if they disparaged the services of the Reformed Church, and to fine if they stayed away from them; while the Puritans who objected to the retained forms of Catholicism in the English

Church might be compelled by the High Court of Commission to accept whatever doctrine or practice the commissioners declared to be sanctioned by Parliament, by a general Council, or by the canonical Scriptures. Any three of the forty-four members of this Court might inquire concerning heretical opinions, seditious books, &c., contrary to the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity; any three, a bishop being one, might try cases of wilful absence from church, and punish offenders by church censures or fines, or might try a clergyman on matters of doctrine. The commissioners might summon any one upon suspicion, and put him to his oath. Elizabeth had also, like the Tudors before her, the sovereign's own court of Star Chamber. Once this had been useful in overruling feudal power when it thwarted the due course of justice, but it had become a convenient instrument of personal rule. Troublesome members of Parliament and jurors could be imprisoned by it or fined; it undertook censorship of the press, and in Elizabeth's time prohibited the circulation of Roman Catholic works. This machinery was worked with various degrees of energy. John Fox, as we have seen, was Nonconformist, and though honoured by the queen, and free, of course, from persecution, he was left in poverty until Cecil contrived that he should have, on his own terms, a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral. Sampson, one of the translators of the Geneva Bible, refused the bishopric of Norwich because he would not take the prescribed oaths, but he was made at Oxford Dean of Christchurch; and Humphrey, another of the early Puritans, was at the same time made President of Magdalene College. Different degrees of objection to Church ceremonial produced also a diversity of practice, which was made in 1564 the subject of special inquiry by the High Court of Commission. Thus the clergy were said to officiate "some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, some with a hat." Such inquiry led to the deprival and imprisonment of Sampson and Humphrey. The London clergy were called before the Commissioners, commanded thenceforth "that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel," and summoned singly to conform or lose their livings. Of ninety-eight London clergymen sixty-one subscribed, and thirty-seven were suspended for three months with threat of deprivation if they did not within that time conform. The objection of those whom Archbishop Parker called "the precise brethren" was to the creation by human

authority of laws as part of their religion which were not derived from the authority of the Bible, the one source of law in matters of religion, but from the ceremonial of a church which had assigned a superstitious value to its clothes. Each clergyman with cure of souls was then required to swear obedience to all the queen's injunctions; to all letters from Lords of the Privy Council; to all articles and injunctions from the metropolitan; to all articles and mandates from his bishop, archdeacon, and other ecclesiastical officers. **Miles Coverdale,** as a Nonconformist, had been neglected in the first years of Elizabeth, until Edmund Grindal, then Bishop of London, obtained for him in 1562 the London parish of St. Magnus, without oaths required. He was now, at the age of eighty, obliged to give up his living, and was until his death, in 1567, a preacher unattached.

Archbishop Parker was thoroughly sincere in carrying out this policy. There was a wide-spread reverence for the old forms of the Church in rural England; many scholars and students of the past shared in the reverential feeling, and wished to secure essentials of reform with least possible disturbance of forms and customs that had been blended with the worship of God by their forefathers. Respect for the past was natural to **Matthew Parker.** In his household all servants when they had nothing else to do were required to bind books, to copy or paint from manuscripts, or engrave on copper. He took pains to collect manuscripts scattered at the destruction of the monasteries, especially the most ancient of those that related to our own Church. He caused four old historians to be edited, Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, Thomas Walsingham, and Asser's "Life of Alfred." In 1566 he issued Ælfric's Homily on the Lord's Supper, to be read to the people at Easter, before sacrament. The tendency of all his labour is indicated by his own work, a folio printed in Latin, in 1572—*De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, &c.—on the antiquity of the Church of Britain and privileges of the Church of Canterbury, with its seventy archbishops. Parker represented honestly, and maintained in the manner of the time, the principle of authority within the Church. His friend Queen Elizabeth liked Puritans rather less than Catholics, because their opposition to authority in many of its forms implied, if it spread and took other shape, a possible abridgment of the power of the crown.

For the Geneva Bible, John Bodley obtained in 1561 a patent,

giving exclusive right to print that version for seven years. In 1566, a revised edition being ready, an extension of the licence was applied for, and permitted for twelve years longer, on condition that no impression should pass without the direction, consent, and advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. John Bodley would not consent to that; and the Geneva Bible was printed abroad for English use until the death of Archbishop Parker. Parker, meanwhile, produced, with conscientious care, a version which was to supersede in churches Cranmer's Bible (ch. vi. § 29). About 1564, in the year of Shakespeare's birth, he distributed the work of translation among fifteen learned men, most of them bishops, urged on them to do their work "in such perfection that the adversaries can have no occasion to quarrel with it," and published the result in 1568. This translation, from the number of bishops who took part in it, and from the fact that it became, for Elizabeth's reign, the authorised version for church use, was known as *The Bishops' Bible.* It put aside, for example, Tyndal's word "congregation," against which More had contended, and which had remained in Cranmer's Bible, giving the word "Church," that Tyndal had avoided (ch. vi. § 22). But tendencies of thought are indicated by the fact that of eighty-five editions of the English Bible published in Elizabeth's reign, sixty were of the Geneva version.

16. On the way from the monastic chronicle to later forms of history, we have now come to a form of chronicle in which the design of Robert of Gloucester (ch. iii. § 38) is carried out with simple directness. The Latin monastic chronicle (ch. iii. § 3) was to enable studious brethren to connect their lives with the great life of the world, and the history and interests of the abbey itself usually in this chronicle lay at the heart of all the business of the world. But now we have in our own tongue abstracts and chronicles of past events at the heart of which there lies only the desire that Englishmen should know what it concerns them to know of the life of their own country. There is no attempt at a minute tracing of cause and effect—that was to follow; no rhyming to recommend the story to the ears of an uneducated people—that had gone before. In the stir of life at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was not only a desire but a need simply to know what had been done in the past.

Richard Grafton, who completed Hall's Chronicle, (ch. vi. § 50) produced, therefore, in 1563, *An Abridgment;* and in

1565 *A Manual of the Chronicles of England*, from the Creation to the date of publication; and in 1568 and 1569, in two folios, *A Chronicle at large and meere History of the Affayres of Englande and Kinges of the same.*

John Stow, born in Cornhill about 1525, was a tailor's son, and for a few years himself a tailor. But the life of the time stirred in him an enthusiasm for the study of English history and antiquities. He produced, in 1561, *A Summary of English Chronicles*, and gave time and labour in travel about the country to produce for posterity a larger record; but he would have given up the delight and chief use of his life, to go back to tailoring for need of bread, if he had not been encouraged by occasional help from Archbishop Parker. His history first appeared in 1580, a quarto of more than 1,200 pages, as *Annales, or a Generale Chronicle of England from Brute unto this present yeare of Christ*, 1580.

Ralph Holinshed had produced, with help of John Hooker, Richard Stanihurst, Boteville, Harrison, and others, his Chronicle three years before, in 1577, when Shakespeare was thirteen years old. Prefixed to it was a "Description of Britaine," valuable as an account of the condition of the country at that time. It was in two folio volumes, with many woodcuts. The second edition, which contained some passages that displeased the queen and required cancelling, appeared in 1586 and 1587, when Shakespeare's age was about twenty-three. It was chiefly in Hall and Holinshed that Shakespeare read the history of England. Of Holinshed himself little more is known than that he came of a respectable family at Bosley, in Cheshire, and that he was, in the latter part of his life, steward to a Thomas Burdet, of Bromcote, Warwickshire.

When the Chronicles of Holinshed and Stow appeared, in 1577 and 1580, **William Camden** had been appointed second master of Westminster School, and was at work on his *Britannia.* Camden was a Londoner, born in 1551, or about two years older than Spenser. He was educated at Christ's Hospital and St. Paul's School, entered as a servitor at Magdalene College, Oxford, whence he removed to Broadgate Hall (now Pembroke College), and then to Christchurch. He graduated in 1573, and in 1575 became second master at Westminster School, where he spent all leisure in the studies by which he served his country in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and in the reign of her successor.

To this record of the cultivation of English history by men of the people—a poor scholar, a gentleman's steward, a tailor, at a time, too, when there was another tailor, John Speed, gathering enthusiasm for such studies—we may add note of the service done to literature by **George Bannatyne**. He was the seventh child of a family of twenty-three, born in 1545, and bred to trade. In 1568 he was a young man of twenty-three, at home because it was a time of pestilence, when work was stopped. He amused himself in his forced leisure by copying all the pieces of good Scottish poetry he could meet with. His collection was so well taken care of that it has come down to our own time, a MS. of 800 closely-written pages, now in the library of the Faculty of Advocates, at Edinburgh.

