Greek and Latin. Ten years after 1579, George Puttenham, in writing upon English Poesie, cited among new words thus introduced, placation, assubtiling, numerosity, facundity, implete, words which did not take root in the language; and others which did—method and methodical, prolix, compendious, function, impression, indignity, penetrate, delineation, dimension, compatible, egregious, audacious. Increasing wealth of thought required enlargement of the language. Word-coining of the Elizabethan time was not all affectation, although at court there was much good breath wasted in that way. Spenser disliked it, and opposed it by his practice to the last. Chaucer it was, says Colin Clout, "Who taught me, homely, as I can, to make" The god of shepherds, Tityrus, is dead—

"And all hys passing skil with him is fledde,
The fame whereof doth dayly greater growe;
But if on me some little drops would flowe
Of that the spring was in his learned hedde—"

Such was the first aspiration of the poet who was to make for himself a name often to be coupled with Chaucer's, and like his, a name "the fame whereof doth daily greater grow."

35. But if Spenser was out of sympathy with the small writers of Italy, he took delight in Ariosto (ch. vi. § 40), and there was one great poet then living and suffering in Italy, Torquato Tasso, with whom he came to feel the fellowship of noble minds. Tasso was born in 1544, ten or eleven years after the death of Ariosto. He was eight or nine years older than Spenser, and his influence on Spenser's later work was that of one great living poet upon another who was some years younger than himself. Tasso died in 1595, Spenser in 1599. Torquato Tasso was a poet's son, a child with a passion for learning and rare depths of devotional feeling; a youth studying with his father the best writers of his own country, for, said the father wisely, men should not so study as to become like citizens abroad and strangers at home. In the year of Elizabeth's accession Torquato Tasso was fourteen, and his father, Bernardo, published a poem on the romance of Amadis of Gaul, the "Amadigi." At seventeen Torquato published his "Rinaldo;" the son's fame at once rivalled the father's, and thenceforth he made poetry his work in life. In 1579, when Spenser's "Shepheardes Calender," and Lyly's "Euphues" appeared, Tasso had written at the court of Ferrara courtly poetry, and earned repute in Italy, especially by a pastoral drama called Aminta, published in 1573. He had been long engaged on his

great poem, which was written but not yet published. For some years also the taint of melancholy madness in his nature had made itself known, and in that year, 1579, Tasso was treated by the Duke of Ferrara as a confirmed lunatic, in a hospital for madmen. Those were dark ages in our social history, so far as concerned the treatment of insanity. When Tasso could utter his distress, "Alas, alas," he wrote, "I had determined to write two epic poems on noble subjects, four tragedies of which I had formed the plan, and much in prose, to be eternally remembered of me in the world." But what was thirst for immortality when in his misery he said he sought no higher happiness than freedom to slake that animal thirst by which he was tormented? He yearned, he said, if not for liberty, the right of man, at least for the brute's right, "to quench freely in the streams and fountains that thirst with which, it soothes me to repeat it, I am burnt up."

In 1579 there had lately appeared in France a poem called "La Sepmaine, ou Creation du Monde," by Guillaume de Saluste du Bartas, a French Huguenot noble, who was born in the same year as Tasso, and was educated as a soldier. His religious poem on the "Divine Week of the Creation" abounded in those overstrained conceits which the example of Italy had introduced into the polite language of surrounding countries. For this reason, and for its religious spirit, "La Sepmaine" (Semaine) became so famous that it went through thirty editions in six years, and was translated into Latin, Italian, German, and English; generally more than once into each language. The name of "Saluste of France" became coupled with that of "Tuscan Arioste," and remained great until the passing away of the form of taste it satisfied. But we shall find in the days of his currency an English minor poet seeking immortality as the translator of Du Bartas.

36. In 1579, when Shakespeare was fifteen years old, and Francis Bacon was nineteen, Sir Thomas North published his translation of Plutarch's Lives. This was not from the original Greek, but from the delightful Plutarch in thirteen volumes (six for the Lives and seven for the Morals), published in and after 1567 by Jacques Amyot, who was in those days the prince of French translators. Amyot lived to within a year of fourscore, and died in 1593. Sir Thomas North was himself an active member of the English band of translators produced by the revival of letters. Among his other translations was, in 1570, one from the Italian version of a famous Arabian fable book called

"Calilah i Dumnah," as "The Morale Philosophie of Doni." But he is here named because it was chiefly in North's Plutarch, published in 1579, that Shakespeare, as a playwright, learnt his

history of Rome.

37. William Shakespeare was born at Stratford-on-Avon, in April, 1564; perhaps on the 23rd of April, for he was baptised on the 26th. There is a tradition that he died on his birthday, and he died on the 23rd of April, 1616. His father was John Shakespeare, a glover in Henley Street, and probably the son of Richard Shakespeare, farmer, at Snitterfield. John Shakespeare was living in Henley Street in 1552. In 1556—the year of the birth of Anne Hathaway, the poet's future wife-John Shakespeare was sued in the bailiff's court, and described as a glover. In that year also the copyholds of a house in Greenhill Street, and of another in Henley Street, were assigned to him. In 1557 John Shakespeare married Mary, the youngest daughter of Robert Arden, of Wilmcote, "husbandman." Her father had died a month before the marriage, leaving to Mary by his will a small property at Wilmcote, called Ashbies, of about fifty-four acres, with two houses, and interest in other land at Wilmcote; also two tenements at Snitterfield, and £6 13s. 4d. in cash. That was Mary Arden's fortune, and it heiped John Shakespeare for some years. In 1558 the first child of the marriage was born, a girl, Joan, who died. In 1562 another child was born, a girl, Margaret, who died. In 1564 another child was born, and that was William Shakespeare. His father was not then in want. The plague was in Stratford in 1564, and John Shakespeare made a fair donation for relief of the poor. In 1566 a second son, Gilbert, was born. In 1569 a daughter was born, who lived to be married; she was christened by the name of the first daughter, who had died, Joan. In 1570, John Shakespeare rented Ington Meadow, a farm or fourteen acres. The meadow-land would feed sheep; sheep are shorn for wool, and eaten for mutton: hence John Shakespeare, glover, in Henley Street, has also been called farmer, butcher, and dealer in wool. He could not live by gloves alone, the large coarse gloves used in country work, which are still in chief demand at Stratford. In 1571 another girl was born, Anne. In 1573 another boy was born, Richard. In 1575 John Shakespeare bought the two freehold houses in Henley Street, with garden and orchard.

In 1576, as we shall see presently, the first theatres were built, but not until later the Blackfriais. In that year William

Shakespeare was a boy of twelve, the eldest of five children, in a household from which prosperity was on the point of departing.

In 1577, John Shakespeare, as an alderman of Stratford, was excused half his payment towards furnishing pike and bill men, that is to say, half his police rate. Other aldermen paid 6s. 8d. he only 3s. 4d. In the following year, 1578, John Shakespeare and his wife ()ohn Shakespeare was then, in a deed, styled "yeoman") were obliged to mortgage the little property at Ashbies for £,40, to Edmund Lambert. Money was raised also by selling for £4 to Robert Webbe immediate interest in the tenements at Snitterfield. At this time John Shakespeare was defaulter also in the levy for armour and defensive weapons; and while he was thus troubled for want of money, he lost his younger daughter Anne, a child of about eight years old. So matters stood with the Shakespeares in 1579, when William was fifteen years old, and the number of the children was reduced to four-three boys and a girl. It is likely that William Shakespeare had been taught in the Stratford Grammar School; it could not well be otherwise, but there is no direct evidence of the fact. There is direct evidence of the poverty of his home in 1579, and afterwards, till he himself repaired its fortunes.

38. Francis Bacon, three years and three months older than William Shakespeare, was the son of Queen Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and was born in London, at York House, in the Strand, on the 22nd of January, 1561. Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, and Sir Nicholas Bacon, married two daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke (§ 1). The sister, Anne, married by Sir Nicholas, was his second wife. She was an educated woman, with strong religious feeling, who took strong interest in the reformation of the Church, and inclined to the Puritan side in later questions of its internal policy. It was she who translated Jewel's "Apology" into English (§ 14). Sir Nicholas Bacon had by his former wife, six children, and by his second wife two, Anthony and Francis; Anthony two years older than Francis, who was thus the youngest of eight in a household living sometimes in London, at York House, sometimes at Gorhambury, near St. Albans. In April, 1573, when Anthony was fourteen and Francis twelve, the two boys were entered as fellow-commoners at Trinity College, Cambridge. Of Francis Bacon's career at college, ending in his sixteenth year, we have only two notes. They are from Dr. Rawley, his chaplain of after days. One is that Queen Elizabeth "delighted much then to

confer with him, and to prove him with questions; unto which he delivered himself with that gravity and maturity above his years, that Her Majesty would often term him 'the young Lord Keeper.' Being asked by the queen how old he was, he answered with much discretion, being then but a boy, 'That he was two years younger than Her Majesty's happy reign;' with which answer the queen was much taken." The other record is this: "Whilst he was commorant in the University, about sixteen years of age (as his lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself), he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle; not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a philosophy (as his lordship used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man; in which mind he continued to his dying day."

In September, 1576, Sir Amyas Paulet went to Paris to succeed Dr. Dale as English Ambassador. Francis Bacon, who was to be trained for diplomatic life, entered at Lincoln's Inn, and proceeded to France, where he was one of the suite of Sir Amyas. Those were in France the first days of the League. Charles IX. had died less than two months after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. His brother, the Duke of Anjou, licentious and effeminate, had become king, as Henry III. In February, 1575, the Huguenots, under the Prince of Condé, signed a league with the liberal Catholics, under the Marshal de Damville. The Duke of Alençon also joined the insurgents in the south; and in 1576, Henry of Navarre, afterwards to be Henry IV., escaped from the surveillance of Catherine, and joined the conflict. Full concession to the Reformers was extorted, and obtained in May, 1576. This roused the Catholics, who, seeing what had been done by the strength of one league, resolved on a combination of their own; and Henry, the young Duke of Guise, who was now leader of the Catholics, organised, by means of the association of the clergy and Jesuits throughout the country, a great Catholic League, which in a few months enrolled thirty thousand members. This was a confederation to maintain the Church in its old form, the king's authority, and that of the head of the league, by whose ambition the king's authority was threatened. This league was just formed, when Francis Bacon, a youth of sixteen, was first in Paris with Sir Amyas Paulet. He was in the summer and autumn of 1577 with Sir Amyas in the French court at

Poitiers. After a little more than two years of this training in France to diplomatic life, there came a cloud over the prospects of Bacon in the year 1579. In the February of that year his father died, after a few days' illness, before completing the provision he had meant to make for the younger son by his second marriage. Francis Bacon, then eighteen years old, came to London at the end of March, with commendations to the queen from Sir Amyas Paulet, and settled down at Gray's Inn to study of the law as a profession.

In 1579, then, we have Spenser, aged about twenty-seven, publishing his first book, The Shepheardes Calender; Lyly, aged twenty-five or twenty-six, publishing Euphues; Bacon, aged eighteen, thrown on his own resources by his father's death, is beginning study of law as the profession by which he must live; and Shakespeare, aged fifteen, is eldest of a family of young children in a household that begins to feel the pinch of poverty.

39. In January, 1562, as we have seen (§ 8) "Gorboduc," our first tragedy, was presented before Queen Elizabeth by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple. A fortnight later, the queen saw a play on the subject of Julius Cæsar. Companies formed for the entertainment of great lords, acted as servants of this or that lord, for their own profit and the public entertainment, in inn yards (§ 8). In 1563 the plague destroyed in London 21,530. Archbishop Grindal advised Sir William Cecil to inhibit all plays for a year, and, he said, if it were for ever it were not amiss. In the summer of 1564, Queen Elizabeth visited Cambridge, and was entertained with Udall's (ch. vi. § 48, 58, 60) play of Ezechias in English. In the following Christmas what is called a tragedy, perhaps Damon and Pithias, by Richard Edwards, a musician and writer of interludes, was acted before Her Majesty by the children of the Chapel Royal, Richard Edwards being then their master. For its happy end and its intermixture of farcical matter, as in the shaving of Grim the Collier by the court lackeys, that rhyming play is a comedy, but it includes a tyrant and a hangman. Edwards was born in Somersetshire, and was a student at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, before he became attached to the court. That to the court he looked for his advancement we may infer from the form of his father's blessing, given in a poem of his in the "Paradise of Dainty Devices:"

[&]quot;My son, God guide thy way, and shield thee from mischance, And make thy just deserts in court thy poor estate advance"

In 1561, Elizabeth made him a gentlemen of the Royal Chapel, and master of the singing boys. He was in very high repute for his comedies and interludes. On the 3rd of September, 1566, Edwards's Palamon and Arcyte was acted before Elizabeth, in the hall of Christ Church, Oxford. At the beginning of the play part of the stage fell in; three persons were killed and five hurt; but the play was acted and the queen enjoyed it, giving eight guineas to one of the young actors who pleased her much. Dr. James Calfhill's Latin play of Progne, acted two days later, was less successful. It was in the same year that Gascoigne's Supposes and Focasta (§ 29), from Ariosto and Euripides, were played during the revels at Gray's Inn.

At court it was the business of the Master of the Revels to have plays rehearsed before him, and to choose the best. In the course of 1571 the plays acted before the queen were Lady Barbara, by Sir Robert Lane's men; Iphigenia, by the children of Paul's; Ajax and Ulysses, by the children of Windsor; Narcissus, by the Children of the Chapel; Cloridon and Radiamanta, by Sir Robert Lane's men; Paris and Vienna, by the Children of Westminster.

In 1572 it was enacted that all fencers, bear-wards, common players in interludes, and minstrels not belonging to any baron of this realm, or to any other honourable personage of greater degree, should be treated as rogues and vagabonds if they had not the licence of at least two justices of the peace. This requirement was renewed twenty-five years later.