17. We return to the poets, and take poetry on the side nearest to trade—with still a chief regard for the material well-being of England—in **Thomas Tusser**, whose *Hundreth Good Pointes of Husbandrie*, the first form of a larger book, appeared in 1557, the year before Elizabeth's accession (ch. vi. § 60). Thomas Tusser was born about 1515, at Rivenhall, in Essex, was first a chorister at St. Paul's, and then was placed at Eton under Udall (ch. vi. § 48, 58, 60), of whom he says:

> "From Paul's I went, to Eton sent,
> To learn straightways the Latin phrase,
> Where fifty-three stripes given to me
> At once I had.
> For fault but small, or none at all,
> It came to pass thus beat I was:
> See, Udall, see, the mercy of thee
> To me, poor lad."

Tusser went from Eton to Cambridge, was fourteen years at Court under the patronage of Lord Paget, then took a farm in Suffolk, and rhymed about farming. He first broke out in 1557 with his "Hundred Good Points," but his crop of rhyming maxims had increased fivefold by the year 1573, when Richard Tottel published Tusser's *Five Hundreth Points of good Husbandry*, giving the round of the year's husbandry month by month, in a book of 98 pages, six and a half quatrains to a page. Tusser's strength may have been in high farming, it was not in high poetry. Nevertheless, there is a musical sententiousness in his terse rhymes, and an air of business about them; his Pegasus tugged over the clods with his shoulder well up to the collar, and the maxims were in a form likely to ensure for them wide currency among the people. While less practical poets

might bid their readers go idly a Maying with Maid Marian. Tusser advised otherwise:

> "In May get a weed-hook, a crotch, and a glove,
> And weed out such weeds as the corn doth not love.
> For weeding of winter corn now it is best,
> But June is the better for weeding the rest."

Thomas Tusser died in 1580.

18. **George Turbervile** was about fifteen years younger than Tusser. He was born at Whitchurch, in Dorsetshire, educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, became secretary to Sir Thomas Randolph, ambassador at the Court of Russia, and lived into the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. He published, in 1567, two translations—one of *The Heroical Epistles of Ovid*, six of them translated into blank verse, and the others into four-lined stanzas; the other of the Latin *Eclogues of Mantuan*, an Italian poet, who had died in 1516. In 1570 there appeared a volume of his own poems as *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs, and Sonets; with a Discourse of the friendly Affections of Tymetes to Pindara his Ladie.* Turbervile takes a pleasant place among the elder Elizabethan poets. He wrote also books of *Falconrie* and *Hunting*, and made versions from the Italian, notably ten *Tragical Tales translated by Turbervile, in Time of his Troubles, out of sundrie Italians, with the Argument and L'Envoye to each Tale*, published in 1576.

From Italy, with French intervention, the story of "Romeo and Juliet" first came into English verse in 1562, two years before Shakespeare's birth, as *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet, written first in Italian by Bandell, and now in English by Ar. Br.*, that is, **Arthur Brooke.** Arthur Brooke took his poem from a French variation on the story by Bandello, himself altering and adding. In 1567, "Romeo and Juliet" appeared again in English, this time in prose, as the twenty-fifth novel of the second volume of *The Palace of Pleasure*, a collection of tales from the Italian, by **William Paynter.** Shakespeare afterwards founded his play on the tale as told by Arthur Brooke. Thus Ar. Br. wrote:

> "'Art thou,' quoth he, 'a man? Thy shape saith so thou art;
> Thy crying and thy weeping eyes denote a woman's hart:
> For manly reason is quite from of thy mind outchased,
> And in her stead affections lewd and fancies highly placed;
> So that I stoode in doute this howre at the least,
> If thou a man or woman wert, or els a brutish beast.'"

Which became in Shakespeare's verse:

"Art thou a man? Thy form cries out thou art:
Thy tears are womanish; thy wild acts denote
Th' unreasonable fury of a beast."

William Paynter, Clerk of the Office of Arms within the Tower of London, produced in 1566 the first volume of the "Palace of Pleasure," containing sixty novels translated from Boccaccio's "Decameron." In the following year he published, in a second volume, thirty-four more novels, partly taken from Bandello, whose tales first appeared at Lucca, in 1554. There were nine volumes of them, and it indicated the corruption of Italian life that some of the most licentious were inscribed to ladies of good fame.

19. **Roger Ascham** (ch. vi. § 55) made this in "The Schoolmaster," one ground of his argument against the "manners and doctrine our Englishmen fetch out of Italy." Ascham, although a Protestant, had escaped persecution in the reign of Mary; his pension had been renewed, and in May, 1554, he had been appointed Latin secretary to the queen, with a salary of forty marks. In that year also he gave up his fellowship, and married Margaret Howe. By Queen Elizabeth, Roger Ascham, who had been one of her teachers in Greek, was still continued in his pension, and retained in his post of Latin Secretary. In 1560 the queen gave him the prebend of Wetwang, in York Minster. The archbishop had given it to another, and Ascham did not get his dues without a lawsuit. In 1563, Ascham, as one in the queen's service, was dining with Sir William Cecil, when the conversation turned to the subject of education, from news of the running away of some boys from Eton, where there was much beating. Ascham argued that young children were sooner allured by love than driven by beating to obtain good learning. Sir Richard Sackville, father of Thomas Sackville (§ 8), said nothing at the dinner-table, but he afterwards drew Ascham aside, agreed with his opinions, lamented his own past loss by a harsh schoolmaster, and said, Ascham tells us in the preface to his book, "'Seeing it is but in vain to lament things past, and also wisdom to look to things to come, surely, God willing, if God lend me life, I will make this, my mishap, some occasion of good hap to little Robert Sackville, my son's son. For whose bringing up I would gladly, if it so please you, use specially your good advice. I hear say you have a son much of his age (Ascham had three little sons); we will deal thus together. Point you out a schoolmaster who by your order

shall teach my son and yours, and for all the rest I will provide, yea, though they three do cost me a couple of hundred pounds by year: and besides you shall find me as fast a friend to you and yours as perchance any you have.' Which promise the worthy gentleman surely kept with me until his dying day." The conversation went into particulars, and in the course of it Sir Richard drew from Ascham what he thought of the common going of Englishmen into Italy. All ended with a request that Ascham would "put in some order of writing the chief points of this our talk, concerning the right order of teaching and honesty of living, for the good bringing up of children and young men." That was the origin of Ascham's book called *The Schoolmaster*. Ascham wrote in Latin against the mass, and upon other subjects connected with religious controversy. His delicate health failed more and more. He became unable to work between dinner and bed-time, was troubled with sleeplessness, sought rest by the motion of a cradle, and ended his pure life as a scholar in 1568, at the age of fifty-three. His "Schoolmaster" was left complete, and published in 1570 by his widow, with a dedication to Sir William Cecil. Beseeching him, she said, to take on him "the defence of the book, to avaunce the good that may come of it by your allowance and furtherance to publike use and benefite, and to accept the thankefull recognition of me and my poore children, trustyng of the continuance of your good memorie of M. Ascham and his, and dayly commendyng the prosperous estate of you and yours to God, whom you serve, and whose you are, I rest to trouble you. Your humble Margaret Ascham." The treatise is in two parts, one dealing with general principles, the other technical, as in "Toxophilus;" the first book teaching the bringing up of youth, the second book teaching the ready way to the Latin tongue. Grea stress is laid in Ascham's "Schoolmaster" on gentleness in teaching. As to the true notes of the best wit in a child, Ascham will take, he says, "the very judgment of him that was counted the best teacher and wisest man that learning maketh mention of, and that is Socrates in Plato, who expresseth orderly these seven plain notes to choose a good wit in a child for learning." He was to be (1) Euphues; (2) of good memory; (3) attached to learning; (4) prepared for labour and pains; (5) glad to learn of another; (6) free in questioning; and (7) happy in well-earned applause. The first of these qualities, Ascham describes at especial length; and the embodiment of the description, in

a character wanting some of the other qualities, is, as we shall presently see, John Lyly's hero Euphues, described in a tale which has for subordinate title, "The Anatomy of Wit." Ascham's "Schoolmaster" was first published by his widow in the year 1570. The first part of Lyly's "Euphues" appeared in 1579; the other part, "Euphues and his England," in 1580.