40. In May, 1574, the Earl of Leicester procured, as special privilege for his own servants, James Burbadge, John Perkyn, John Lanham, William Johnson, and Robert Wylson, the first royal patent "to use, exercise, and occupy the art and faculty of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Interludes, Stage Plays and such other like as they have already used and studied, or hereafter shall use and study, as well for the recreation of our loving subjects as for our solace and pleasure when we shall think good to see them," within the City of London and its Liberties, or in any other city, without let; "provided that the said Comedies, Tragedies, Interludes, and Stage Plays be by the Master of the Revels (for the time being) before seen and allowed; and that the same be not published or shown in the time of Common Prayer, or in the time of great and common Plague in our City of London." The city authorities opposed the concession of this patent; but in July, 1574, a letter was

written from the Privy Council requiring the Lord Mayor "to admit the comedy players within the City of London, and to be otherwise favourably used." In 1575 the Common Council framed regulations that were in effect prohibitory; for they required not only that a licence should be obtained from the Lord Mayor for every exhibition, but also that half the players'

profits should be given up for charitable uses. As yet no theatre had been built. Actors produced their entertainments upon scaffolds set up for the purpose in convenient places. In a town there was no place more convenient than the inn yard, as the inn yard used to be when there was much travelling by coach and on horseback. The large inner square of the building, entered by an archway, had, at least on the first floor, often on other floors, a gallery round it, into which rooms opened. The stage built against one side of the yard had close above it a piece of gallery which could be, and was, curtained off with it for use. It would serve for a window or a balcony, from which a king or a fair lady looked down; it would serve for the battlements of a castle, from which an attacking force could be defied; it would serve for the top of his palace, from which David observed Bathsheba. In the unenclosed part of the gallery above, on each side of the curtains, was the music. The trumpet sounded thrice, and at the third sound of the trumpet the curtain before the stage was drawn to either side, thus framing it in drapery. Upon the stage there was no scenery. A bed, or a table and chair, might be produced if necessary, or a god might be let down in a chair if the arrangement of galleries and windows in the place of performance made it easy to do that; but the play itself was the whole entertainment. The players did their best in dressing and in acting; the poet did his best to entertain the people and provide the players with effective parts. What scenery the poet wanted he could always paint for himself in words. A large part of the audience stood on the ground in the open yard-groundlings of the original pit, for whom at first there were no seats provided. The galleries surrounding the old inn yard were the first circles of boxes, and the rooms of the inn, which could be taken for solace of the more luxurious, were the first private boxes. After theatres had been built, those boxes were for some time called "rooms." The acting was at first on holidays, because on working days, when most people were about their business, only the few idlers

could afford to give attention to the play; for there was no acting after dark. The play was always over in time to enable playgoers to get back home before sunset. Following the old usage, in accordance with opinion of the Roman Catholic Church that after hours of service sports lawful on other days were lawful on Sundays, the afternoon of Sunday was at first a recognised time for such entertainments, but this was strongly opposed by the Puritans. The Corporation of London, Puritan in its tendency, battled against the players, and supported its case with various arguments: as, desecration of Sabbath and saints' days; bringing of young people together under conditions that would favour the forming of unmeet contracts; temptations from the inns; chance of seditious matter in the plays; idle waste of money that, if superfluous, should be given to the poor; hurt of people by the fall of scaffolding, and by the weapons and gunpowder used in the performances; chance of diffusing plague, by bringing people together in great crowds. In December, 1575, the authorities of the City of London prohibited altogether the acting of plays within their jurisdiction as ungodly, and made humble suit for like prohibition in all places near the city. The queen's players then petitioned the Privy Council against the procedure of the Corporation of London, and of the justices of Middlesex, who also had opposed them. The city argued in reply to the players "how unseemly it is for youth to run straight from prayer to plays, from God's service to the devil's." Among other of its suggestions, one was that since the deathrate, in absence of plague, was forty or fifty a week, acting of plays in London should be forbidden wherever the death-rate exceeded fifty. The population of London was then about 150,000.

In 1576 the city desired that the players should act only in private houses, or if elsewhere, then only on condition that the death-rate had for twenty days been under fifty; that they should never act on the Sabbath, nor on holy-days till after evening prayer, and always early enough to allow the spectators to return home before dark; also, that none but the queen's players should be thus licensed, and that not only the number of these, but their names, should be specified. If they infringed these regulations there was to be an end of toleration. Hostility of the Common Council at last drove the actors into parts of London that were not within its jurisdiction; and in this year 1576, James Burbadge bought

a site for his first house, The Theatre. Evidence, published by Mr. Halliwell in 1874, proves that the Blackfriars Theatre was not built until about twenty years later. In these contests the Earl of Leicester was, among men in power, the most active supporter of the players. In, or soon after 1576, the second theatre was built beyond the jurisdiction of the Mayor and Corporation. Both were outside the walls, in the fresh air of Shoreditch. The Londoner who passed out through the town walls at Bishop's Gate had before him a suburban street of good houses and gardens, running between the clear green space of the Spital Field and the open Finsbury Field, in which were three windmills. That line between fields of Bishopsgate Street Without the town gate, continuing the line of Bishopsgate Within, led to the pleasant country houses of Shoreditch, and these were good houses, chiefly in favour with foreign merchants resident in London. In Shoreditch, beyond the walls, but with a wellinhabited town road—Bishopsgate Street Without-leading through the fields to it, were built The Theatre and The Curtain. These seem, therefore, to have been the theatres which, in 1576, first gave a home of its own to the English drama William Shakespeare was at Stratford then, aged twelve.

41. Among the first writers and actors in these first theatres was Stephen Gosson, a young Oxford graduate, born in Kent in 1555, who studied at Christ Church. After taking his B.A. degree, he came to London in 1576, aged twenty-one, attached himself at once to the new theatres, and wrote plays, which are now lost-Catiline's Conspiracies; Captain Mario, a Comedy; Praise at Parting, a Moral. Meanwhile the opposition of the Puritans continued. A sermon at Paul's Cross, preached by T. Wilcocks, on Sunday, Nov. 3, 1577, in a time of plague, exhorted the people to "look but upon the common plays in London, and see the multitude that flocketh to them and followeth them: behold the sumptuous theatre houses, a continual monument of London's prodigality and folly. But I understand," said the preacher, "they are now forbidden because of the plague. I like the policy well, if it hold still; for a disease is but botched or patched up that is not cured in the cause, and the cause of plagues is sin, if you look to it well; and the cause of sin are plays: therefore the cause of plagues are plays." Mention is made of the Theatre and Curtain by name in the Rev. John Northbrooke's Treatise wherein Diceing, Dauncing, vaine Plays or Enterludes, with Idle Pastimes, &c., commonly used on the

Sabbath-day are reproued by the authoritie of the Worde of God and auncient writers. Made Dialogue wise. This was entered

at Stationers' Hall at the beginning of December, 1577.

Young Stephen Gosson, who earned credit also as a writer of pastorals, was moved by the controversies of the time not only to abandon his new calling as a writer for the stage, but to join in attack upon the theatres. This he did in 1579, by publishing a short prose book called The School of Abuse, containing a Plesaunt Invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters, and such-like Caterpillers of a Commonwelth; setting up the Flagge of Defiance to their mischievous exercise, and overthrowing their Bulwarkes, by Profane Writers, Naturall Reason, and Common Experience: a Discourse as pleasaunt for Gentlemen that favour Learning, as profitable for all that wyll follow Vertue. This was entered at Stationers' Hall in July. "Euphues" had been published in the spring. There was just time for Gosson to have read "Euphues" before writing his own little treatise, which was produced under the influence of the same fashion which Lyly's book illustrated. The dedication to Sir Philip Sidney might, for its style, have been signed "John Lyly" instead of "Your Worshippes' to command, Stephen Gosson." For example, after citing Caligula's great preparation to invade England, where he only "charged every man to gather cockles," Gosson says, "The title of my book doth promise much, the volume you see is very little: and sithens I cannot bear out my folly by authority, like an emperor, I will crave pardon for my phrensy by submission, as your worships' to command. The school which I build is narrow, and at the first blush appeareth but a doghole; yet small clouds carry water; slender threads sew sure stitches; little hairs have their shadows; blunt stones whet knives; from hard rocks flow soft springs; the whole world is drawn in a map, Homer's 'Iliad' in a nut-shell, a king's picture in a penny," and so on. Philip Sidney, we learn, was illpleased with the dedication to him of a book that set out with an attack on poetry, and Gosson's "School of Abuse" is believed to have prompted Sidney to the writing of his "Apology for Poetry." From the poets Gosson went on to the musicians, and then to the players. One passage in his attack upon them is worth notice. He said it might be urged that, whatever were the immoralities of ancient comedy, "the comedies that are exercised in our days are better sifted, they show no such bran." After comparing the immorality of the old plays with the morality of

the new ones, he said, "Now are the abuses of the world revealed; every man in a play may see his own faults, and learn by this glass to amend his manners." But admitting this, he added, "If people will be instructed (God be thanked) we have divines enough to discharge that, and more by a great many than are well hearkened to." So that even in these days of its first infancy there was the earnest spirit of the time in the Elizabethan drama; the same earnest spirit that in another form laboured for its destruction. Stephen Gosson having left the stage, added to his invective a short Apology for the School of Abuse, and went into the country as a tutor.

42. Thomas Lodge, son of Sir Thomas Lodge, a London grocer who was Lord Mayor in 1563, was a fellow-student of Gosson's, a young man of his own age. He wrote at once a reply to Gosson, "Honest Excuses" on behalf of the stage. Early in 1582 the players also defended their calling in their own way by acting a Play of Plays. Stephen Gosson then produced at once a five-act answer, entitled, Plays Confuted in Five Actions, &c., proving that they are not to be suffered in a Christian Commonwealth; by the way both the cavils of Thomas Lodge and the Play of Plays written in their defence, and other objections of Players' friends, are truly set down and directly answered.

In 1591, Gosson was made Rector of Great Wigborough, in Essex. In 1600, by an exchange of livings, he came to town, aged forty-five, as Rector of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, and there he officiated for nearly a quarter of a century, until his death in 1624.

Thomas Lodge made for himself a name of honour among the men who were creating a poetical drama when Shakespeare began his career in London. Lodge was a Roman Catholic and a good scholar. From Oxford he went to Avignon, where he graduated as doctor of medicine. On his return he was incorporated at Cambridge; and he became in London not only a successful dramatist and poet, but also a thriving physician, with a practice chiefly among those of his own religious faith. John Lyly, a year or two older than Lodge and Gosson, we shall also find to be in the first group of Elizabethan dramatists. Robert Greene was a few years younger, perhaps not more than two or three years older than William Shakespeare; and Christopher Marlowe was born in the same year as Shakespeare. Two other dramatists of this group, Thomas Kyd and Henry Chettle, may have been of about the age of Robert Greene.

43. On the 6th of April, 1580, there was a considerable shock of earthquake felt in many parts of England. It produced a Discourse upon the Earthquake, from Arthur Golding (§ 6), the translator of Ovid; A Warning on the Earthquake, from Thomas Churchyard (§ 10), and with a preface, dated June 19, 1580: Three proper and wittie familiar letters lately passed betweene two University men, touching the earthquake in April last, and our English reformed versifying, with the preface of a wellwisher to them both. The two University men were Edmund Spenser and Gabriel Harvey. As to the earthquake, Harvey described the effect of it on minds at Cambridge, and protested against the practice of converting natural events into Divine warnings, and associating them with predictions. He had a strong sense of the emptiness of this part of the supposed knowledge of the time, the stronger because one of his brothers gave much attention to the study of astrology. The "English reformed versifying" meant a fancy of the day among some University men who discussed literature together - Harvey, Spenser, Sidney, and Sidney's friends and college companions, Edward Dyer and Fulke Greville, with others—for the abolishing of rhyme and introduction of the Latin system of quantity into English verse. They were amusing themselves with English hexameters, sapphics, and other forms derived from the old Latin poetry. Spenser sent Harvey four lines of hexameter as a sample, and asked, "Seem they comparable to those two which I translated you extempore in bed the last time we lay together in Westminster?" He observed difficulties in accent, and desiring a fixed system to work upon, wished Harvey would send him "the rules and precepts of art which you observe in quantities, or else follow mine that M. Philip Sidney gave me, being the very same which M. Drant devised, but enlarged with M. Sidney's own judgment, and augmented with my observations, that we might both accord and agree in one, lest we overthrow one another and be overthrown of the rest." He said that Dyer had liked Harvey's satirical verses, and that he himself was about to write Epithalamium Tamesis (its idea seems to have been worked afterwards into the "Faerie Queene," Book IV., canto xi.); his Dreams and Dying Pelican were about to be printed; and he was already at work upon The Faerie Queene. The Dreams were not published; perhaps Spenser withdrew them because they were exercises of ingenuity, according to a fashion of the time with which his own taste as a poet was not in unison

Because they were after the manner of the time they delighted Harvey, who was clever and liberal of mind, with a quick-witted delight in literature, but who was simply a clever man of his own day. Harvey worshipped Euphuism in its sources: "I like your 'Dreams' passingly well," he told Spenser, "the rather because they savour of that singular and extraordinary vein and invention which I ever fancied most, and in a manner admired only in Lucian, Petrarch, Aretino, and all the most delicate and fineconceited Grecians and Italians (for the Romans, to speak of, are but very ciphers in this kind), whose chief endeavour and drift was to have nothing vulgar, but in some respect or other, and especially in lively hyperbolical amplification, rare, quaint, and odd in every point, and, as a man would say, a degree or two above the reach and compass of a common scholar's capacity." Spenser had written at this time nine comedies after the manner of Ariosto, and these also he probably withheld from publication because they had the qualities that caused Harvey to write, "I am void of all judgment if your nine comedies whereunto, in imitation of Herodotus, you give the names of the nine Muses (and in one man's fancy not unworthily) come not nearer Ariosto's comedies, either for the finesse of plausible elocution or the rareness of poetical invention, than the Elvish Queene doth to his 'Orlando Furioso,' which, notwithstanding, you will needs seem to emulate and hope to overgo, as you flatly professed yourself in one of your last letters." Spenser then had begun his "Faerie Queene," and begun it with high aspiration He went on with it undaunted by his friend Harvey's warning, "If so be the 'Faerie Queene' be fairer in your eye than the nine Muses" (the comedies) "and Hobgoblin run away with the garland from Apollo, mark what I say—and yet I will not say that I thought. But there, an end for this once, and fare you well till God or some good angel put you in a better mind." It was really "fare you well," for in this year Spenser went to Ireland.

44. At the beginning of 1580, Philip Sidney had addressed to the queen a wise and earnest written argument against the project of her marriage with the Duke of Anjou. His uncle, Leicester, whose secret marriage with Lettice, Countess of Essex, had become known, was already under the queen's displeasure; and Sidney, after writing this letter, found it best to withdraw from court. Towards the end of March, 1580, he went to stay at Wilton with his sister, the Countess of Pembroke,

whom Spenser afterwards honoured as

"The greatest shepherdess that lives this day.

And most resembling both in shape and spright

Her brother dear;"

and upon whose death, when her course was ended, Ben Jonson wrote:

'Underneath this sable herse
Lies the subject of all verse,
Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother;
Death, ere thou hast slain another
Learn'd and fair and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee."

Sidney's sister became "Pembroke's mother" in that spring of 1580 when her brother Philip was staying at Wilton. He remained there about seven months. Brother and sister worked together at that time upon a joint translation of The Psalms of David into English verse. It was then also that Sidney occupied hours of his forced idleness by beginning to write for the amusement of his sister a long pastoral romance, in prose mixed with verse, according to Italian fashion, with abundance of poetical conceits-his Arcadia. It was done at his sister's wish, and as he wrote to her, "only for you, only to you. For, indeed, for severer eyes it is not, being but a trifle, and that triflingly handled. Your dear selt can best witness the manner, being done in loose sheets of paper, most of it in your presence, the rest by sheets sent unto you as fast as they were done." This romance was not published by Sidney. Not long before his death he said that he wished it to be burnt. But it belonged to his sister, who valued it, and by her it was, after his death, prepared for the press, and published in 1590. Much of it was written during the summer of 1580, and the rest chiefly, or entirely in 1581. Though long, Sidney's "Arcadia" is unfinished except by the addition of a hurried close. It is a pastoral of the school of the "Arcadia" of Sanazzaro, and the "Diana Enamorada" by George of Montemayor (ch. vi. § 39), but its intermixture of verse and prose develops more completely a romantic story, and it adds to the pastoral a new heroic element. This was suggested partly by the Spanish romances of "Amadis" and "Palmerin" (ch. vi. § 40), partly by the Æthiopian Historie of Heliodorus, lately translated from the Greek by Thomas Underdown. Heliodorus, Bishop of Tricca, in Thessaly, who lived at the end of the fourth century, wrote, under the name of "Æthiopica," ten books of romance on the loves of Theagenes and Chariclea. Sidney had been enjoying this in

Underdown's translation. In his "Defence of l'oesy," written in 1581 (although not published until 1595), after saying that Xenophon had "in his portraiture of a just empire under the name of Cyrus (as Cicero saith of him), made therein an absolute heroical poem; so," he added, "did Heliodorus in his sugared invention of that picture of love in Theagenes and Chariclea, and yet both these writ in prose: which I speak to show that it is not rhyming and versing that maketh a poet, no more than a long gown maketh an advocate, who, though he pleaded in armour, should be an advocate and no soldier." Sidney's Arcadia may be, in this sense, taken as all poet's work; giving a new point of departure for heroic romance grafted upon pastoral. As he was writing for his sister a romance after the fashion of his day, Sidney, in the "Arcadia," would amuse himself by showing how he also could be delicate and fine conceited. This is the groundwork of its story. Two cousins and close friends, Musidorus, the elder, Prince of Thessaly, and Pyrocles, the younger, Prince of Macedon, are wrecked on the Spartan coast. Musidorus is saved and taken to the delicious pastoral land of Arcadia. His friend is supposed to have been lost. Musidorus is sheltered by Kalander, an Arcadian noble. Presently he leads an Arcadian force against Helots of Sparta, who have made Kalander's son their prisoner, and at the close of combat with a mighty captain of the Helots, finds him to be his lost friend Pyrocles. Peace is made. Kalander's son is released, and the two friends begin a course of love adventures. Basilius and Gynecia, king and queen of Arcadia, have two daughters-majestic Pamela, and sweet Philoclea. To keep men away from his daughters, Basilius has built two lodges in a forest. In one he lives with his wife and his younger daughter Philoclea; in the other Pamela lives under the care of a clown Dametas, who has an ugly wife, Miso, and an ugly daughter, Mopsa. The only men who may come near are a priest and some shepherds skilled in music. Musidorus now loves Pamela; he is disguised as a shepherd, Dorus, and affects passion for . Mopsa. Pyrocles loves Philoclea; he is disguised as an Amazon, Zelmane, and inspires love in King Basilius, who takes him for a woman, as well as in Queen Gynecia, who sees that he is a man. Many troubles and adventures, episodes of romance, conceited dialogues and songs, including experiments in "our English reformed versifying," are built upon this groundwork. The king's sister-in-law, Cecropia, desires to set up her N *

son Amphialus as King of Arcadia, that she may rule through him. Cecropia carries off Pamela, Philoclea, and Zelmane. She fails to bend Philoclea to assent to the love of her son, goes to the chamber of Pamela, hoping to prevail over her, and hears her praying to heaven for succour. We shall meet again with Pamela's prayer. The Arcadian army battles for the rescue of the captives, and in the course of this contest Amphialus slays Argalus, the husband of Parthenia She afterwards arms herself to avenge her husband, comes as a stranger knight, and is herself slain by Amphialus, who suffers grief and shame for his victory. The latter part of the "Arcadia" is less fully worked out. The princesses and Pyrocles. still as the Amazon Zelmane, are again at home. Musidorus escapes with Pamela to Thessaly. Pyrocles remains, troubled by the affections of the king and queen, but he brings both to their senses, they resume their royal duties, and the lovers are made happy.

There is much difference between the style of Sidney's "Arcadia," and that of his Apologie for Poetrie, written in 1581, although not published until 1595, when Sidney was dead. This little treatise, in simple English, maintains against such attacks as Gosson's (§ 41) the dignity of the best literature. The

"Apologie for Poetrie" is the first piece of intellectual literary criticism in our language; it springs from a noble nature feeling what is noblest in the poet's art, is clear in its plan, terse in its English, and while all that it says is well said, it is wholly free from conceits. The conceited style, indeed, it explicitly condemns, as eloquence disguised in painted affectation, "one time, with so far-fetched words, they may seem monsters, but must seem strangers to any poor Englishman; another time, with coursing of a letter, as if they were bound to follow the method of a dictionary; at another time with figures and flowers extremely winter-starved. But I would this fault were only peculiar to versifiers, and had not as large possession · among prose printers; and (which is to be marvelled) among many scholars; and (which is to be pitied) among some

every dish that is served to the table; like those Indians, not content to wear earrings at the fit and natural place of the ears, but they will thrust jewels through their nose and lips, because

preachers. . . . For now they cast sugar and spice upon

they will be sure to be fine."

45. In 1576, Pope Gregory XIII. had issued a bull depriving

Elizabeth of all title to Ireland, and releasing her Irish subjects from allegiance. Sir Henry Sidney had returned to England, and resigned his office as Lord Deputy of Ireland in the autumn of 1578. In 1578, James Fitzmaurice, who had been for two years seeking aid from the Catholic powers, got from the pope some arms, ammunition, and money, sailed to Ireland with adventurers, chiefly Spaniards and Italians, commanded by an Italian, landed at Smerwick Bay, in Kerry, and began to construct a fort there, which was called Del Oro. A great part of Ireland was in insurrection when the English Government at last appointed as successor to Sir Henry Sidney, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, a strict Puritan, whom we have already met with as a patron of the poet Gascoigne (§ 29). He arrived at Dublin August, 1580, having with him Edmund Spenser as his private secretary. The patronage of Leicester, and the good word of Philip Sidney through his father, would suffice as introduction for a man in himself welcome, since the secretary was upon matters of policy of like mind with his chief. On the 7th of September, Lord Arthur Grey assumed his office. On the 14th a fresh force of six or seven hundred Spaniards disembarked, repaired and took possession of the Fort del Oro. The Earl of Desmond was ready with his followers to join them and act with them if he could. Lord Grey marched promptly on Del Oro, Admiral Winter co-operating with him at sea. On the 2nd of November Lord Grey pitched his camp within eight miles of the fort. Within the fort was an advanced guard of the power of Spain, seeking through Ireland to oppose the heresies of England. Lord Grey had with him his secretary Spenser, and in his camp was Captain Walter Raleigh. The garrison of the fort was in a few days forced to surrender at discretion; Lord Grey telling its captains, who pleaded obedience to authority, that he "would not greatly have marvelled if men commanded by natural and absolute princes did sometimes take in hand wrong actions; but that men of account, as some of them made show of being, should be carried into unjust, wicked and desperate actions, by one that neither from God nor man could claim any princely power or empire, but, indeed, a detestable shaveling of the Antichrist and general ambitious tyrant over all principalities, and patron of the diabolical faith, I could not but greatly wonder." The fort was given up, and on the 10th of November two officers, one of them Captain Raleigh, were sent in to massacre the prisoners. "I put in certain bands."

wrote Lord Grey, "which straightway fell to execution. There were six hundred slain." Spaniards and Italians of rank were spared, and distributed among officers, who were to make prizemoney by their ransoms. Such was the bitterness of the strife which Spenser witnessed, and which he was then expressing through sweet music of his verse; sweet music from a soul pure, earnest, but strongly sharing in the conflict of its time. To Spenser, as to his chief, Catholicism was "the diabolical faith," the pope "a detestable shaveling of the Antichrist."

46. These also were the events which first brought Edmund Spenser and Walter Raleigh together. Raleigh had come back to London from his service with the Huguenots, and lived for a short time in the Middle Temple, where he wrote a poem of compliment, prefixed in 1576 to Gascoigne's "Steel Glass" (§ 29). In 1578, Sir John Norris crossed to the Low Countries with a small force, of which Raleigh was one, to join in the contest against Don John, who, after his triumph over infidels at Lepanto, was to master heretics as Governor of the Netherlands. Early in 1578 the Netherlanders had been banned by the pope as unbelievers. There was appeal to arms. The forces of Spain had from their Church the privileges of crusaders. The Spaniards obtained a great victory over the army of the States at Gemblours. War went on nevertheless. In Holland and Zealand the Reformation was in 1578 formally established by civic revolution, that placed Protestants instead of Catholics in the magistracy at Amsterdam and Haarlem. Raleigh took part in a success of arms on Lammas-day; and Don John died on the 1st of October, at a time when Raleigh was busy on another enterprise. On the 19th of November he sailed from Plymouth with his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who took seven ships and 350 men on an expedition that was foiled. They fell in with a Spanish fleet, lost one of their ships, and Gilbert and his brother-in-law, Walter Raleigh, came back to England in the early summer of 1579, with the wreck of their small force. After a few months of London life, Raleigh then sailed for Ireland, in January, 1580. His energy was overbearing, and weak leaders did not love the bold, proud, and plain-spoken captain, who shone in conflict with the rebels, and in suggestion of policy for quelling the rebellion; until, in December, 1581, he was sent back to the Court at London with despatches.

After the massacre at Del Oro, Spenser returned with Lord Arthur Grey to Dublin. In 1581, Spenser was made Clerk

of Degrees and Recognisances in the Irish Court of Chancery. and received also a lease of the lands and abbey of Enniscorthy, in Wexford county. He transferred the lease within a year; and in 1582, Lord Arthur Grey, "after long suit for his revocation, received Her Majesty's letters for the same." Spenser remained in Ireland as an English Government official. In 1588 he vacated his post in the Irish Court of Chancery, on being appointed clerk to the Council of Munster. In 1589 he came to London with Sir Walter Raleigh, to present to the queen the first three books of The Faerie Queene, which were first published in 1590. Before speaking of this, we trace the other out-

lines of our sketch from 1579 to 1590.

47. William Shakespeare (§ 37) was in 1579 fifteen years old, and his home had fallen into poverty. In 1580 his father's name appeared in a list of gentlemen and freeholders in Barlichway hundred; but poverty still pressed, and John Shakespeare sold his reversionary interest in the Snitterfield tenements for £40 to R. Webbe. In the same year, 1580, another son, Edmund, was born. The 28th of November, 1582, is the date of the preliminary bond with a notary, for marriage licence of William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway, daughter of Richard Hathaway, "husbandman," of Shottery. Her father had been dead a twelvemonth. The marriage would have followed immediately, but before marriage there was, in those days, a more binding ceremony of betrothal than is customary now. Thus, in a play of George Peele's, "The Old Wives' Tale," there is a magic light to be blown out by a woman who is neither maid, wife, nor widow. The light is blown out by Venelia, not maid because she is betrothed, not wife because she is not married, and not widow because he lives to whom she was betrothed. Shakespeare's age when he married was eighteen years and seven months; Anne Hathaway was six-and-twenty. There is no evidence whatever that this marriage was other than a happy one. On the 26th of May, 1583, Shakespeare's first child, Susanna, was baptised. On the 2nd of February, 1585, there were twins to baptise. They were named Hamnet and Judith; no doubt after Hamnet and Judith Sadler, bakers, friends of the Shakespeares. (Hamnet Sadler, when he died, left Shakespeare 36s. 8d. to buy a ring.) In some way Shakespeare must have endeavoured to support his little family; his father could not help him. In 1585, John Shakespeare was arrested for lack of goods to distrain on. In 1586, John Shakespeare was twice

arrested for debt; and, on the ground of his constant absence from the meetings of the Corporation, he was deprived of his alderman's gown. He was an unprosperous man, of at least fifty-six, with five children, the youngest six years old. William, the eldest, was then about twenty-two, had been four years married, and his wife had three babies to feed and train—Susanna, three years old; the twins, Hamnet and Judith, two. How could he best maintain them? He was a poet. Players had been to Stratford. He would go to London, and would seek his fortune by steady work in association with the rising power of the stage.