"Ευφυὴς," the Schoolmaster said, "is he that is apt by goodness of wit, and appliable by readiness of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body that must another day serve learning, not troubled, mangled, and halved, but sound, whole, full, and able to do their office: as a tongue not stammering, or over hardly drawing forth words, but plain and ready to deliver the meaning of the mind; a voice not soft, weak, piping, womanish, but audible, strong, and manlike; a countenance not werish and crabbed, but fair and comely; a personage not wretched and deformed, but tall and goodly: for surely a comely countenance, with a goodly stature, giveth credit to learning and authority to the person; otherwise, commonly, either open contempt or privy disfavour doth hurt or hinder both person and learning. And even as a fair stone requireth to be set in the finest gold, with the best workmanship, or else it loseth much of the grace and price, even so excellency in learning, and namely divinity, joined with a comely personage, is a marvellous jewel in the world. And how can a comely body be better employed than to serve the greatest exercise of God's greatest gift, and that is learning? But commonly the fairest bodies are bestowed on the foulest purposes. I would it were not so; and with examples herein I will not meddle; yet I wish that those should both mend it and meddle with it which have most occasion to look to it, as good and wise fathers should do," &c.

In illustration of the force of gentleness in teaching, Ascham cited in "The Schoolmaster" his finding of Lady Jane Grey, when he called on her at Broadgate, in Leicestershire, before his going into Germany, reading Plato's Phædo in Greek, "and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccaccio." He asked her how that was; and she said it was because God had given her severe parents and a gentle schoolmaster. At home she was so continually under punishment and censure that she longed for the time when she must go to Mr. Aylmer (§ 2) "who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think

all the time nothing whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me." For Italy, said Ascham, the best that it could teach of the joining of learning with comely exercises was to be found in the "Courtier" (*Cortegiano*) of Count Baldassar Castiglione (the original published in 1516), "which book, advisedly read and diligently followed but one year at home in England, would do a young gentleman more good, I wis, than three years travel abroad spent in Italy." "And I marvel," adds Ascham, "that this book is no more read in the court than it is, seeing it is so well translated into English by a worthy gentleman, Sir Thomas Hoby" (translation published 1561). Italy, said Ascham, is not what it was wont to be. "Virtue once made that country mistress over all the world. Vice now maketh that country slave to them that before were glad to serve it. . . . If a gentleman must needs travel into Italy, he shall do well to look to the life of the wisest traveller that ever travelled thither, set out by the wisest writer that ever spake with tongue, God's doctrine only excepted, and that is Ulysses in Homer." The "Schoolmaster" observed that Ulysses "is not commended so much nor so oft in Homer, because he was πολύτροπος, that is, skilful in men's manners and fashions, as because he was πολύμητις, that is, wise in all purposes and ware in all places." Against Circe's enchantment Homer's remedy was the herb Moly, "with the black root and white flower, sour at the first but sweet in the end, which Hesiodus termeth the study of virtue." This was of all things most contrary to what Ascham called "the precepts of fond books of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London. . . . Ten sermons at Paul's Cross do not so much good for moving men to true doctrine as one of these books do harm with enticing men to ill living."

Let our young men, then, go to Italy under the keep and guard of one "who by his wisdom and honesty, by his example and authority, may be able to keep them safe and sound in the fear of God, in Christ's true religion, in good order and honesty of living." Ascham quoted to his countrymen the Italian proverb that "an Italianate Englishman is an incarnate devil." The readiest way, he said, to entangle the mind with false doctrine is first to entice the will to wanton living. Ascham dwelt on the outcome of a sensual life in the contempt by Italians alike

of the pope and of Luther; "they allow neither side: they like none but only themselves. The mark they shoot at, the end they look for, the heaven they desire, is only their own present pleasure and private profit; whereby they plainly declare of whose school, of what religion they be: that is Epicures in living, and ἄθεοι" (atheists, the word was now being Anglicised) "in doctrine. This last word is no more unknown now to plain Englishmen than the person was unknown sometime in England, until some Englishmen took pains to fetch that devilish opinion out of Italy."

20. Roger Ascham's "Schoolmaster" produced both name and substance of the "Euphues" of young **John Lyly.** Lyly was born in the Weald of Kent, about 1553; became a student of Magdalene College, Oxford, in 1569; took his degree of B.A. in 1573, and of M.A. in 1575; and was incorporated as M.A. of Cambridge in 1579. It was in the spring of the year 1579 that he published *Euphues; or, the Anatomy of Wit.* This earnest book, written at the age of five-and-twenty, made Lyly's reputation as a wit. It evidently was suggested by the reading of Ascham's "Schoolmaster." From citation of the anatomy of a teachable child's wit, as set forth by Socrates, and from Euphues, the first of the discriminated qualities, it obtained, as we have just seen, both its titles. Its form is that of an Italian story, its style a very skilful elaboration of that humour for conceits and verbal antitheses which had been coming in from Italy and was developing itself into an outward fashion of our literature. In form and style, therefore, it sought to win a welcome from those fashionable people upon whose minds there was most need to enforce its substance. In substance it was the argument of Ascham's "Schoolmaster" repeated: corruption of English life by the much going of our young men to Italy; the right development of the young mind by education on just principles, to a worthy life and a true faith in God.

21. It was not by right of their literature alone that the Italians of the sixteenth century, claiming the first rank in civilisation, spoke of the outer nations, after the old Roman fashion, as barbarians. Jerome Cardan, describing to his countrymen his visit to the court of Edward VI., said of the English that "in dress they are like the Italians, for they are glad to boast themselves nearly allied to them, and therefore study to imitate as much as possible their manner and their clothes. Certain it is that all the barbarians of Europe love the Italians more

than any race among themselves." He hinted that "perhaps these people do not know our wickedness."

The prevalence of a poetic element in the Italian character was of itself dangerous to foreigners of colder blood who went to Italy for inspiration. In that land of song, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was still to be heard the complaint made by Petrarch generations earlier, that the very tailors and shoemakers stitched rhymes and cobbled verse. Commentators upon Petrarch issued forth out of the printing-offices by dozens at a time, and were to be heard by thousands discoursing in society. His words were picked over for allegories, and his book of verse, weighted with fanciful interpretations, was disgraced into a pattern-book for all tailors of rhyme, a *Follet* for the literary milliner who set the fashion after which the luxury of idleness should be attired. Thus Petrarch unwittingly became a father of conceits. When, after the death of Leo X., the Florentine academicians, sorely punished for political conspiracy, were forced to confine their energies to literature, verbal haggling over Petrarch was their chief delight. Great poets were arising. The romantic epic, the pastoral, the satire, even the drama, were all dropping their first-fruits upon the rich Italian soil; but ready rhetoric, of sentiment determined to be clever and not caring to be true, still yielded the husks eaten by the mob alike of the palace and the street.

But upon the fashion of speech at Elizabeth's court there were other influences of which we have not yet taken account. Some of its peculiarities, together with the very name that gave the term of Euphuism to its affectations, are to be traced to the Platonists, who were strong in the days of Henry VIII. But Platonism also came to us from Italy. It was in Florence that the refugee Greeks, after the fall of Constantinople, were first welcomed as revealers of Plato and Aristotle (ch. v. § 25). In Italy Plato, in France Aristotle, was preferred. Neoplatonists had given interests to the Rabbinical doctrine of the Cabbala, then received by many a good Christian scholar. It was joined to principles of an occult philosophy, partly derived from the same source, but enriched from teaching of the Arabs; and it was confirmed by marvellous recitals in the "Natural History" of Pliny. "The mysteries of Nature," one of her students then said, "can no otherwise than by experience and conjecture be inquired into by us." Until the asserted experience of ancient naturalists had been disproved by the experience of later times,

it was not very unreasonable to assume that the science of the ancients equalled their philosophy and poetry. To deny virtues assigned to certain stones, plants, animals, or stars, simply because they were wonderful, certainly would not have been wise. Even in the magical doctrines then widely accepted there was reasoning entitled to respect. Their basis, it may be observed, was so far from being diabolical, that they set out with a demand for purity of life, and for a high spiritual adoration of the source of all the harmony they laboured to find in the wonders of creation. It is to be remembered, therefore, that those marvellous properties of things, honestly credited and freely used in the fashioning of ornaments of speech, had not for the reader of their own time that inherent absurdity which now attaches to them. It is very difficult indeed now to read in the old sense the kind of writing in which Lyly was master, "talking," as Drayton said,

"Of stones, stars, plants, of fishes, flies,
Playing with words and idle similies."