His wife and babies he would not take with him into the unwholesome atmosphere of the great town, or bring into contact with the wild life of the playhouse wits. The children would be drawing health from the fresh breezes of Stratford; the wife would be living a wholesome life among her old friends, neighbours, and relations; while he worked hard for them where money could be earned, took holiday rests with them when theatres were closed, and hoped that he might earn enough to enable him to come home for good before he was very old, and live a natural and happy life among the quiet scenes of his birthplace, among relatives who loved him, and among the old friends of his childhood and his youth. The man of highest genius is the man also of highest sanity. In lower minds unusual excitement of the brain may lead to bold or eccentric forms of expression, with half-bred resemblance to originality and energy of thought. Ephemeral and even lasting reputations may be founded on this form of wit; but the greatest among poets, a Chaucer or a Shakespeare, is calm and simply wise. He is greatest of poets not because he does not, but because he does feel, and that more intensely and more truly than his neighbours, the natural ties of life. He has keen happiness in the home circle, in the scenes associated with his childhood, in the peaceful fellowship of man. His old friends, Judith and Hamnet Sadler, the bakers were more, not less, to the author of "King Lear" than they would be to the citizen with less perception of the harmonies of life. Of all that it is natural and fit for common men to say and do, Shakespeare had, because of his transcendent genius, only a simpler, truer sense than any of his neighbours.

Shakespeare came to London, then, in or about the year 1586; and, Shakespeare though he was, he did not leap to instant fame, but worked his way to a front place in his profession by

six years of patient industry. He was so ready to do any honest work, that at the end of six years we have the first indication of his rise in the complaint of a competitor, that he is a Johannes Factorum (Jack of all Trades). This was the position of William Shakespeare in 1592, when he was twenty-eight years old. In studying Shakespeare's life it is needful to distinguish firmly between facts of which there is evidence and idle fancies: as of Shakespeare having in his youth stolen deer from a park in which there were no deer to be stolen; of his having been a butcher, and, when he killed a calf, having done so with a grand air; with other small-talk of dead gossips.

48. Francis Bacon (§ 38), aged eighteen at the time of his father's death in 1579, studied at Gray's Inn, was admitted an utter barrister in June, 1582; and about this time, aged twentyone, sketched briefly in a Latin tract, called Temporis Partus Maximus (The Greatest Birth of Time), the first notion of his philosophy. In November, 1584, Bacon took his seat in the House of Commons, as member for Melcombe Regis, in Dorsetshire. In the next Parliament, which met in October, 1586, he sat for Taunton, and was one of those who presented a petition for the speedy execution of Mary Queen of Scots. He was then member for Liverpool, active in public affairs, and presented to the ministry a wise paper of his own called, An Advertisement Touching the Controversie of the Church of England. Its topic was the Marprelate Controversy, presently to be described, and it contained the germ of his essay "Of Unity in Religion." In October, 1589, there was given to Bacon the reversion of the office of Clerk of the Council in the Star Chamber, with £1,600 or £2,000 a year, and the further advantage that its work was done by deputy. But for this Bacon had twenty years to wait; the holder of it lived till 1608. If that office had fallen to him early in life, Bacon might possibly have given up his career as a lawyer, and devoted himself wholly to the working out of his philosophy.

49. Let us turn now to the controversies of the Church, first going back a little way to trace events in Scotland. There, as we have seen (§ 3), the confession of John Knox was established by the Three Estates in 1560 as the confession of the Scottish people; by three Acts the rule of the pope was abolished, and the Reformation was established. There was a new sense of fellowship between England and Scotland; the patriotic Scot of the Reformed Church no longer looked upon France as his

country's natural ally; but the Scottish Catholics looked both to France and Spain. In 1561 there was a systematic demolition of monasteries, and of images and altars in the cathedrals. In August of that year, Queen Mary, who had become a widow at the end of 1560 by the death of Francis II. of France, returned to Scotland, aged nineteen. On the first Sunday after her arrival she heard Mass; and, by the new law of Scotland, that was a crime, with penalty for the first offence of confiscation of goods, for the second of banishment, and for the third of death. At a banquet to the queen and her court in Edinburgh, entertainment was provided in presentment of a mystery of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who were destroyed for burning strange fire on the altar. It included parody of the Mass, and burning of a priest in effigy. The Earl of Huntly, leader of the Romanist party, stopped the performance. Guises and Frenchmen were in Scotland, and the question was raised of Mary's succession to Elizabeth upon the throne of England. With this in view, Mary served the time, and showed herself well-disposed towards the Protestantism of the people. Knox maintained his cause in plain words, both in his preaching and in interviews with the queen. He wished that she could hear the preaching too: "If your grace," he said, "please to frequent the public sermons, then doubt I not but ye shall fully understand both what I like and mislike, as well in your Majesty as all others." And of his bold preaching he said, "Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman affray me? I have looked on the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been affrayed above measure." In May, 1564, about a month after the birth of Shakespeare, Calvin died. In July, 1565, Queen Mary married, without advice of Parliament, her cousin Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley; and proclaimed her husband King of the Scots. He also was Roman Catholic, and the marriage was according to the rites of the Church of Rome. In March, 1566, Darnley, with Lord Ruthven and others, seized and murdered David Rizzio in the queen's rooms. Knox approved the deed in his history, where he said, "That great abuser of this commonwealth, that poltroon and vile knave, Davie, was justly punished for abusing of the commonwealth, and for his other villany which we list not to express." With Darnley the queen dissembled, and he meanly turned with her against his associates. "As they have brewed,' he said, "so let them drink." On the 19th of June, 1566, Mary's son was born, afterwards to become James VI. of Scot-

land and James I. of England. His father was then detested by his mother. Soon afterwards there was a gunpowder plot against Darnley, directed by the Earl of Bothwell. On the 10th of February, 1567, Darnley was murdered. In May, Bothwell was divorced from his wife, and on the 15th of May, Queen Mary married him. The Barons rose; Bothwell and Mary were parted. The queen was brought back to Edinburgh, thence she was removed to Lochleven; and at Lochleven she was compelled to sign an abdication in favour of her son, and appoint the Earl of Moray regent during the child's minority. Thus James Stuart, when not quite a year old, became King James VI. of Scotland; and John Knox preached the sermon at his coronation.

In the last years of Knox there was not only political confusion, but there were defections from the cause for which he lived, and there were differences of opinion between him and his brethren in the General Assembly. In 1568, in an answer to a letter written by James Tyrie, a Jesuit, he wrote himself "John Knox, the servant of Jesus Christ, now weary of the world, and daily looking for the resolution of this my earthly tabernacle." In these his latter days, Knox, somewhat palsied, went to preach, supported by a staff in one hand, and his servant Richard Bannatyne upon the other side. "In church," wrote one who knew him then, "he was by the said Richard and another servant lifted to the pulpit, where he behoved to lean at his first entry; but ere he had done with his sermon he was so active and vigorous that he was like to ding the pulpit in blads" (break it in pieces) "and fly out of it." In September, 1572, he preached in the Tolbooth, then a dying man, upon the horror of that year, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. He died on the 24th of the following November. John Knox's Historie of the Reformation of Religioun within the Realm of Scotland first appeared twelve years after his death, in 1584, published in Edinburgh, but printed in London, and afterwards partly suppressed in 1587 by the seizure and destruction of copies, at the order of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The whole grim energy of Knox's character animates this recital of events in which and for which he lived.

50. Of the learned men employed in education of the young King James of Scotland, there is one, George Buchanan, historian and poet, who has a place of honour in our literature. He was was born at Kellerne, Lennoxshire, in 1506. His father

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died, leaving his mother almost destitute, with five boys and three girls; and George was sent by James Heriot, a brother of hers, to Paris for his education. There he already wrote much Latin verse. His uncle's death, two years afterwards, obliged him to come back without health or money. He made a campaign with French auxiliaries in sharp weather, lost health again, was in bed the rest of the winter, went to St. Andrew's to study under old John Mair (ch. vi. § 33), with whom he went to Paris. There he became Lutheran, was for two years very poor, then for two years and a half he taught grammar at the College of St. Barbe. He was then in France as tutor and companion for five years to the young Earl of Cassillis, and went back with him to Scotland. He there acted as tutor to the king's natural son, James, afterwards Earl of Moray. But he attacked the monks in Latin satires, especially in his Franciscanus and Fratres Fraterrimi, was denounced by Beaton, and compelled to leave Scotland again. He went to England; but there, he says, he found Henry VIII. burning men of both parties, more intent on his own interests than on purity of religion. So being half at home in Francethough Buchanan carried Scotland about with him wherever he went-he went to Paris, found his enemy Cardinal Beaton there also in his way, and was invited by a learned Portuguese, Andrew Goveanus, who resided at Bordeaux, to teach there. Thus he became Professor of the Humanities at Bordeaux, where he had Montaigne in his class, and where he wrote two Latin tragedies of his own, on Jephthah and John the Baptist, and translated into Latin the Medea and Alcestis of Euripides. These were written, year by year, as they were required—the translations first-to be acted, according to custom, by the students of Bordeaux. Goveanus was at last summoned to Portugal by his king, and invited to bring with him men learned in Greek and Latin, to join in the work of the newly-founded University of Coimbra. All Europe was involved in war. Buchanan was glad to find in Portugal a quiet corner. There he was very happy, with bright associates, and his brother Patrick among them, till the death of Goveanus. A persecution then began, some teachers were imprisoned; for a year and a half Buchanan was worried, and inquired into; and then he was confined for a few months in a monastery. There he occupied himself by making his famous poetical paraphrase of the Psalms into Latin verse-Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica-first published at Paris in 1564. When he left Portugal, Buchanan

came first to England-it was in the time of Edward VI.-then he went to France; then was called to Italy by Marshal de Brissac, and was for five years with the marshal's son, sometimes in France, sometimes in Italy. During that time he made a special study of the religious controversies of the day. In 1566, at the age of sixty, Buchanan was made Principal of St. Leonard's College, in the University of St. Andrew's. In the earliest childhood of James VI., Buchanan became his tutor. George Buchanan was the best Latin poet this country had produced. He would seek to instil scholarship and theology of the Reformed Church into the boy whose father was murdered, and whose mother was in England. Mary had escaped from Lochleven in 1566, nobles had gathered force to rally round her; they had been defeated at Langside by the Regent Moray, and the queen then fled across the border into England. There Elizabeth detained her. Mary's party and her cause were the party and cause of Catholicism. The Scottish Reformers under Moray's regency acted with Protestant England, and fell into disrepute even of subserviency to England. The question of Mary's complicity in the murder of Darnley was in agitation at Elizabeth's court, and in the case against her a chief part was played by eight letters and some verses cut into lengths of fourteen lines, and called sonnets of hers, said to have been found on the 20th of June, 1567, in a casket that Bothwell left behind him in Edinburgh. After the assassination of the Regent Moray in 1570, civil discord between the two parties in Scotland rose to an extreme height. The friends of Mary were active; a messenger from the Duke of Alva was in Scotland; and a new Catholic rebellion broke out in the North of England. Lennox, next regent, perished in the Scottish turmoil, in 1571; he was succeeded by young James's governor, the Earl of Mar. Then came, in 1572, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, to deepen the sense of danger from Catholicism. Sentence of death was resolved by Elizabeth's advisers upon Mary of Scotland, as a foremost cause of peril to the country. Elizabeth was not to be answerable for the act, but Mary was to be returned to Scotland with a secret understanding that she was returned for execution Then it was that the Casket Letters were first published to the world. George Buchanan published anonymously in Latin, an enforcement of the charges against Queen Mary. It was published in London, and there appeared immediate translations of it into French and Northern English, the latter as Ane Detec404

tioun of the Doingis of Marie Quene of Scottis, twiching the Murthir of hir Husband, &c., Translatit out of Latin guhilk was written be M. G. B. Sanctandrois, be Robert Leckprevik. The Latin translation of the Casket Letters is here rendered into Scottish dialect; and there is a rendering of nearly all into French. We now have them in no other shape. The originals are lost; it is not an improbable supposition that they were destroyed by Mary's son. During the last twelve or fourteen years of his life, Buchanan employed his mastery of Latin, and his knowledge of events, in writing a Latin History of Scotland-Rerum Scoticarum Historia-in twenty books. It connected with the past the life of his own day, gave unity to all, and placed at the head of it the sense of nationality. It was in his nature to care rather to mark the progress of a people than to celebrate the power of a chief. This was distinctly shown in a sort of Socratic dialogue, published by him in Latin, in 1579, on the law as it relates to government among the Scots-Fus Regni apud Scotos-which ends by replying to their neighbours who called the Scots seditious, "What is that to them? We make our tumults at our own peril. No people were ever less seditious, or more moderate in their seditions. They contend much about laws, royal rights, and duties of administration; not for destruction and hatred, but for love of country and defence of law." Buchanan's history was first published in 1582, the year of its author's death.

51. Meanwhile, Buchanan and others had been doing their best for the education of young James VI. He was a clumsy boy, with ungainliness produced by physical defect, a tongue too large for his mouth, and a mind in which all depths that there could ever be must be made artificially. Good workmen dug and shaped; the boy was good-tempered, picked up some shrewdness, lived a creditable life, had respect for knowledge, and good appetite for it, though bad digestion. He had a pleasant type of it before him in cheery, impressible George Buchanan; a Presbyterian, austere but half way through, with a face like a Scotch Socrates, although more apt than Socrates to take offence, familiar with Latin as with his native tongue, full of anecdote and good talk, familiar also with languages and people round about, and liking Scotland all the better for experience in other lands. But for James the horizon did not widen as he climbed the hill of knowledge, his heart did not swell as he rose to higher sense of harmony and beauty; he

hammered at the big lumps about him, and was proud of being so far up. In 1585, when his age was but nineteen, he published at Edinburgh The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie. In preliminary sonnets of compliment, the Muses, through various courtly representations, sought to

"Tell how he doth in tender yearis essay

Above his age with skill our arts to blaise

Tell how he doeth with gratitude repay

The crowne he won for his deserved praise.

Tell how of Jove, of Mars, but more of God

The glorie and grace he hath proclaimed abrod."

The "Essayes" opened with twelve sonnets of invocations to the gods, namely, Jove, Apollo, each of the four Seasons, Neptune, Tritons and their kind, Pluto, Mars, Mercury, and finally, for the twelfth sonnet:

"In short, you all fore named gods I pray
For to concur with one accord and will
That all my works may perfyte be alway:
Which if ye doe, then swear I for to fill
My works immortall with your praises still:
I shall your names eternall ever sing
I shall tread downe the grass on Parnass hill
By making with your names the world to ring:
I shall your names from all oblivion bring;
I lofty Virgill shall to life restoirr."

Buchanan was for three years dead, and there were few left who would tell a young king that his works were not "perfyte alway." Then followed a translation of L'Uranie, or "The Heavenly Muse," from Du Bartas, original and translation printed upon opposite pages, with a modest preface in admiration of "the devine and illuster poete, Salust du Bartas" (§ 35), by the "oft reading and perusing" of whom James was moved "with a restless and lofty desire to preas to attaine to the like virtue." To the level of Du Bartas he could not at all aspire in his own verse; let him, he said, follow imperfectly as a translator. This represented only the common admiration of his time which Du Bartas enjoyed. In a copy of "Quintilian," annotated by Gabriel Harvey when the Sepmaine of Du Bartas was a new book, Harvey wrote in the margin, beside a mention of Euripides, "Euripides, wisest of poets: except now at length the divine Bartas." After his version of one of the shorter poems of Du Bartas, King James gave for his next essay a dim allegory, smoothly versified, in Chaucer's stanza, "Ane

Metaphoricall Invention of a Tragedie called Phœnix," with a preface of eighteen bad lines, arranged first as shaped verse, in the form of a lozenge upon a little pedestal, then as a compound acrostic. Then followed a short bit of translation out of the fifth book of Lucan; and then, lastly, "Ane Schort Treatise, containing some Reulis and Cautelis to be observit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie." Here we find, among other things, that the technical name then given to Chaucer's stanza was derived from Chaucer's most popular example of it. It was called "Troilus Verse."

52. We glance abroad to connect the narrative with facts in foreign literature which concern our story. Michel de Montaigne, who had been among George Buchanan's students at Bordeaux, produced the first edition of his Essays in 1580. There was a second edition in 1588. This first of the great essayists had learnt Latin as a mother tongue, had seen much of the world in his youth; and he died in 1592, aged fifty-nine, after much enjoyment and half philosophical half gossiping discussion of life, at his seat of Montaigne, near Bordeaux.

In 1581, when Torquato Tasso was still a prisoner with the insane, appeared his great heroic poem in twenty-four books, on the First Crusade, and recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens, at the end of the eleventh century. The poem had two names, Goffredo, from its hero, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Gerusalemme Liberata ("Jerusalem Delivered"), from its action. There were eight independent and sometimes conflicting issues of this poem in Italy within nine months of its first publication. One of these had an essay prefixed on the question of the two titles. To one of the last of them there was appended an allegorical interpretation. The old relish for allegory in literature, which we have traced down from early Christian days, was in Elizabeth's time unabated.

But for some years after 1581 the fame of the now obscure Du Bartas rose higher than that of Tasso. The "Divine Week" of Du Bartas was followed by a "Second Week" (Second Sepmaine), in 1584. This divided into seven periods, poetically called days, the religious history of man expressed in the successive histories of Adam, Noah, Abraham, David, Zedekiah, the Messiah, and, for seventh "day," the Eternal Sabbath. Du Bartas only lived to complete four of the seven sections of this work, but he wrote also many other moral and religious poems. He also repaid the royal compliment of a translation

of L' Uranie by translating into French, as La Lepanthe, the poem on the battle of Lepanto which King James of Scotland wrote soon after publishing his "Essayes of an Apprentise." This appeared with a preface of the translator to the author, wherein James was honoured with the name of a Scotch Phænix, and the divine Du Bartas himself declared that he could not soar with him, could only stand on earth to see him in the clouds. Du Bartas wished he had only so much of James, as to be but the shadow of his shape, the echo of his voice.

"Hé! fusse ie vrayment, O Phœnix Escossois, Ou l'ombre de ton corps, ou l'echo de ta voix!"

There was another Frenchman then in high and deserved repute among English Reformers, one of Philip Sidney's friends, Philip de Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis. He was not much older than Sidney, for he was born in 1549; and he would have been endowed with good things in the Church by family influence, if his mother had not become Protestant, and trained her child from ten years old in the Reformed opinions. He served awhile in the army, went to Geneva, studied law in Heidelberg, travelled in Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, and England. He went in 1576 to the court of King Henry of Navarre, became one of his nearest friends, and helped to make him Henry IV. of France. Philip du Plessis Mornay was an accomplished man of the world, with tact, experience, and a practical mind, as well as religious earnestness and a delight in literature. He became known as an envoyat Elizabeth's court, where the best men were his companions. The influence obtained by his high character, his skill in management of affairs, and the pure tone of his writings, caused him to be called sometimes the Pope of the Huguenots. In 1587, Arthur Golding (§ 6) published a translation of Du Plessis Mornay on the Truth of Christianity.

Richard Stanihurst, who was son of a Recorder of Dublin, had written at University College, Oxford, a system of logic, in his eighteenth year, had studied law also at two Inns of Court, had been married to a knight's daughter, and was living at Leyden, when he published in 1582 a translation of the first four books of Virgil's "Æneid" into English hexameters. This was made at the time of the small war against rhyme, and fashion for this sort of "new English versifying" (§ 43); and Stanihurst was accounted a fine scholar. His attempt at an

English "Virgil" in Virgil's own measure was praised by those who encouraged the experiment, attacked by others. Had Virgil himself written in English in 1582, he would hardly have expressed Jupiter's kiss to his daughter by saying, as Stanihurst made him say, that he "bussed his pretty prating parrot," or written hexameters of this sort to describe Laocoon's throwing his spear at the great wooden horse:

"" My lief for an haulfpennie, Troians,
Either heere ar couching soom troups of Greekish asemblie,
Or to crush our bulwarcks this woorck is forged, al houses
For to prie surmounting thee town: soom practis or oother
Heere lurcks of coonning: trust not this treacherus ensigne;
And for a ful reckning, I like not barrel or herring;
Thee Greeks bestowing their presents Greekish I feare mee.'
Thus said, he stout rested, with his chaapt staffe speedily running,
Strong the steed he chargeth, thee planck ribs manfully riding.
Then the iade, hit, shivered, thee vauts haulf shrillie rebounded
With clush clash buzzing, with droomming clattered humming."

Richard Stanihurst published in 1584, in Latin, four books of an Irish chronicle, De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis Libri IV. He had been at work on this since the close of his college days, and though born in Dublin he had been bred in England, and was trained into the prevalent opinion then held by the English of the native Irish race. It is not necessary to believe that he desired to write only what would please his English patrons. He afterwards took orders in the Catholic Church, and, it is said, undertook to recant the errors in his "Irish Chronicle." In 1587 he published at Antwerp, in two Latin books, a Life of St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, and his later writings were religious. He lived on through a great part of the reign of James I., and died in 1618.

The first attempt at a translation of Homer into English Alexandrine verse was begun in 1563, and published in 1581. This appeared in Ten Books of Homer's Iliades. It was not translated from the Greek direct, but chiefly through the French version of Hugues Salel, by Arthur Hall, of Grantham, a member of Parliament. The fact that this is the first Englishing of Homer gives the book importance.

54 Barnaby Googe, born about 1540, at Alvingham, and son of the Recorder of Lincoln, was a translator from the moderns. In 1560 he issued the first three books, and in 1565 all twelve books of an English version of the Italian Manzolli's satirical invective against the Papacy, The Zodiac of Life. In

1570, Googe published a translation of another Latin invective, written by Thomas Kirchmeyer, which he called *The Popish Kingdome; or, Reigne of Antichrist*. In 1577 he published a translation from the Latin of the *Four Bokes of Husbandrie*, by Conrad Heresbach. He also translated from the Spanish; and a little volume of his own verse, *Eglogs*, *Epytaphes*, and *Sonettes*, was issued in 1563. Googe died in 1594.

George Whetstone, a minor poet of this time, who was in repute with his contemporaries as "one of the most passionate above us to bewail the perplexities of love," wrote under a name taken from the popular story-book of Marguerite of Navarre, A Heptameron of Civil Discourses. This also is a book of tales. Among those which he took from the "Hecatommithi," or "Hundred Tales," of Giraldi Cinthio, first published in 1565, tales which deal with the tragic side of life, is one that was used by Shakespeare for the plot of his Measure for Measure. Whetstone had himself written a play on the same subject, Promos and Cassandra, in two parts, printed in 1578.

Anthony Munday was a minor writer, whose literary activity in verse and prose, as playwright, ballad writer, and pamphleteer, began in 1579, and extended through the rest of the reign of Elizabeth, and the whole reign of her successor. He died in the reign of Charles I., in 1633. He was bred in the English college at Rome, and afterwards turned Protestant. His earliest introduction to literature was as a player and a writer for the stage. In 1582 he gave great offence to the Catholics by publishing The Discoverie of Edmund Campion, the Jesuit, which provoked reply. After this he was in the service of the Earl of Oxford, and was also a messenger of the queen's bedchamber. He had reputation among our first dramatists for skill in the construction of a comic plot. His earliest printed book is religious in its tendency; and so indeed was a great part of the drama during Elizabeth's reign. Its title explains its purport. It was in verse, and called The Mirror of Mutabilitie; or, Principal Part of the Mirrour of Magistrates: Selected out of the Sacred Scriptures. The titles of his next two books may be taken as examples of Euphuism; they are both dated in 1580, the year of the second part of Lyly's Euphues (§ 22). One is The Fountaine of Fame, Erected in an Orchard of Amorous Adventures; the other, The Paine of Pleasure, profitable to be perused of the Wise, and necessary to be by the Wanton.

Munday took violent interest in the arrest and execution of

the Jesuits sent by the pope as devoted missionaries for the reconversion of England. Edmund Campion had been an Oxford student and a Protestant. He changed his faith from conviction, became a Jesuit, and exposed himself to death in England for devotion to what seemed to him the highest duty he could find. In his torture and execution, and in the other executions of like men, we feel painfully, as elsewhere proudly, the intensity of conflict in their day. They did not, it was said by those who sent them to death, suffer for their faith, but for their political assent to the pope's right to depose the Queen of England. They did suffer for that assent; but then unhappily it was a part of their religious faith. There were high principles, momentous interests of the future, then at stake; the immediate issues of the struggle were uncertain, peril was great, on each side temper rose with the excitement of a noble energy: but we need not now read with the pleasure that was taken in the writing of it, Anthony Munday's Breefe and True Reporte of the Execution of certaine Traytours at Tiborne, the xxviii. and xxx. Dayes of May, 1582; though we can understand the ground of his Watchwoord to Englande, to beware of Traytors and Tretcherous Practises, which have beene the Overthrowe of many famous Kingdomes and Commonweales (1584); and see the harmony between this strength of public feeling and the religious temperament which caused him to print in 1586 a book of Godly Exercise for Christian Families, containing an Order of Praires for Morning and Evening, with a little Catechism between the Man and his Wife. Such men were of the common crowd of English dramatists of Elizabeth's day, and there was a bright spirit of song in them all. Munday's next book (in 1588) was A Banquet of Dainty Conceits; furnished with verie delicate and choyce Inventions to delighte their Mindes who take Pleasure in Musique; and there withall to sing sweete ditties, either to the lute, bandora, virginalles, or anie other Instrument.

55. George Peele, a playwright with genius, who belonged also to this early group, was born in 1558, a gentleman's son, and said to be of a Devonshire family. He became a student of the University of Oxford, at Broadgates Hall, now Pembroke College, took his degree of B.A. in June, 1577, became M.A. in 1579, when twenty-one years old. He remained another two years in the University, thus having been a student there for nine years, when he married a wife with some property, and went to London. While in the University he was esteemed as a poet,

made a version (now lost) of one of the two Iphigenias of Euripides into English, and probably then wrote his Tale of Troy, in one book of heroic couplets; but this was first printed in 1589. In London, Peele took his place, probably at once, among the poets.

They were almost without exception University men who were writing for the players. It was pleasant work and profitable. Hitherto everywhere, and still outside the theatre, the man with ability to be useful or pleasant-and to be wholesomely pleasant is also to be useful—as a writer, could not expect to live by the use of his pen, unless he received indirect aid from the patronage, or direct aid from the purse, of a great lord or of the sovereign. Without help of the patron, or hope of such help, many works of genius could never have been written in a world where daily bread costs daily money. Such patronage took many gracious forms; often it was ungracious. It offered only a precarious support, and lured sensitive men through years of vain anxiety and hope to a sorrowful old age. Spenser described it in his "Mother Hubbard's Tale:"

> "So pitiful a thing is suitor's state! Most miserable man, whom wicked fate Hath brought to court, to sue for had ywist That few have found, and many one hath mist! Full little knowest thou that hath not tried, What hell it is in suing long to bide: To lose good days that might be better spent; To waste long nights in pensive discontent; To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow; To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow; To have thy princes' grace, yet want her peers'; To have thy asking, yet wait many years; To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares; To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs; To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run, To spend, to give, to want, to be undone."

But there was no large public of readers, and there was no possible escape from the patron till the theatres began to rise. Then those who would now be readers became hearers, and paid for hearing as they would now pay for reading. From the money taken for each performance, there was pay to the author, pay to the actors; pay earned as simply and independently by the use of a craft, as money earned by carpenter or smith. A short experience of this made known to the clever men who came to London from the Universities to make their way in

life how they could run alone at once, and remain masters of themselves. If they chose to seek a patron, they might do that also, but they were not compelled to feed on hope; there was money for their bread, unless they spent all upon sack. In later years, when the stage had a less direct relation to all classes of the people, but was itself debased by court patronage, this way of escape from the patron became but a narrow one. All hope of independence for the men of genius rested then upon the slow advance of education, till the readers could do gradually, now fer one, then for another, and at last for all forms of literature, what in Elizabeth's day the hearers did for one form only. The young men thus established in London, drawing money from the theatres, could add also to their reputations and their incomes by writing for the booksellers tales, poems, or pamphlets upon stirring questions of the day. This they did, and there were some who flung themselves with high glee into paper wars, ready to profit in all possible ways by skill in the amusement of the town.

Peele's acquired knowledge caused him to be employed in Oxford, in 1583, as acting manager for two Latin plays, by his friend Dr. Gager, presented at Christ Church before a Polish prince. His first published verse was prefixed to Thomas Watson's "Passionate Centurie of Love," published in 1583.