We must not forget that before the idlers went to Italy our scholars as well as our poets had been there. In Italy, Colet, Linacre, Grocyn, Lily, and Latimer, had learnt their Greek. Even after Elizabeth's day, Platonism survived to the time of the Commonwealth, in Henry More, who wrote Platonic songs of the Soul's Life and Immortality, and dedicated to his friend Cudworth a defence of the Threefold Cabbala. But Henry More's spiritual conceits have no concord with courtly affectations. "If," he says, "by thoughts rudely scattered in my verse I may lend men light till the dead night be gone,"

"It is enough I meant no trimmer frame,
Nor by nice needlework to seek a name"

To that taste for "nice needlework" Camden objected in "our sparkful youth," ready to "laugh at their great-grandfathers' English, who had more care to do well than to speak minion-like."

22. In the dedication of his *Euphues* to Lord de la Warre, Lyly suggests that there may be found in it "more speeches which for gravity will mislike the foolish than unseemly terms which for vanity may offend the wise." He anticipates some little disfavour from the "fine wits of the day;" and his allusions to "the dainty ear of the curious sifter," to the use of "superfluous eloquence," to the search after "those who sift the finest meal

and bear the whitest mouths," sufficiently show that his own manner was formed on an existing fashion. "It is a world," he says, "to see how Englishmen desire to hear finer speech than their language will allow, to eat finer bread than is made of wheat, or wear finer cloth than is made of wool; but I let pass their fineness, which can no way excuse my folly." But Lyly being a master of the style he had adopted, his ingenious English was taken as the type of successful writing in the fashionable manner, and from the title of his novel, the name of "Euphuism" was derived for the quaint writing, rich in conceit, alliteration, and antithesis, which remained in favour during the rest of the period of Italian influence on English literature.

Lyly's novel itself was in design most serious. He represented Euphues as a young gentleman of Athens, who corresponded in his readiness of wit and perfectness of body to the quality called Euphues by Plato. He went to Italy, to Naples, "a place of more pleasure than profit, and yet of more profit than piety, the very walls and windows whereof showed it rather to be the tabernacle of Venus than the temple of Vesta. . . a court more meet for an atheist than one of Athens." There he showed so pregnant a wit that Eubulus, an old gentleman of the place, was impelled to warn him at length against the dangers of the city in words ending with the solemn admonition, "Serve God, love God, fear God, and God will so bless thee as either heart can wish or thy friends desire." Young Euphues disdained counsel of age, and bought experience in his own way. He found a friend in a young and wealthy town-born gentleman, named Philautus. Euphues and Philautus "used not only one board but one bed, one book (if so be it they thought not one too many)." Philautus was supplanted by Euphues in the light love of Lucilla, daughter of Don Ferardo, one of the chief governors of the city. This parted the friends; until Euphues was in his turn cast off for one Curio, a gentleman of little wealth and less wit. Then Euphues lamented his rejection of the fatherly counsel of Eubulus, and his spending of life in the laps of ladies, of his lands in maintenance of bravery, and of his wit in the vanities of idle sonnets. The greatest wickedness, he found, is drawn out of the greatest wit, if it be abused by will, or entangled with the world, or inveigled by woman. He would endeavour himself to amend all that is past, and be a mirror of godliness thereafter, rather choosing to die in his study amidst his books than to court it in Italy in the company of

ladies. The story was here at an end, although the volume was not and Lyly's idler readers, who had caught at his bait of a fashionably conceited tale, might now begin to feel the hook with which he angled. Philautus and Euphues renewed their friendship; and Euphues, having returned to Athens, sent to his friend in Naples "a cooling card for Philautus and all fond lovers." Then followed a letter "to the grave matrons and honest maidens of Italy," in the spirit of one who, as Euphues wrote, "may love the clear conduit water, though he loathe the muddy ditch. Ulysses, though he detested Calypso, with her sugared voice, yet he embraced Penelope, with her rude distaff." It should no more, said Lyly, grieve the true woman to hear censure of woman's folly "than the mint master to see the coiner hanged." Increasing in earnestness, the book then gave, under the heading of "Euphues and his Ephebus" (Ephebus meaning a youth come to man's estate, which was for boys in Athens the age of seventeen), a systematic essay upon education, sound as Ascham's in its doctrine; dealing with the management of children from their birth, and advancing to the ideal of a university. Rising still in earnestness, as he showed his Euphues growing in wisdom, Lyly made a letter to the gentlemen scholars of Athens preface to a dialogue between Euphues and Atheos, which was an argument against the infidelity that had crept in from Italy. It is as earnest as if Latimer himself had preached it to the courtiers of King Edward. Euphues appeals solemnly to Scripture and the voice within ourselves. In citation from the sacred text consist almost his only illustrations; in this he abounds. Whole pages contain nothing but the words of Scripture. At a time when fanciful and mythological adornment was so common to literature that the very Bible Lyly read—the new Bishops' Bible (§ 15)—contained woodcut initials upon subjects drawn from Ovid's "Metamorphoses," and opened the Epistle to the Hebrews with a sketch of Leda and the Swan, Lyly does not once mingle false ornament with reasoning on sacred things. He refers to the ancients only at the outset of his argument, to show that the heathen had acknowledged a creator: mentions Plato but to say that he recognised one whom we may call God omnipotent, glorious, immortal, unto whose similitude we that creep here on earth have our souls framed; and Aristotle, only to tell how, when he could not find out by the secrecy of nature the cause of the ebbing and the flowing of the sea, he cried, with a loud voice, "O Thing of Things, have mercy upon

me!" In twenty black-letter pages there are but three illustrations drawn from supposed properties of things. The single anecdote from profane history may here be quoted from a discourse that introduces nearly all the texts incorporated in our Liturgy:—"I have read of Themistocles, which having offended Philip, the King of Macedonia, and could no way appease his anger, meeting his young son Alexander, took him in his arms, and met Philip in the face. Philip, seeing the smiling countenance of the child, was well pleased with Themistocles. Even so, if through thy manifold sins and heinous offences thou provoke the heavy displeasure of thy God, insomuch as thou shalt tremble for horror, take his only-begotten and well-beloved Son Jesus in thine arms, and then He neither can nor will be angry with thee. If thou have denied thy God, yet if thou go out with Peter and weep bitterly, God will not deny thee. Though with the prodigal son thou wallow in thine own wilfulness, yet if thou return again sorrowful thou shalt be received. If thou be a grievous offender, yet if thou come unto Christ with the woman in Luke, and wash His feet with thy tears, thou shalt obtain remission."

The first part of Euphues—*Euphues; or, the Anatomy of Wit*, published in 1579—is a complete work. The second part—*Euphues and his England*, published in 1580—was apparently designed to mitigate some of the severity of the first, which had given offence at Oxford, and indirectly deprecate, in courtly fashion, a too ruinous interpretation of the author's meaning. In the first part Lyly satisfied his conscience; in the second part, but still without dishonesty, he satisfied the court. He had ended the first part with an intimation that Euphues was about to visit England, and promised, within one summer, a report of what he saw. In his second part, therefore, Euphues, bringing Philautus with him, lands at Dover, after telling a long moral story on the sea. The two strangers pass through Canterbury, and are entertained in a roadside house by a retired courtier. This personage keeps bees and philosophises over them; from him we hear the lengthy story of his love, enriched with numerous conceited conversations. In London the travellers lodge with a merchant, and are admitted to the intimacy of a lady named Camilla, who is courted and who finally is married, though she be below his rank, by noble Surius. With Camilla and the ladies who are her friends, the strangers converse much in courtly fashion. Philautus of course falls in love with her, and

worries her with letters; but he is at last led by Flavia, a prudent matron, to the possession of a wife in the young lady Violet. Every Englishwoman is fair, wise, and good. Nothing is wrong in England; or whatever is wrong, Lyly satirises with exaggerated praise. The story is full of covert satire, and contains much evidence of religious earnestness. It is designedly enriched with love-tales, letters between lovers, and ingenious examples of those fanciful conflicts of wit in argument upon some courtly theme, to which fine ladies and gentlemen of Elizabeth's court formally sat down as children now sit down to a round game of forfeits. Having saved to the last a panegyric upon Queen Elizabeth, which blends an ounce of flattery with certainly a pound of solid praise in its regard for her as the mainstay of the Protestant faith, Euphues retires to Athens, where, he says, "Gentlemen, Euphues is musing in the bottom of the mountain Silixedra, Philautus is married in the Isle of England: two friends parted, the one living in the delights of his new wife, the other in contemplation of his old griefs."

After a few more words, Lyly parted from his readers by committing them to the Almighty.

23. Such were the times wherein Spenser and Shakespeare grew to their full powers: Spenser representing England with its religious sense of duty combative, bitterly combative, in all the struggle of the time; Shakespeare enabled by that English earnestness to speak through highest poetry the highest truth, to shape in immortal forms the very spirit which we lose too often while we fight to make it ours.

Edmund Spenser was born in or about the year 1552. His father was probably a clothmaker who came to London from near Burnley, in Lancashire, and he was sent to Merchant Taylor's School at or soon after its foundation in 1560, with Dr. Mulcaster for head master. In May, 1569, he entered Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, as a sizar. In the same month there was finished a book by John van der Noodt, a refugee physician from Antwerp, called, *A Theatre wherein be represented as well the Miseries and Calamities that follow the Voluptuous Worldlings, as also the great Joys and Pleasures which the Faithful do enjoy. An Argument both Profitable and Delectable to all that sincerely love the Word of God.* The book opened with six pieces, which were the first six of the *Visions of Petrarch* translated by Spenser, and they were followed by some translations which, with later change from blank verse into rhyme, may be identified

among Spenser's *Visions of Bellay*. Spenser's participation as a youth in such a work as Van der Noodt's, agrees with what we learn of him in later years. Spenser graduated as B.A. in 1573, and as M.A. in 1576.

24. In that year, when Spenser's age was about four-and twenty, a friend and fellow-student of his at Pembroke Hall, **Gabriel Harvey,** was lecturing on rhetoric at Cambridge. The introductory lecture of Harvey's course in 1577, apparently his second course, was published under the name of *Ciceronianus;* and his two first lectures of the course for 1578 were also published, under the name of *Rhetor*. He had then advanced from a close following of Bembo and other Italians, who exalted above all things the Ciceronian style, and had received an impulse to the appreciation of individuality in other authors, from the reading of Jean Sambuc's "Ciceronianus." He had learnt, within that year, to look for the whole man in a writer as the source of style, and, still exalting Cicero, to attend first to the life and power of the man, and not to the mere surface polish of his language. "Let every man," he said, "learn to be, not a Roman, but himself." Gabriel Harvey then, the friend of Spenser and of Sidney, was no pedant. He was the eldest of four sons of a prosperous rope-maker at Saffron Walden. Two other brothers, Richard and John, followed him after a long interval to Cambridge; Richard, the elder, coming to Pembroke Hall as a boy of fourteen, in 1575, and finding in his brother Gabriel a guide and tutor.

An obscure book of Gabriel Harvey's enables us to understand the way of Spenser's introduction into life. In July, 1578, Queen Elizabeth visited Audley End, the great house in the neighbourhood of Saffron Walden. Cambridge being close by, the University paid homage to the queen on that occasion. Gabriel Harvey, being a Saffron Walden man, made much of the event. When the great scholar, **Sir Thomas Smith,** who was of Saffron Walden and a kinsman, (ch. vi. § 51, 56), who had become a Secretary of State under Elizabeth and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and had written a Latin book upon England—*De Republicâ Anglorum*—died, in 1579, Harvey wrote his lament called *Smithus*. A series of Latin poems celebrating notabilities of the queen's visit to Saffron Walden was written by **Gabriel Harvey,** and published under the name of *Gratulationes Waldenses* ("Walden Gratulations"). Two were upon words spoken by the queen concerning Gabriel himself. He

pressed forward with his homage, and the Queen said, "Who is this? Is it Leicester's man that we were speaking of?" Being told that it was, she said, "I'll not deny you my hand, Harvey." Again, as the subject of another set of verses, "Tell me," the queen said to Leicester, "Is it settled that you send this man to Italy and France?" "It is," said he. "That's well," she replied, "for already he has an Italian face, and the look of a man; I should hardly have taken him for an Englishman" —like an Italian for the dusky hue which Thomas Nash afterwards compared to rancid bacon. Here, then, we learn that Harvey was in Leicester's service, and about to be sent abroad by him. But Harvey just after this time wrote to his friend Spenser, who had left college upon taking his M.A. degree, and who seems to have been living as a tutor in the North of England, bidding him leave "those hills were harbrough nis,"

> "And to the dales resort, where shepherds rich
> And fruitful flocks bene everywhere to see."

The common friend of Harvey and Spenser who wrote the original gloss on this passage says, "This is no poetical fiction, but unfeignedly spoken of the poet self, who for special occasion of private affairs (as I have been partly of himself informed) and for his more preferment, removing out of the north parts came into the south as Hobbinol" (that is the name given in "The Shepherds' Calendar" to Gabriel Harvey) "advised him privately." Now, the advancement was by introduction to the Earl of Leicester, by whom, either in place of Harvey, or as well as Harvey, Spenser was sent abroad. In October, 1579, there were addressed to Gabriel Harvey some affectionate hexameters by Edmund Spenser, then on the point of travelling into France. "Dispatched by my lord, I go thither," Spenser said, in the postscript dated from Leicester House "as sent by him and maintained (most what) of him; and there am to employ my time, my mind, to his honour's service." Clearly, then, the introduction to Leicester, which determined the whole future of Spenser's life, he had obtained from his friend Harvey. As "Leicester's man," Harvey had become acquainted with Philip Sidney, Leicester's nephew. Likeness in age and love of literature had developed between them a friendship in which Spenser now was joined. It was in the year 1579, when he was in Leicester's service and Sidney's society a frequent guest at Penshurst, and a young man with a

career opening before him, that Spenser, aged twenty-seven, published his first book, *The Shepherds' Calendar.*

25. **Philip Sidney** was born at Penshurst, in November, 1554, eldest child of Sir Henry Sidney, who was at the time of his son's birth twenty-five years old, and had been knighted four years before, in company with Sir William Cecil. His mother had been Lady Mary Dudley; she was daughter to the Duke of Northumberland and sister to Sir Robert Dudley, who, in 1564, was created Earl of Leicester. The next child of the household was a daughter, Mary, one year younger than Philip, his companion in childhood and the only sister who lived to become a woman. At the accession of Elizabeth, Sir Henry Sidney was Lord Justice of Ireland; he then served as Lord President of Wales, and in October, 1565, still acting as President of Wales by deputy, he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. There "O'Neil the Great, cousin to St. Patrick, friend to the Queen of England, and enemy to all the world besides," seizing the occasion given in 1560 by the attempt of the Earl of Sussex to enforce Protestantism on the Irish Catholics, had made himself master of the north and west. Sir Henry battled bravely and generously with the real difficulties of his position, while his credit at court in London was being impaired by complaints that arose from selfish jealousies of the Earls of Ormond and Desmond in the south. As Lord President of Wales and the Marches of the same, namely, the four counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Shropshire, having his court at Ludlow Castle, Sir Henry Sidney had sent his son Philip, a grave, studious boy, to Shrewsbury school. In 1568 he went to Oxford, where Christchurch was his college. Sir Henry Sidney was during his son's Oxford days Lord Deputy of Ireland, and sometimes at home in Ludlow as Lord President. Sidney remained three years at Oxford, where one of his chief friends was a student of his own age, who had been his schoolfellow at Shrewsbury, **Fulke Greville.** Greville, who was of an old Warwickshire family, afterwards became an ornament of Elizabeth's court, and lived into the time of Charles I., being throughout his life the influential friend of many poets and scholars. He was knighted by Elizabeth in 1591, and was raised to the peerage, as Lord Brooke, in 1627. In 1571, during a time of plague, **Philip Sidney** left Oxford, in his seventeenth year, without having taken a degree. In the same year his father, who had prayed for

recall from Ireland if he could not be more firmly supported in his office, obtained leave of absence. His post in Ireland was then given to another; and the queen, who had the year before raised Sir William Cecil to the peerage, as Lord Burghley, offered a peerage also to Sir Henry Sidney. But Sidney was three thousand pounds the poorer for his Irish duties, and declined an honour he had not means to sustain. He remained Lord President of Wales; and his son Philip, after leaving Oxford, was for a time probably with his uncle Leicester at court. In May, 1572, Philip Sidney went with the embassy of the Earl of Lincoln to treat on the question of Elizabeth's marriage to the Duke of Alençon. He went commended by his uncle's letters to the friendship of Francis Walsingham, English Ambassador in Paris. He did not return with Lord Lincoln, but remaining in Paris, he was there on the 24th of August, sheltered in Walsingham's house, during the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

26. Twelve years before, when Charles IX., ten or eleven years old, became king, his mother, Catherine de' Medici, had begun rule for him with a policy of conciliation. But the strife of souls was too intense to endure compromise. In March, 1562, it sprang into civil war at the Massacre of Vassy. The Huguenots rose to arms, under the Prince of Condé as head of the Protestant league. Philip of Spain aided the Catholics with troops and money. Elizabeth of England aided the French Protestants with troops, who garrisoned Havre, Rouen, and Dieppe. The King of Navarre having received a mortal wound at the siege of Rouen, the Duke of Guise became sole head of the French Catholic party. His assassination left open the way to a peace, by the Edict of Amboise, in March 1563, which was needed for the safety of the throne. In the following year Catherine was visited by her daughter Elizabeth, whom, in 1560, Philip of Spain, aged thirty-four, had married, her age being then fifteen, and she betrothed to his son Don Carlos. With Elizabeth came Philip's counsellor of war, the Duke of Alva. Between Catherine and Alva there was at that time much private discourse, of which one phrase was overheard by young Henry of Béarn. The Duke of Alva was exhorting Catherine to get rid of a few leaders of the Huguenots, and said, "One head of salmon is worth ten thousand heads of frogs." Still Catherine kept peace. In December, 1565, a new pope, Pius V., became head of the Catholic Church, austere, devout,

inflexible in a resolve to support Christendom against the Turks armed in the Mediterranean, and to put forth all his might against the heretics. New prisons had to be built in Rome, and Italian men of genius who thought too freely were among his victims. In the summer of 1567 the Duke of Alva was allowed to march an army through France to the Netherlands, where the spirit of independence had been gaining strength.