56. Thomas Watson was of about Peele's age, and died in 1592. The thirty-five years of his age were all lived in Elizabeth's reign. He was born in London, studied in Oxford, then in London again, and applied himself to common law; was in Paris for a time before 1581, in which year he published a version in Latin of the Antigone of Sophocles. A scholar and a poet; at first writing chiefly in Latin, afterwards in English verse; appreciated as he deserved to be by Sidney, Lyly, and Peele; a friend of Spenser's; Watson was the sweetest of the purely amatory poets of Elizabeth's reign. In 1582 appeared his book with a Greek and English title-Greek titles were then becoming fashionable— Εκατομπαθία (The Passionate Centurie of Love), that is to say, a Love Passion in a Hundred Sonnets. According to the old Italian method, which had been revived by Surrey (ch. vi. § 46), exercises upon various phases of the passion of love in sequences of sonnets were still in fashion; these poems were known as Passions. Each of Watson's hundred passions has a prose expanation before it; and each consists of three of the six-lined stanzas then called

Common Verse, the stanza which, as King James VI. recorded, poets were to use "in materis of love." Take one of Watson's for example:

"Tully, whose speech was hold in ev'ry cause,

If he were here to praise the saint and serve,

The number of her gifts would make him pausz.

And fear to speak how well he doth deserve.

Why then am I thus bold, that have no skill?

Enforced by love, I show my zealous will."

In 1585 appeared Watson's Latin Poem, Amyntas, from which his fellow poets took the name they gave him in their rhymes; and in 1595—after Italian Madrigals Englished and other works—appeared his Teares of Fansie; or, Love Disdained. From Watson we return to his friend,

57. George Peele, who published anonymously, in 1584, The Araygnement of Paris: a Pastorall, presented before the Queenes Maiestie by the Children of her Chapell. It is a pastoral play in five acts, not the less but the more poetical for a child-like simplicity of dialogue. It is written at first in various rhymed measures, which run into musical songs, passions, and complaints that sing themselves, but the metre becomes blank verse when the arraigned shepherd Paris has to defend himself before the council of the gods against the charge of unjust judgment. The gods, greatly puzzled, leave Diana to settle the question, and she settles it by compromise. In the fifth act she comes with Juno, Pallas, and Venus, all content to present the apple to Elizabeth, before whom also the three sisters, "Dames of Destiny," yield up their distaff, reel, and fatal knife. By way of epilogue, the performers at the end of the play poured the good wishes of men and gods on Her Majesty in two Latin hexameters.

In 1585, George Peele was the deviser of a Lord Mayor's pageant. Of his other plays, there were none printed before 1590, the year in which Spenser published the first three books of the "Faerie Queene," and which we take as a convenient dividing point for study of the second part of the reign of Elizabeth.

58. John Lyly after the publication of the two parts of his "Euphues," in 1579 and 1580, was paying suit and service to Lord Burghley. Sir Thomas Benger, Master of the Revels, had died in 1577, and the place, which remained for a time vacant, was desired by Lyly. But Edmund Tylney was

appointed in July, 1579. Lyly now became a dramatist, and wrote plays for the court on classical or mythological subjects, nine plays in all, seven in prose, one of the later ones-The Woman in the Moon-in blank verse, and another of the later ones-The Maid's Metamorphosis-chiefly in rhyme. The prose is laboured to the fashion of the day; a Euphuism, rich in far-fetched, whimsical, and delicate conceits, play upon words, and antithesis with alliteration, interspersed with songs which now and then are excellent. In each play the plot, characters, and dialogues are alike artificial; the poet's aim is not to stir the soul, but to provide a pleasant entertainment for the fancy. The first printed of Lyly's plays, in 1584, was Campaspe, played before the queen by Her Majesty's children, and the children of Paul's. It was acted both at court and at the Blackfriars' theatre. In this play is Lyly's well-known song of Apellesfounded on a conceit, of course:

> "Cupid and my Campaspe played At cards for kisses, Cupid paid: He stakes his quiver, bow and arrows, His mother's doves, and team of sparrows, Loses them too; then down he throws The coral of his lip, the rose Growing on's cheek (but none knows how), With these the crystal of his brow, And then the dimple of his chin: All these did my Campaspe win. At last he set her both his eyes. She won, and Cupid blind did rise. O Love! has she done this to thee? What shall, alas, become of me?"

In the same year was printed Sapho and Phao, which had been played before the queen on Shrove Tuesday, by the children of her chapel and the boys of Paul's. These were the only plays of Lyly's printed before 1590. But we shall find him presently supposed to contribute a tract called Pap with a Hatchet, in the paper war of 1589, which gave rise to Bacon's "Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England."

59. Robert Greene was novelist as well as dramatist, and as a novelist he was a follower of Lyly. He was born at Norwich, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, took his degree of B.A. in 1578. Peele taking his at Oxford in 1577, there probably was little difference between the ages of those poets; and Greene may have been born about 1559 or 1560. After

1578, Greene visited Italy and Spain, before graduating as M.A. in 1583. In 1584 he published three prose love-pamphlets, in the style of Euphues, The Myrrour of Modestie; Morando, the Tritameron of Love; and Gwydonius, the Carde of Fancie. On the title-page of his little book of 1585, Planetomachia, he wrote himself, "Student in Physicke." In the same year he satisfied the natural interest of the public in what was for that time of conflict with Catholicism one of the great topics of the day, the death of the pope, by translating through the French, An Oration, or Funerall Sermon, uttered at Roome, at the . Buriall of the Holy Father, Gregorie the XIII., who departed in Christ Jesus, the 11th of Aprill, 1585. In this or the next year Greene married. He himself told, in one of his last writings, of the vicious way of life into which he had now fallen. Dramatists and players enjoyed jovial fellowship at the tavern, the money soon earned was soon spent; temptations pressed on the weak will, and more than one fine mind sank under them. Greene's wife, a gentleman's daughter, endeavoured in vain to part him from bad company; he says that he spent her marriage portion, and after the birth of a child forsook her; she going into Lincolnshire, he working on in London, "where in short space I fell into favour with such as were of honourable and good calling. But here note that though I knew how to get a friend, yet I had not the gift or reason how to keep a friend." In these and all such words we must not omit to observe that Greene's object in accusing himself was to warn others to keep in the right way. He was, like Occleve in one of his poems (ch. v. § 8), seeking to win hearts to his cause by holding a brief against himself as advocate for virtue. But Greene was actually sinking low in 1590, and within two years of death. His plays remained unprinted until after his death. The actors were unwilling to chill interest in a play, while it was still upon the stage, by publication of its dialogue. The date, therefore, of the first printing of any good Elizabethan play is often much later than that of its first performance. Love-pamphlets Greene was issuing steadily. In 1587, Euphues, his Censure to Philautus, was followed by an Arcadia. In 1588 he printed Pandosto; or, the Triumph of Time, the story upon which Shakespeare founded his "Winter's Tale." In the same year followed a collection of stories, poems, and reflections, called Perimedes, the Blacke-Smith: a Golden Methode how to use the Mind in Pleasant and Profitable Exercise. If Greene was himself

falling from the true standard of life, yet to the last he laboured to maintain it in his writings. Perimedes was followed, still in the same year, by Alcida, or Greene's Metamorphosis; and, in 1589, by the Spanish Masquerado, Tullie's Love, and Orpharion.

60. Christopher Marlowe, who advanced the Elizabethan drama to the point from which Shakespeare rose to the supreme heights of poetry, was six years younger than George Peele. He was but two months older than Shakespeare; born at Canterbury in Shakespeare's birth-year, 1564, one of several children of John Marlowe, shoemaker, and clerk of St. Mary's, and he was baptised on the 26th of February. He was educated first at the King's School, Canterbury, and then at Corpus Christi (Benet) College, Cambridge. For his University education he must have been indebted to the kindness of some liberal man who had observed his genius. He did not go with a scholarship from the King's School. He graduated as B.A. in 1583, as M.A. in 1587, by which time he had achieved great success at a stroke with his play of Tamburlaine the Great. The theme, like the grievance of Mycetes, with which it opened, required "a great and thundering speech," and Marlowe did not, like Mycetes, find himself "insufficient to express the same." The old British public had enjoyed for centuries, in Herod of the miracle-plays (ch. iv. § 5), the character of a pompous braggart, who could rant well. In one of the sets of plays Herod's speeches were crowded with words that began with "r," for greater convenience of r-r-rolling them well in his mouth. Marlowe gave them a Tamburlaine who could out-herod Herod, and he roared Marlowe into sudden fame. The desire indeed was so great to hear him roar, that Marlowe let him roar again, and maintained his success by the production of a Second Part of Tamburlaine. The two parts were first printed in 1590, without author's name. These plays were founded on the story of Tamerlane, or Timour the Tartar, who after leading his countrymen to their own deliverance from foreign oppression, was crowned at Samarcand in 1370, and presently set forth on a career of conquest. In 1402, he made the great Ottoman sultan, Bajazet, his prisoner. He had set out in winter weather, at the age of seventy, for the addition of China to his conquests, when he died. In the embodiment of this notion of an all-devouring conqueror, "the scourge of God," Marlowe used the blank verse, which had not then secured its footing on the public stage. Our first tragedy was in that new

measure; but it was written for Christmas entertainment at the Inner Temple. Blank verse was used in the last two acts of "The Arraignment of Paris;" but that was written for the queen and court. The plays for the public were in prose or rhyme, till the Prologue of Tamburlaine said to the people:

"From jigging veins of rhyming mother wits,
And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
We'll lead you to the stately tent of war,
Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine
Threaten the world with high astounding terms,
And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword."

Marlowe, by his "Tamburlaine," and by the better plays which followed it, developed blank verse as the measure for English dramatic poetry, made its worth felt, and was among dramatists the first cause of its general adoption.

"Tamburlaine" is rant glorified. It was enjoyed even by those who laughed at it. The boldest stroke was in the opening of the 3rd Scene of the 4th Act of Part II. "Enter Tamburlaine, drawn in his chariot by the Kings of Trebizon and Soria with bits in their mouths, reins in his left hand, and in his right hand a whip with which he scourgeth them."

"' 'Holla, ye pamper'd jades of Asia!
What! can ye draw but twenty miles a day,
And have so proud a chariot at your heels,
And such a coachman as great Tamburlaine?"

Marlowe's Tragical History of Doctor Faustus probably appeared on the stage in 1589, in blank verse intermixed with scenes of prose; but it was not printed in the lifetime of its author. The hero of this famous legend, which is said by some to have been grafted upon Faust the printer (ch. v. § 26), seems to have been really a man who, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, affected pre-eminence in necromancy, astrology, and magic, and took as one of his sounding names, "Faustus," for its Latin meaning-favourable, or auspicious. About him, as a centre of crystallisation, tales ascribed in the first instance to other conjurors arranged themselves until he became the popular ideal of one who sought to sound the depths of this world's knowledge and enjoyment without help from God. But in the religious controversies of the sixteenth century, the connection between Faustus and Satan associated this legend in the minds of ardent Reformers with the Church of Rome; and in 1587 there appeared at Frankfort, written with a strong Protestant

feeling, the first elaborated "History of Dr. Faustus," told as a terrible example to all high-flying, headstrong, and Godless men. It gathered about Faustus more old tales of magic, and was so popular that it was reprinted in 1588. From this edition of 1588 an English story-book of Dr. Faustus was translated. This book Marlowe also translated in his nobler way, taking the plot of his play either from the German original, or from this first translation, perhaps while it was yet in hand.

Marlowe, in telling this tale on the stage, made no division into acts. Using the chorus as narrator of any part of a tale that was not to be shown or told during the action, Marlowe first brought in Chorus to tell how Faustus was born of poor parents, at Rhodes, in Germany, taught at Wittenburg made

Doctor of Divinity, and excelled all in dispute,

"Till swoln with cunning of a self conceit,
His waxen wings did mount above his reach,
And melting, heavens conspired his overthrow."

He turned to magic—"And this the man that in his study sits." Chorus then left the audience to hear Faustus condemn each of the sciences in turn, discard the Bible, and swell with desire for the magician's power, stretching as far as doth the mind of man. The people saw his good and evil angels stand beside him, as he heard one warn, the other tempt. They saw him yield himself to Valdes and Cornelius, to be taught magic arts; saw Mephistophiles appear to his incantation in his own natural ugliness, but, at Faust's bidding, reappear in the shape of a Franciscan Friar. Compelled to answer, Mephistophiles spoke truth. The people heard Faustus disdain the fear of God:

"But leaving the vain trifles of men's souls,
Tell me what is that Lucifer thy lord?

Meph. Arch-regent and commander of all spirits.

Faust. Was not that Lucifer an angel once?

Meph. Yes, Faustus, and most dearly-loved of God. Faust. How comes it, then, that he is prince of devils?

Meph. Oh, by aspiring pride and insolence;

For which God threw him from the face of heaven.

Faust. And what are you that live with Lucifer?

Meph. Unhappy spirits that fell with Lucifer,

Conspired against our God with Lucifer, And are for ever damned with Lucifer.

Faust. How comes it, then, that thou art out of hell?

Meph. Why this is hell, nor am I out of it;
Think'st thou that I, that saw the face of God,
And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,
Am not tormented with ten thousand hells?

In being deprived of everlasting bliss?

O Faustus, leave these frivolous demands
Which strike a terror to my fainting soul.

Faust. What! Is great Mephistophiles so passionate
For being deprived of the joys of heaven?

Learn then of Faustus manly fortitude,
And scorn those joys thou never shalt possess."

Boldly Faustus sends an offer of his soul to Lucifer, for four-and-twenty years of his own will. At midnight he expects the answer. Midnight approaches, and again his good and evil angels speak at either ear. The guardian angel's voice is heard in vain. The bond is signed with blood stabbed from the arm. Upon the first hour of its enjoyment a touch of repentance breaks. Again his good angel pleads with him; his evil angel seeks to harden him against the warning voice. His heart is hardened, he cannot repent. He questions Mephistophiles upon the heavenly spheres; and he is answered. He asks, "Who made the world?" and his familiar will not tell. Again comes the pang of conscience. He cries to himself, "Think Faustus upon God who made the world!"