In March, 1563, the nobles of the Netherlands, guided chiefly by William, Prince of Orange, who had for supporters the Counts Egmont and Horn, had formed themselves into a league against the government of Cardinal Granvella, who was forced to retire in March, 1564. Meanwhile, Calvinism had spread in the Low Countries, and the regent Margaret, who inclined towards the nobles, was urged by Philip to strong measures. In October, 1565, Philip wrote a letter requiring that the edicts against heresy should be enforced as heretofore. The Prince of Orange and the nobles obtained from the regent its immediate publication, and a storm of feeling was excited that caused Margaret to ask leave to resign. Flemings began to emigrate by thousands into England, where they set up looms. On the 11th of November, François Dujon, called Francis Junius, preached at Brussels before the Flemish nobles. This Junius was an ardent scholar, who had been studying at Geneva, when his father was slain by a fanatic crowd while he was inquiring into a massacre of Huguenots within their place of worship at Issoudun. Francis Junius forswore France, lived for a time at Geneva by giving lessons in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and had then been called to the Netherlands as pastor of the Huguenot congregation which met secretly at Antwerp. After the sermon of Junius some Flemish nobles formed a distinct league against oppressions of the government, and Philip van Marnix, Lord of Mont Saint Aldegonde, a young man of twenty-seven, who had been trained at Geneva, where he was the friend of Calvin, drew up what was known as the "Act of Compromise." This Act, in January 1566, set forth the mind of the league by denouncing the Inquisition as illegal and iniquitous, and binding the subscribers to defend one another in a resistance that was not against allegiance to the king. The league was formed without the knowledge of the Prince of Orange, and discountenanced by him; but he at the same time, as Governor of Holland and

Zealand, resisted the king's letter. The strong feeling and strong action of the native population produced what was called a "moderation" of the law against heresy—hanging was put for burning. Then missionaries preached to crowds of the people in woods, plains, villages, and suburbs of towns; and this was the state of things in the Netherlands in the first year of the papacy of Pius V. Philip made some illusory concessions while he levied troops; contests arose in the Netherlands between royalist troops and insurgent people; but presently the King of Spain was again master, Holland being last to yield. Meanwhile there was continued passage of Protestant Netherlanders into England, quickened by dread of the approach of Alva with a Spanish force. Alva was urged by Pope Pius V., as he passed near Geneva, to "clean out that nest of devils and apostates," but he marched steadily on, and entered Brussels with his Spaniards on the 22nd of August, 1567. This was when Edmund Spenser was a boy of fifteen, under Dr. Mulcaster, when England was filled with the reports of persecution in the Netherlands from refugee Flemings, who were bringing into England industry of the loom and wealth of commerce, with new impulse to the love of liberty; and when one of the refugees, John van der Noodt, was presently to cause the young poet to write his first lines for the printer in a declaration of the miseries and calamities that follow worldlings, and the joys and pleasures which the faithful do enjoy.

Joys of the faithful,—although Alva garrisoned the towns of the Netherlands with a licentious Spanish soldiery, seized Egmont and Horn, prohibited emigration, organised the Council of Tumults, known as the "Council of Blood." Margaret retired; Alva succeeded to her powers as regent and governor-general. On the 16th of February, 1568, a sentence of the Inquisition condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death, except a few specially named. In a letter to Philip, Alva reckoned at 800 heads the executions to take place after Passion-week. Money was raised by confiscation. In the summer of that year, 1568, the Prince of Orange published his justification against condemnation passed upon him, repudiated the Council of Tumults, and declared that he had become a Protestant. By sentence of the Council of Tumults, the Counts Egmont and Horn were executed on the 5th of June. The Duke of Alva took two "heads of salmon." Alva's troops had then a victorious campaign against armed opposition, and their

leader praised himself for having trampled down heresy and rebellion.

News like this from the Netherlands stirred the blood of the French Huguenots, and, at the close of the year 1567 a second civil war began. In 1568 there was a pause; but early in the spring of 1569 war was resumed, and then young Walter Raleigh came to share in the struggle as one of a company of English volunteers.

27. **Walter Raleigh** was of the same age as Spenser, born in 1552, at the manor-house of Hayes Barton, about a mile from Budleigh, in Devonshire. In 1566 he was sent to Oriel College, Oxford, where he remained three years; and at the age of seventeen he left college without a degree to join as a volunteer the Protestants in France. His mother was third wife of Walter Raleigh, of Hayes Barton. Her maiden name was Champernon, and by a former marriage with Otho Gilbert, of Greenway, she had three sons, of whom one became famous as Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the great navigator. Her relative, Henry Champernon, raised a troop of a hundred mounted Englishmen to aid the Huguenots in France; and Walter Raleigh, who had gone before his cousin in 1569, shared the defeats of the Huguenots at Jarnac and Moncontour, shared their successes of 1570, had interest in the treaty of August, 1570, which conceded much to the Reformers, and which was protested against by Pius V. and Philip II. In the spring of 1571 a Synod of the Reformed Church was held, by the king's permission, at Rochelle. Admiral Coligny was welcomed at court, and the king even prepared an expedition in aid of the persecuted Reformers in the Netherlands. The expedition was begun. The king seemed ready to take Coligny's advice, and declare war with Spain, against the counsel of his mother. On the 18th of August, 1572, Henry of Navarre was married to Marguerite of Valois. The 24th was St. Bartholomew's-day, the day of the concerted massacre of Huguenots in Paris and the provinces of France, which happened at the time when Philip Sidney was in Paris.

28. No peace was secured; Rochelle revolted, and Raleigh remained to fight awhile in France, while **Philip Sidney** travelled on alone to Strasburg and Frankfort. In Frankfort he lodged at a printer's; and the youth of eighteen drew to himself the friendship of a French Huguenot of fifty-five, Hubert Languet, who had once been a Professor of Civil Law in Padua, but who went from Paris to Frankfort as secret minister of the

Elector of Saxony. Languet saw in the grave young Englishman, who had high birth, genius, and manly feeling, who was possible heir of his uncle Leicester, possibly the future minister of England, hope of his cause in Europe. The elder Reformer, therefore, loved the youth, counselled him, and watched over him with fatherly solicitude, of which his extant Latin letters (first published in 1632) bear witness. Sidney wrote of him afterwards in the "Arcadia:"

> "The song I sang old Languet had me taught—
> Languet, the shepherd best swift Ister knew,
> For clerkly reed, and hating what is naught,
> For faithful heart, clean hands, and mouth as true.
> With his sweet skill my skilless youth he drew
> To have a feeling tas.e of Him that sits
> Beyond the heaven—far more beyond our wits."

With Languet, Philip Sidney went, in 1573, from Frankfort to Vienna; thence, after an excursion into Hungary, he went on to Italy, having for one of his companions Lewis Bryskett, afterwards a friend of Spenser's. After eight weeks in Italy, with Venice for head-quarters, and giving six weeks to Padua, but urged by the anxious Languet not to visit Rome, he returned through Germany, and was back in England by June, 1575. In July he was with the court, and shared *The Princely Pleasures at the Court at Kenilworth*, as they were called by George Gascoigne when he next year published an account of them.

29. **George Gascoigne**, son and heir of Sir John Gascoigne, was born about the year 1536, perhaps in Westmoreland, educated at Cambridge, admitted to Gray's Inn in 1555, and called as an Ancient of his Inn in 1557. At the accession of Elizabeth, George Gascoigne was an ardent youth of about twenty-two, disinherited by his father, caring more for literature than for common law. In 1566 there were represented at Gray's Inn two plays of his preparing, both translations. One, called *The Supposes*, was a prose translation of Ariosto's comedy, "Gli Suppositi" (ch. vi. § 41); the other was *Jocasta*, an adaptation from the "Phænissæ" of Euripides. This, the first acted version of a Greek play, was, like "Gorboduc," written in blank verse, and with a dumb-show before every act. In 1572, Gascoigne published *A Hundreth Sundrie Floures bound up in one small Poesie.* He had then Lord Grey of Wilton, a strict Calvinist, for patron, and was at the time of publication, a captain

in the Netherlands under William of Orange, who, in July of that year, was declared by the deputies of eight cities Stadtholder of Holland. Brabant and Flanders were in that year cruelly subdued to Spain, but in Holland the revolt was maintained steadfastly. Haarlem stood a siege of more than eight months, with three hundred women among its defenders. When the town was at last brought to surrender, after solemn assurance that none should be punished except those who, in the opinion of the citizens themselves, deserved it, two or three thousand of the inhabitants were treacherously slaughtered, and three hundred were drowned in the lake, tied by twos back to back. In December of that year, 1573, the Duke of Alva was, by his own wish, recalled, and boasted on his way home that he had caused 18,600 Netherlanders to be executed. Gascoigne's adventures in the Netherlands were over, and he was living at Walthamstow in 1574, when he described "The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth," began his satire called "The Steele Glass," and prefixed verses of commendation to a book of Turbervile's. In 1576, George Gascoigne published *The Steele Glas* and *The Complaint of Philomene*, besides *A Delicate Diet for Daintiemouthde Droonkards*, and in October, 1577, he died. The "Complaint of Philomene" is, in form of elegy, the fable of "The Nightingale." "The Steel Glass" is a clever satire, which upholds with religious earnestness a manly and true life. Satire, who has Plain Dealing for father, Simplicity for mother, and Poesy for sister, complains here that his sister has been married to Vain Delight, and that every man will have a glass "to see himself, yet so he seeth him not."

> "That age is dead and vanished long ago
> Which thought that steel both trusty was and true,
> And needed not a foil of contraries,
> But showed all things as they were in deed.
> Instead whereof our curious years can find
> The christal glass which glimseth brave and bright,
> And shows the thing much better than it is,
> Beguiled with foils of sundry subtle sights,
> So that they seem, but covet not to be."

Gascoigne's Satire therefore resolves to hold up the faithful glass of burnished steel, and from it show true images of men. The poem is in about 1,100 lines of blank verse, and is the first example in our language of a poem of any length, and not dramatic, written in that measure. It is also the only example before Milton's "Paradise Lost" of an English poem of any

length in blank verse, except an insignificant work by W. Vallans, published in 1590, as "The Tale of the Two Swans, wherein is comprehended the original and increase of the River Lea, commonly called Ware River; together with the Antiquities of sundrie Places and Towns seated upon the same."

30. **Philip Sidney** (§ 25), at the close of 1575, was living in London with his mother. Need of his father's good service in Ireland had been felt, and Sir Henry Sidney had left London in August, again to labour in Ireland as Lord Deputy. In 1577, though but twenty-two years old, Sidney was sent as ambassador to the new Emperor of Germany, Rudolph II., with formal letters upon his accession, and with private instructions to do what he could towards the promotion of a Protestant League among the princes of the Continent. Hubert Languet was active about him. He came home through the Netherlands, to convey to William of Orange Queen Elizabeth's congratulations on the birth of his first child; and he saw on the way Don John of Austria, that illegitimate son of Charles V. of whom, when he had in 1571 triumphed over the Turks in the Gulf of Lepanto, Pope Pius V. said, "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John." When Sidney spoke with him, Don John had been sent from the King of Spain, and had just entered Brussels as Governor-General of the Provinces of the Netherlands.

Sidney found when he came home, in June, 1577, his sister, Mary, married. At the age of twenty she had become in the preceding February the third wife of Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, a quiet and good man of forty. Sidney was now in favour at court. In April, 1578, when the queen visited Leicester, at Wanstead, he contrived for her pleasure a little occasional masque called *The Lady of May*, after this fashion. A masquer, dressed like an honest countrywoman, appeared before the queen as she was walking with her train in Wanstead gardens, and complained of a daughter who was troubled with two suitors. Then six shepherds came out of the wood with the Lady of May, "hauling and pulling to which side they should draw her." An old shepherd, in absurd words, complained that a woman of a minsical countenance had disannulled the brainpain of two of their featiest young men; but produced Master Rombus, the schoolmaster, who could better, "disnounce the whole foundation of the matter." Master Rombus "disnounced" pedantry and dog-Latin, in a style very like that afterwards used by Shakespeare's Holofernes, in "Love's Labour's Lost." The May Lady stopped him, and left

it to the queen to decide, after hearing their contest in song, which of the shepherds was to be preferred. Then came the rural songs. When the queen was to give judgment, an old shepherd and a forester intervened with argument in comic prose whether the estate of shepherds or of foresters were the more worshipful. Rombus, the schoolmaster, interposed again with his pedantry, and was about to judge for the queen, when the May Lady again stopped him. The queen gave what judgment she thought best, the masquers all struck up their music, the one who was declared victor by Her Majesty expressed his joy in song, and the May Lady spoke a little epilogue.

In July, 1578, Philip Sidney was one of the men of mark who followed Queen Elizabeth to Audley End, and received honours of verse from Gabriel Harvey in the "Walden Gratulations." But Sidney was weary of idleness at court. His friend, Fulke Greville, returning from a foreign mission, received on his way from William of Orange a message for Elizabeth, craving leave of her freely to speak his knowledge and opinion of a fellow-servant of his who lived unemployed under her. He had had much experience, had seen various times and things and persons, but he protested that Her Majesty had in Mr. Philip Sidney one of the ripest and greatest statesman that he knew of in all Europe. If Her Majesty would but try the young man, the prince would stake his own credit upon the issue of his friend's employment about any business, either with the allies or with the enemies of England. And this was said, not without reason, by William the Silent of a young man of four-and-twenty, who seems to have been the type of what was noblest in the youth of England during times that could produce a Shakespeare.

31. This was said of Sidney at the time when **Edmund Spenser** came to London, and after he had been abroad on Leicester's errand, and finished his "Shepheardes Calender" where he had Sidney for companion. The little book was published anonymously, with a dedication to the noble and virtuous gentleman, most worthy of all titles, both of learning and chivalry, Master Philip Sidney. *The Shepheardes Calender: conteyning Twelve Æglogues proportionable to the Twelve Monethes*, and dedicated to Philip Sidney, was introduced by "E. K."—Edward Kirke, an old college friend of Spenser's and Harvey's—with a letter to Gabriel Harvey, in which "the new poet" was said to have begun with eclogues, "following the example of the best and most ancient poets, which devised this

kind of writing, being so base for the matter and homely for the manner, at the first to try their abilities," and to have other works by him sleeping in silence, "as his 'Dreams,' his 'Legends,' his 'Court of Cupid,' and sundry others." "E. K." added a post-script, urging Gabriel Harvey to give to the world also his own "gallant English verses." A "glosse," of small value, was added by "E. K." to each eclogue.

In his "Shepheardes Calender," Spenser derived from Skelton the name of Colin Clout, which he applied to himself also in later poetry. The Colin Clout of Skelton (ch. vi. § 23) was a homely Englishman, who felt that many wrongs were waiting to be righted, and especially condemned luxury and self-seeking of the higher clergy. Spenser was of one mind with Skelton upon this, and took his side at once in the Church controversies of the time, although in doing so he boldly placed himself beside one who was at that time under the Queen's displeasure. In the seventh eclogue, Thomalin sees the elevation of Morrell, whose herd is astray among rank bushes, and refuses to go up the hill to him. Morrell sings in the praise of holy hills, but Thomalin replies:

"To kerke the narre, from God more farre,
Has bene an old-sayd sawe,
And he that strives to touch a starre
Oft stombles at a strawe.

"Alsoone may shepheard clymbe to skye
That leades in lowly dales
As goteherd prowd that, sitting hye,
Upon the mountaine sayles."

Thomalin then enforces the lesson of humility with teaching derived from old Algrind:

"Such one he was (as I have heard
Old Algrind often sayne),
That whilome was the first shepheard
And lived with little gayne;
And meeke he was, as meeke mought be,
Simple as simple sheepe;
Humble, and like in eche degree
The flocke which he did keepe.

* * * *

Like one (sayd Algrind) Moses was
That sawe hys Maker's face."