"Re-enter Good Angel and Evil Angel.

" E. Ang. Too late.

G. Ang. Never too late, if Faustus will repent.

E. Ang. If thou repent, devils will tear thee in pieces.

G. Ang. Repent, and they shall never raze thy skin.

[Exeunt Angels.

Faust. O Christ, my Saviour, my Saviour,
Help thou to save distressed Faustus' soul!"

But Lucifer and Beelzebub now stand with Mephistophiles before him; hold him to his bond; will show him pastime. They introduce to him the seven deadly sins. Chorus explains now to the people that we shall see Faustus next at Rome, and straightway the pomp of the court of Rome is marshalled out for mockery. Pope Adrian in supreme pride ascends his chair, by using for a footstool Saxon Bruno, whom the Emperor appointed. Adrian will depose the Emperor, and curse his people. Then Faustus and Mephistophiles beguile him in his policy; scatter confusion in his court; snatch, being invisible, his dishes and his cup; box his ears; and beat the triars, who come in with bell, book, and candle, to sing maledictions on them. Other scenes follow to represent incidents in the life for which a sour was paid. Touches of farce lie by the tragic scenes. Then Faustus is in his study again. His end is near. To some of this scholars he shows a fair vision of Helen. They depart. An

old man enters who, with loving words, warns Faustus of his peril. Faustus despairs. Mephistophiles gives him a dagger. "Oh, stay!" cries the old man:

"Oh, stay, good Faustus, stay thy desperate steps:
I see an angel hover o'er thy head,
And with a vial full of precious grace
Offers to pour the same into thy soul:
Then call for mercy, and avoid despair."

He repents, yet he despairs; he cannot escape from the toils of Mephistophiles. Helen is brought to him between Cupids, He leaves the stage worshipping her, and then the thunder rolls; the Powers of Evil enter, and from the background Lucifer and Beelzebub keep grim watch over their victim. With changed looks Faustus parts from his scholars, and they leave him to his last agony on earth. The poet makes its horror felt. The good and evil angels speak again. His good angel sets before him and before the audience, while music sounds, a vision of the heavenly throne among the saints which he has forfeited. His Evil Angel then sets before him and the audience a vision of that "vast perpetual torture-house" to which he goes:

"Those that are fed with sops of flaming fire Were gluttons, and loved only delicates, And laughed to see the poor starve at their gates. But yet all these are nothing; thou shalt see Ten thousand tortures that more horrid be.

Faust. Oh, I have seen enough to torture me!

E. Ang. Nay, thou must feel them, taste the smart of all; lie that loves pleasure must for pleasure fall."

The clock strikes eleven, and the terror of the last hour is then painted. In language drawn from Scripture, Faustus cries in his despair:

"Mountains and hills, come, come, and fall on me,
And hide me from the heavy wrath of heaven!
No!
Then will I run headlong into the earth;
Gape earth! Oh, no, it will not harbour me!"

The terror grows, and the clock strikes the half hour. Faustus now cries in his anguish:

"Cursed be the parents that engender'd me!
No, Faustus, curse thyself, curse Lucifer,
That hath deprived thee of the joys of heaven."

The clock strikes twelve, and the audience sees the terrible fulfil. ment of the bond. Depths of religious energy were stirred when

this was the new play, and the last great event in the real world

had been the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Marlowe's Faustus represents the highest point reached by the Elizabethan drama before 1590. Shakespeare, who had come unknown and poor among the dramatists and actors, with credentials from no University, was then quietly and surely working his way up. Bound to the truth of nature, he could not rise by an audacity like that of Marlowe, who in 1590 had a higher public reputation. There is no genuine evidence that Shakespeare had shares in a theatre until he was one of "those deserving men" who were made partners in the profits of The Globe, which was built of the materials of The Theatre in the

beginning of 1599.

61. Philip Sidney, at court again, after the months of retirement at Wilton, during which he wrote "Arcadia," was knighted by Elizabeth in January, 1583, when his age was about twenty-eight. In the following March he was married to Frances, eldest daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and the next year was spent in married peace. Sidney wrote sonnets in those days -" Passions" of the old conventional type-meaning, as usual, to address them to some lady who deserved compliment, and of whom his conventional rhapsodies could not very well be taken seriously. As the Earl of Surrey addressed his love exercises to a child for whom the court felt sympathy, Sidney paid the like compliment to an unhappy wife. Penelope Devereux, daughter to his old friend the late Earl of Essex, had once been talked of as his own possible wife. Her father said that he would have been proud of Philip Sidney for a son-in-law. And if so why had the match not taken place? If Sidney had been really devoted to the lady he could have married her. He did not marry her because he did not wish to do so, and in his own day no reasonable being ever supposed that he paid suit to her except in the way of verse. Towards the close of 1580, Penelope, then about eighteen, was married by her guardian against her will to Lord Robert Rich, heir to the ill-gotten wealth of Lord Chancellor Rich. That chancellor, the grandson of two thriving London mercers, had risen by his want of principle, and had secured to himself great bargains at the suppression of the monasteries. He grasped wealth enough to endow two earldoms acquired by his descendants. The chancellor died in 1568, and his son Robert, second baron Rich, died in 1581, leaving his son and heir, another Lord

Robert, the rich man to whom Penelope was sold. She protested even at the altar. The contractor for her is described as "of an uncourtly disposition, unsociable, austere, and of no very agreeable conversation to her." The unhappiness of her forced marriage made Lady Rich at this time an object of considerate attention. Philip Sidney was an old friend of her father's, and he gave her the place of honour in his sonnetwriting, wherein she was to be Stella ("the Star"), he Astrophel "the Lover of the Star"); and certainly, as all the court knew, and as the forms of such ingenious love-poetry implied, so far as love in the material sense was concerned, with as much distance between them as if she had shone upon him from above the clouds. Sidney's Astrophel and Stella sonnets were being written at the time when he was about to marry Fanny Walsingham; and in those earnest Elizabethan days, at the fitfully strict court of Elizabeth, since the character of such poetical lovepassions was then understood, they brought upon Sidney's credit not a breath of censure. As for Lady Rich, she gave herself to Sir Christopher Blount, who became Lord Mountjoy in 1600, and after divorce from her husband she married him. But that was a real passion, and what each felt in it was not told for the amusement of the public.

In 1584 the course of events led Sir Philip Sidney to advocate direct attack by sea upon the Spanish power. He would have Elizabeth come forward as Defendress of the Faith, at the head of a great Protestant League. He was a member of the Parliament that met in November, 1584, and in July, 1585, he was joined with the Earl of Warwick in the Mastership of the Ordnance. His strongest desires caused him to look in two directions for his course of action: he might aid in direct attack on the Spanish possessions, which, as source of treasure, were a source of power; he might aid in the rescue from Spain of the Netherlands. During a great part of the year 1585 his mind was very much with Drake and Raleigh.

62. Naval enterprise had advanced rapidly in England since the days of the Cabots (ch. v. § 29). In 1574, George Gascoigne (§ 29) obtained from Sir Humphrey Gilbert—who had been knighted for his services against the Irish—his Discourse to prove a Passage by the North-West to Cathay and the East Indies. He first sought to prove that America was an island; and then brought together the reports of voyagers by whom a North-West Passage to Cathay and India had been attempted.

By this route only, he argued, we could share the wealth derived by Spain and Portugal from traffic with the East; be unmolested by them in our course; and undersell them in their markets, besides finding new sources of wealth, and founding colonies for

the relief of overcrowded England.

This treatise revived interest in the subject. It passed from hand to hand in M.S., and was printed in 1576, the year in which Martin Frobisher started, on board the Gabriel, of twentyfive tons burthen, upon the first of his three voyages in search of a North-West Passage. He entered the bay called Frobisher's Straits, and believed that through this he should find a passage. He was away four months, and from a piece of stone brought back with him it was inferred that he had found a region rich in gold. A "Company of Cathay" was formed, with Frobisher for Captain-General by Sea, and Admiral of the ships and Navy of the company. This company received its charter in March, 1577; and in May Frobisher started on his second voyage. chief aim now was to secure a gold district on the north shore of America. He took possession of Meta Incognita for Queen Elizabeth, and carried home 200 tons of the supposed ore, reaching England again at the close of September. The adventurers did not find satisfaction in their ore; it was admitted to be "poor in respect of that brought last year, and of that which we know may be brought the next year." At the end of May, 1578, Frobisher started again. He found the channel afterwards known as Hudson's Straits, but was obliged to hold to the search for gold, and his little fleet brought home, after many perils, a good supply of the stones, out of which no gold could be got. The Cathay Company broke up in quarrel and confusion, and Frobisher himself was brought low by the unlucky bit of stone on which he stumbled. It had excited thirst for gold, which ruined both his enterprise and him. Francis Drake, a Devonshire sailor's son, had been a sea-captain at the age of twenty-two. He had served against the Spaniards, under Sir John Hawkins; had damaged them much in an expedition of his own in 1572. In November, 1577, he had been entrusted with a little fleet of five vessels to attempt a voyage into the South Seas through the Straits of Magellan, and in November, 1580, he returned in his own ship, the Pelican, from his memorable voyage round the globe. The queen knighted him in April, 1581, and ordered his ship to be preserved. In June, 1578, Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained a charter for

discovery and occupation of distant and barbarous lands, and for the planting of a colony which he was to rule "as near as conveniently might be according to the laws of England." His half brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, went with him on his first unlucky voyage (§ 46), and returned with him to Plymouth in May, 1579. After this, Gilbert fought in Ireland and the Netherlands. In the summer of 1583, having raised money by admitting others to a share in the adventure, Gilbert and Raleigh started again, and arrived at St. John's Harbour, in Newfoundland, where were some six-and-thirty vessels of merchants and fishermen. There Gilbert determined to set up his colony. The traders agreed to join the colonists in paying their tax to the governor; but of the colonists brought with him, most were men from whom the steadier sort asked to be taken away home. After many misfortunes, Gilbert on the homeward voyage went down with his vessel, the last words heard from him by those on board a companion ship being his cry to them, as he stood firm to the helm of his own little craft—the Squirrel, of ten tons-" Courage, my friends, we are as near heaven by sea as on the land."

Such letters-patent as Gilbert had held were given by the queen, in March, 1584, to his half-brother, Walter Raleigh. In April he sent out Captains Barlow and Amadas, in two vessels, to explore the coast of America from Florida northward, and report promptly upon any region he found fit for colonising. They returned in September, after a fortunate voyage, and Captain Barlow gave an excellent account of the shores to which our maiden queen was pleased to give the name of "Virginia."

In the spring of 1585, Raleigh sent a fleet of seven vessels to Virginia, in charge of his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, with Ralph Lane, who was to be governor of the colony they went to found. Lane was left with 105 colonists on the island of Roanoake. In the same year Sir Francis Drake was sent as admiral, with a fleet of twenty-one ships, against the Spaniards in the West Indies. Sir Philip Sidney helped towards the fitting of this expedition, and was bent on taking part in it himself, sharing authority with Drake after they had put to sea. Sidney went to Plymouth; but his secret plan became known, and his sailing with Drake's fleet was stayed by the queen's absolute command. Drake, therefore, sailed without him in September; and soon afterwards a daughter was born to Sir Philip Sidney.

who was baptised Elizabeth, the queen standing as sponsor. Then he went to his death in the Low Countries.

63. The seven northern provinces of Holland had declared their independence on the 29th of September, 1580. In 1584, William of Orange had been assassinated. In 1585, the ten southern provinces were conquered by the Prince of Parma. Catherine de' Medici was in that year proposing to Philip of Spain invasion of England for the crushing of heresy. Philip pointed to heretics nearer home. Protestants of the Netherlands appealed to England, and on the 10th of August, 1585, a treaty was signed at Nonsuch, stipulating that England should provide 5,000 foot-soldiers and 1,000 horse to aid war in the Netherlands, while, as security for expenses, and as headquarters for troops, temporary possession was to be taken of Flushing, Brill, and the Castle of Rammekins. Then England declared war for three objects: to secure peace to all of the Reformed Faith; restoration to the Netherlands of ancient rights; and the safety of England. The English went out with the Earl of Leicester for their leader; Sir Philip Sidney as Governor of Flushing and of Rammekins; and Sir Thomas Cecil, eldest son of Lord Burghley, as Governor of Brill. Sidney went to his post in November, 1585; the earl followed in December, and spent over-much time in feasting. Sidney's heart was in his duty; he planned work in vain, and he sought in vain to protect the poor soldiers against chiefs who enriched themselves out of their pay and their supplies. In January, Leicester offended Elizabeth by accepting from the States the rank of Governor-General of the United Provinces. Sir Philip Sidney fretted at inaction. His wife joined him at Flushing. In May, 1586, Sidney received news of the death of his father. In July, he had a chief part in the capture of Axel. In August his mother died. In September he joined with Sir John Norris and Count Lewis William of Nassau, in the investment of Zutphen. On the 22nd of that month Sir Philip Sidney received his death wound in a gallant assault made by a few hundred English against a thousand cavalry, and under fire from walls and trenches. A musket-ball from one of the trenches shattered Sidney's thigh bone. His horse took fright and galloped back, but the wounded man held to his seat. He was then carried to his uncle, asked for water, and when it was given, saw a dying soldier carried past, who eyed it greedily. At once he gave the water to the soldier, saying, "Thy necessity is yet greater than

mine." Sidney lived on, patient in suffering, until the 17th of October. When he was speechless before death, one who stood by asked Philip Sidney for a sign of his continued trust in God. He folded his hands as in prayer over his breast, and so they were become fixed and chill when the watchers placed them by his side, and in a few minutes the stainless representative of the young manhood of Elizabethan England passed away.

64. In the same year Ralph Lane and his colonists were brought back from Roanoake, rescued by Drake, as he returned from his West Indian expedition. . The colonists had ruined themselves by ill-treatment of the friendly natives, whom they had converted into foes. They brought tobacco back with them, and were the first to teach England the art of smoking it. Thomas Hariot, one of their number, published in 1588 A Briefe and True Report of The New Found Land of Virginia, &c., in which he described the cultivation by the natives of the herb which they called appower, but the Spaniards, tabacco. "They use to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of claie into their stomacke and heade," with wonderfully good results. "We ourselves," Hariot added, "during the time we were there, vsed to suck it after their maner, as also since our returne, and have found manie rare and wonderful experiments of the vertues thereof; of which the relation would require a volume by itselfe: the vse o. it by so manie of late, men and women of great calling as else, and some learned phisitions also, is sufficient witnes."