Those old true shepherds loved their flocks, and simple was their weed, but now

"They bene yclad in purple and pall,
So hath theyr God them blist;
They reigne and rulen over all,
And lord it as they list."

A shepherd who has been to Rome saw their misusage. Their sheep have crusts and they the bread

> "They han the fleece and eke the flesh,
> (O seely sheepe the while!)
> The corne is theyres, let others thresh,
> Their handes they may not file.
> They han great stores and thriftye stockes,
> Great freendes and feeble foes;
> What neede hem caren for their flocks
> Their boyes can looke to those."

Morrell replies to all this with a suggestion that harm may come of meddling, and that in blaming the wealth of shepherds Thomalin meddles more than he shall have thanks for. But say, Morrell asks, who is that Algrind whom you so often name? The reply figured to every reader of that day Archbishop Grindal, then under the Queen's heavy displeasure for acts heartily approved by Spenser. In this eclogue Spenser, indeed, simply transferred the syllables of the names of Elmer or Aylmer, in 1579 Bishop of London, and Grindal, then Archbishop of Canterbury.

32. **John Aylmer,** the gentle tutor of Lady Jane Grey (§ 19), and the author of the reply to Knox's "First Blast of the Trumpet" (§ 2), had been made Bishop of London in 1576. He upheld Elizabeth's own policy, and was as zealous against those who were now becoming known for Puritans or Precisians as against the Catholics. In 1578 the Stationers' Company, of which Richard Tottel was then master, had by suit to the Lord Treasurer, got out of Newgate a young bookseller whom Bishop Aylmer had imprisoned for reprinting a book that objected to the management of the Church by its bishops. In 1579, at the time when the "Shepheardes Calender" appeared, Aylmer had brought before the High Court of Commission, Mr. Welden, a gentlemen of Cookham, in Berkshire, who strongly objected to a minister sent by the Bishop of London in place of one who had been ejected as a Puritan. Mr. Welden had said of Bishop Aylmer, to his poursuivant sent down to Cookham, "What was he before but a private man? But he must be lorded, 'An, it please your lordship' at every word, and that there was never bishop so vilely esteemed as he was, and that he was as ill thought of as ever was Bonner." Aylmer urged that he could not remain in his see if the High Court of Commission did not support him, and was doing this at the very time when Spenser looked up at him and asked, "Is not thilke same a goteherde prowd?" But Spenser, in this his first book, not

merely contemned Aylmer; he declared his reverence for Grindal.

33. **Edmund Grindal,** born in 1519, had been in 1550 chaplain to Ridley. In 1553 he fled from Mary to Strasburg. In 1558 he was one of those who drew up the new Liturgy. In 1559 he was made Master of Pembroke Hall, Spenser's own college, and Bishop of London. In 1570 he became Archbishop of York, and in 1575 Archbishop of Canterbury. He used his influence in the Church to increase the number and efficiency of those whom he looked upon as faithful preachers, and he refused livings to those whom he did not find learned and able. The particular cause of his unpopularity at court was his encouragement of what were called "prophesyings" for the higher education of the clergy in the duties of their office. The word "prophesying" was used with the sense of interpretation of the Scriptures given to it in St. Paul's epistles. Such meetings of the clergy, for the purpose of interpreting difficult passages, or considering how to explain clearly and rightly passages that might raise question among their flocks, had sprung up in several parts of England, especially Northamptonshire, when Grindal used his influence to encourage them. The custom was that the ministers within a precinct met on a week-day in some principal town, where there was some ancient grave minister that was president, and an auditory admitted of gentlemen or other persons of leisure. Then every minister successively, beginning at the youngest, did handle one and the same part of Scripture, spending severally some quarter of an hour or better, and in the whole some two hours. And so the exercise being begun and concluded with prayer, and the president giving a text for the next meeting, the assembly was dissolved. Archbishop Grindal thought these meetings serviceable, and believed that the mismanagement accidental to them might be readily avoided. Queen Elizabeth held that they encouraged novelty, caused people to ramble in their fancy, and neglect their affairs. She told Grindal that there was too much discussing and explaining; it would put an end to unity of opinion. She would have no more prophesyings; as for preachers, there were by far too many, three or four in a county would suffice; and the authorised Homilies were to be read instead of original sermons. That was the only way to keep the people of one mind (ch. vi. § 58). The First *Book of Homilies*, issued in 1547, was adopted by Elizabeth in 1559, and enlarged with a Second Book in 1563. Grindal

replied in a letter loyal to the queen, but loyal also to his conscience. He argued to her from Scripture that the Gospel should be plentifully preached; met the objections to the prophesyings; declared that Scripture and experience showed them to be profitable; and said, "I am forced, with all humility, and yet plainly, to profess that I cannot with a safe conscience, and without the offence of the majesty of God, give my assent to the suppressing of the said exercises; much less can I send out my injunction for the utter and universal subversion of the same. I say with St. Paul, 'I have no power to destroy, but to only edify;' and with the same apostle, 'I can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.' If it be your Majesty's pleasure, for this or any other cause, to remove me out of this place, I will, with all humility, yield thereunto, and render again to your Majesty that I received of the same. . . . Bear with me, I beseech you, Madam, if I choose rather to offend your earthly majesty, than to offend the heavenly majesty of God." In June, 1577, Grindal was, for this persistence in what he believed to be his highest duty, by order of the Privy Council confined to his house and sequestered for six months. Lord Burghley instructed him how he was to make formal submission to the queen. He did not make it. There was question of depriving him, but for that he was too popular with a large section of the clergy and the people. Nevertheless, he remained under sequestration, and these were the relative positions of Morrell and of the wise Algrind, when Spenser's "Shepheardes Calender" appeared. At a Convocation in the following year, 1580, the archbishop being still under sequestration, Aylmer presided. Some of the clergy were unwilling to proceed to business without the archbishop, but a petition was sent to the queen, also a letter signed by twelve bishops, both without effect. Grindal at this time was becoming blind. At last, it has been said, being really blind, more with grief than age, he was willing to put off his clothes before he went to bed, and in his lifetime to resign his place to Dr. Whitgift, who refused such acceptance thereof. And the queen commiserating his condition, was graciously pleased to say that as she had made him so he should die, an archbishop; as he did, July 6th, 1583.

34. In his reference through pastoral forms to the great questions that concerned the flocks and shepherds of the Church, especially in the fifth and seventh eclogues, Spenser followed the example of Clement Marot (ch. vi. § 39): indeed, the study

of Marot led Spenser to shape two of his eclogues, the eleventh and twelfth, distinctly upon eclogues by the poet of France and the French Reformers. Spenser's eleventh eclogue, between Colin and Thenot, was a free version of Marot's lament between Colin and Thenot for Louise of Savoy, whom Spenser transformed into Dido, changing also her son, Francis I., into "the great shepherd, Lobbin." Spenser's twelfth eclogue was a paraphrase of Marot's upon the course of his own life, called his "Eclogue to the King under the names of Pan and Robin." Spenser's sincerity in speaking his mind upon Church matters, without regard to interest at court, gave value to his poetical homage to the queen in the fourth eclogue. The element of love was necessary in a set of pastorals, and cruel Rosalind inspired the song in the first and sixth eclogues. "E. K." tells us that there had been a real Rosalind. Very likely; Spenser's age was twenty-seven. But if there had been no love fancy within his experience it would still have been in the poem, since in poetry this must needs be one ingredient of a Shepheardes Calender. In his English, Spenser here and everywhere set his face against all affectation of his time, whether it were the pedantry which Sidney ridiculed in Master Rombus (§ 30), or the dainty alliteration and antithesis, with ingenuity of simile, for which the taste came in from Italy, and wherein Lyly's "Euphues" (§ 22), published in the same year as the "Shepheardes Calender," showed mastery. Spenser used homely English, and looked back to Chaucer as his chief. Homage was paid by the new poet to Chaucer, under the pastoral name of Tityrus, in the second, the sixth, and the twelfth eclogues; in the second eclogue also there was place found for an attempt at story-telling in Chaucer's manner. The rustic English of the shepherds assumed a few forms which had become obsolete at court, and which, simple as they were, "E. K." in his "Gloss" interpreted; but here, and in later poetry of Spenser's, much of the antique air came from the poet's use of his own north-country English, that still retained, as our rustic English even at this day retains, what townspeople regard as obsolete words and forms of inflection. But there was a direct strengthening of Spenser's genius by study of Chaucer. The laboriously small literature of Italy, which then set the fashion in England, Spenser disdained; and there was something combative in his upholding of Chaucer, and his use of the simplest one and two-syllabled English words at a time when the new energies of thought were busy, among other things, with the invention of new words derived from