The year of the death of Sidney, and the return of Drake from his success in the West Indies, 1586, was the year also of the plot known as Babington's Conspiracy, for the murder of Elizabeth and setting of Queen Mary upon the throne. Elizabeth's secretary, Walsingham, gave Mary full opportunity of committing herself to this scheme before it was disclosed. She was then tried, under a commission issued in October. That she had plotted for her own rescue by a Spanish invasion, Mary did not deny. She denied privity in the conspiracy for assassination, but was declared guilty of that, the sentence being without derogation to James King of Scots. On the 8th of February, 1587, Mary Queen of Scots was executed in the Great Hall at Fotheringay. A week afterwards there was in London a funeral pageant for Sir Philip Sidney.

Raieigh was growing rich by his adventures. Sir Richard Grenville, who arrived too late at Roanoake for the relief of

Lane and his party, obtained great booty from Spain on the way home. One of Raleigh's privateers took a Spanish ship in the Azores with great treasure of gold, jewels, and merchandise. Two barks of his in the Azores made more prizes than they were able to bring home. Raleigh was in favour too, at court, knighted (1585), enriched with 12,000 acres of forfeited land in Ireland (1586), with a lucrative licence for the sale of wines, with the profits on over-lengths of cloth, alone worth more than £4,000 a year. He was made Captain of the Guard, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and Lord-Lieutenant of Cornwall. Money was sunk in the attempts to colonise Virginia, but it was only a part of the money made by Spanish prizes. Another expedition to Virginia was sent out by Raleigh in 1587; it was unsuccessful, and, in March, 1589, Raleigh transferred his patent to a company of merchants. In 1588, Raleigh was at work with all his might upon the raising of a fleet to resist Spanish invasion. Elizabeth was excommunicated by Pope Sixtus V. Crusade was preached against England; the Armada came. On board one of its ships was Cervantes. On Sunday, the 24th of November, 1588, Queen Elizabeth went in state to St. Paul's, to return thanks for the defeat of the Armada. Shakespeare, with his career before him, was at work in London in those days, with his great successes all to come, but sharing the deep feelings that bred noble thought in the Elizabethan time.

The narratives of our adventurous seafarers were in those days treasured for posterity by Richard Hakluyt, who was born at Eyton, Herefordshire, in 1553. He was educated at Westminster School, and Christchurch, Oxford, and delighted always in tales of far countries and adventure by sea. He entered the Church, went to Paris in 1584, as chaplain to the English Ambassador, and was made prebendary of Bristol, In 1582, when he was twenty-nine years old, Hakluyt issued his first publication, Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America, and the Lands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by the Frenchmen and Bretons: and certain Notes of Advertisements for Observations, necessarie for such as shall hereafter make the like attempt. Hakluyt also translated books of travel from the Spanish, but his great work was that which first appeared in folio in 1589-The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries made by the English Nation.

65. In such times William Camden (§ 16) published his Britannia, which described the country that had risen to its front place in the world; and William Warner, born in London in the year of Elizabeth's accession, a poetical attorney, celebrated Albion's England in thirteen books of fourteensyllabled rhyming verse, first published in 1586. His poem was of Albion's England, because it did not, like Albion, include Scotland. It was an easy, lively, homely history of England, from the Deluge down to Warner's own time, homely in use of simple idiomatic English, full of incidents and stories, often rudely told, and often with a force or delicacy of touch that came of the terse directness with which natural feeling was expressed. Warner's poem had for a time great popularity. He was not a great poet, but the times were stirring, and they drew ten thousand lines of lively verse upon his country, even out of an attorney.

66. But the Elizabethan time, like any other, had its surface follies and its varieties of fashion. In 1583 the Reverend Philip Stubbes published The Anatomie of Abuses: conteyning a Discoverie or Briefe Summarie of such Notable Vices and Imperfections as now raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the World: but especialie in a very famous Ilande called Ailgna: Together with most fearful Examples of God's Judgementes executed upon the wicked for the same as well in Ailgna of late, as in other places elsewhere. Ailgna, of course is Anglia, and a second part of "The Anatomie of Abuses" appeared in the same year. The book is in dialogue between Philoponus and Spudeus. Ailgna, says Stubbes, is a famous and pleasant land, with a great and heroic people, but they abound in abuses, chiefly those of pride; pride of heart, of mouth, of apparel. In pride of apparel they pane, cut, and drape out with costly ornaments the richest material, and spread out ruffs with supportasses-wires covered with gold or silkand starch. Philip Stubbes denounced starch as "the devil's liquor," and told of a fair gentlewoman of Eprautna (Antwerp) upon whom a judgment had fallen for her vanity in starched ruffs, even so lately as the 22nd of May, 1582. She was dressing to attend a wedding, and falling in a passion with the starching of her ruffs, said what caused a handsome gentleman to come into the room, who set them up for her to perfection, charmed her, and strangled her. When she was being taken out for burial, the coffin was so heavy that four

strong men could not lift it. It was opened. The body was gone; but a lean and deformed black cat was sitting in the coffin, "a setting of great ruffs and frizzling of hair, to the great fear and wonder of all the beholders."

discussions on the Art of Poetry. Young King James of Scotland had tried his 'prentice hand at this (§ 51); Sidney had written "An Apologie for Poetrie" (§ 44). William Webbe, of whom little is known, was a Cambridge man, who took his B.A. in 1573, and was a friend of Harvey and Spenser. He was afterwards private tutor in the Sulyard family, at the manor-house of Flemings, near Chelmsford, and there he wrote in the summer evenings A Discourse of English Poetrie, which was printed in 1586. Webbe shared Gabriel Harvey's interest in the reformed English versifying. His book, which dwells much on Phaer's "Virgil," and most upon Spenser's "Shepheard's Calender" (§ 31), leads up to a discussion of metres, with special reference to Latin models and to his own translation of the first two Eclogues of Virgil into English hexameters; beginning thus:

"Tityrus, happilie thou lyste tumbling under a beech tree, All in a fine oate pipe these sweete songs lustilie chaunting."

Webbe added to his little book a summary of Horace's "Art of Poetry," taken from George Fabricius, of Kemnitz, himself a very good poet in Latin, who died in 1571. Another Elizabethan book upon the art of verse was by George Puttenham - The Art of English Poesie, in Three Books; the first of Poets and Poesye, the second of Proportion, and the third of Ornamente—written about 1585, and published in the spring of 1589. The author, who cited a dozen other works of his own which are lost, was born about 1530, had been a scholar at Oxford, had delighted in verse and written it, had seen the courts of France, Spain, Italy and the Empire, and was skilled in French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as in Greek and Latin. There was no author's name on the title-page of his book; but as early as 1605 it was said to be by George Puttenham, one of the queen's gentlemen pensioners. The book is a systematic little treatise of some extent, dealing with the origin and nature of poetry; its several forms, as satire, comedy, tragedy, &c.: its several metres and proportions, including the various ways of writing verse in shapes, as the lozenge, or rombus; the fuzie spindle, or romboides; the triangle, or tricquet; the square; the pillar, pilaster, or

cylinder; taper, or piramis; rondel, or sphere; egg, or figure oval; with many of these reversed and combined; a fashion then coming into use from Italy and France. Puttenham says that an Eastern traveller whom he met in Italy told him that this fashion was brought from the courts of the great princes of China and Tartary. The introducer of "shaped verses" into Europe is said to have been a Simmias of Rhodes, who lived under Ptolemy Soter, about 324 B.C. Puttenham's argument concerning metres includes, of course, some reference to the question of Latin quantity applied to English verse. The last book discusses the language of the poet; tropes and figures of speech, with examples; fitness of manner, and the art that conceals art. Among illustrations of poetical ornament is a poem by Queen Elizabeth herself, written when the presence of Mary Queen of Scots in England was breeding faction; and the Queen of England, "nothing ignorant in those secret favours, though she had long, with great wisdom and pacience, dissembled it, writeth this ditty most sweet and sententious, not hiding from all such aspiring minds the daunger of their ambition and disloyaltie:"

"The doubt of future foes exiles my present joy, And wit me warns to shun such snares as threaten mine annoy. For falsehood now doth flow, and subject faith doth ebb, Which would not be if reason ruled or wisdom weaved the web. But clouds of toys untried do cloak aspiring minds, Which turn to rain of late repent by course of changed winds The top of hope supposed the root of ruth will be, And fruitless all their graffed guiles, as shortly ye shall see. Then dazzled eyes with pride, which great ambition blinds, Shall be unsealed by worthy wights, whose foresight falsehood finds; The daughter of debate, that eke discord doth sow, Shall reap no gain where former rule hath taught still peace to grow, No foreign banished wight shall anchor in this port, Our realm it brooks no stranger's force, let them elsewhere resort. Our rusty sword with rest shall first his edge employ To poll their topes that seek such change and gape for joy."

68. The year of the publication of George Puttenham's book, 1589, was the year of chief activity in the Martin Marprelate Controversy. Martin Marprelate was the name under which first one epistle writer then many companions of his in the work of "Pistling the Bishops"—nearly all these writers being deprived ministers—waged war against that which Elizabethan Puritans condemned in Episcopacy. Government sought to suppress their publications. They were "printed in Europe not fur from some bouncing priests;" or "over sea, in Europe, within two

furlongs of a bouncing priest, at the cost and charges of Martin Marprelate, gent." The first tract was temperately answered by Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, in An Admonition to the People of Englana. This made Cooper himself an object of attack. The Martinists were earnest men, who affected light speech to win light minds of the many to their side. The books were printed at a wandering press, hunted by the Government from Moulsey, near Kingston-on-Thames, where it was first set up, to Fawsley, in Northamptonshire, thence to Norton, thence to Coventry, thence to Welstone, in Warwickshire, whence letters were sent to another press in or near Manchester, which was found printing More Work for a Cooper. The chief Martinists were John Penry, John Udall, John Field, and Job Throckmorton, who wrote, Hae ye any Work for Cooper. John Penry, a Welshman, bred at both Universities, and earnestly devoted to his cause, was hurried to the gallows for his writings. Yet, as he wrote before his execution, "I never did anything in this cause for contention, vain-glory, or to draw disciples after me. Great things in this life I never sought for: sufficiency I had, with great outward trouble; but most content I was with my lot, and content with my untimely death, though I leave behind me a friendless widow and four infants." John Udall, left unexecuted, died in prison. He was tried for the authorship of an anonymous book, called, The Demonstration of Discipline; and when he would have called witnesses they were refused hearing, on the ground that witnesses in favour of the prisoner were against the queen. "It is for the queen," said John Udall, "to hear all things, when the life of any of her subjects is in question." The literary war against the maintainers of Martin Marprelate was carried on by the wits and playwrights. John Lyly did not write Pap with a Hatchet; or, a Fig for my Godson; or, Crack me this Nut. To be sold at the sign of the Crab. tree Cudgel, in Thwack-coat Lane. "Who," one said in it, "would curry an ass with an ivory comb? Give the beast thistles for provender." Conscious of the unseemly tone of the whole controversy, he wrote towards the end, "If this vein bleed but six ounces more, I shall prove to be a pretty railer, and so in time grow to a proper Martinist;" and he took leave of his adversary with a "farewell and be hanged." The piece cannot be Lyly's.

Another active writer was a scurrilous and unscrupulous young wit, Thomas Nash, then about twenty-three years old, beginning to be active as a dashing pamphleteer. One of his

pieces was called Almond for a Parrot; or, an Alms for Martin. Francis Bacon was twenty-nine years old when, in his paper on these Controversies of the Church (§ 48), he reasoned against contention about ceremonies and things indifferent, strife in a spirit opposite to that of St. James's admonition, "Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath." Bacon thought men over-ready to say of their own private opinions, "Not I, but the Lord," where Paul said "I, and not the Lord," or "according to my counsel;" he desired, therefore, as to the Church controversies, to point out "what it is on either part that keepeth the wound green, and formalizeth both sides to a further opposition, and worketh an indisposition in men's minds to be reunited." "And, first of all," he said, "it is more than time that there were an end and surcease made of this immodest and deformed manner of writing lately entertained, whereby matters of religion are handled in the style of the stage." Bitter and earnest writing came, he said, of an enthusiasm not to be hastily condemned; but to leave all reverent and religious compassion towards evils, to intermix Scripture and scurrility sometimes in one sentence, was far from the manner of a Christian. It was an evil, too, "that there is not an indifferent hand carried towards these pamphlets as they deserve. For the one sort flieth in the dark, the other is uttered openly. And we see it ever falleth out that the forbidden writing is thought to be certain sparks of a truth that fly up in the faces of those that seek to choke and tread it out; whereas a book authorised is thought to be but the language of the time." Bacon thought that, except Bishop Cooper's, the pamphlets were equally bad on both sides. As to the occasion of the controversies, if any bishops be as all are said to be, let them amend; men might abate some of their vanities of controversial zeal, think less of measuring the value of religion by its distance from the error last condemned as heresy, and care less about introducing new forms from abroad. Bacon, whose mother sympathised with the Nonconformists, avowed in this paper his own adherence to the established system in the Church, but he desired to urge on both parties moderation, a spirit of concession in discussing mere externals, and a better sense of Christian brotherhood, for "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." "A contentious retaining of custom," he urged, "is a turbulent thing, as well as innovation." He agreed "that a character of love is more proper for debates of this nature than that of

zeal," and trusted that what he had said should "find a correspondence in their minds which are not embarked in partiality,

and which love the whole better than a part."

69. In August, 1589, the rule of the house of Valois came to an end in France by the assassination of Henry III. The king in the preceding December had by assassination got rid of his powerful opponents, the Duke of Guise, head of the Catholic League, and the duke's brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine. The League was therefore in open revolt against him; the Sorbonne released Frenchmen from their oath of allegiance to him; the pope excommunicated him; and he was driven into alliance with Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots for the recovery of his capital. At the beginning of these days Catherine de' Medici died. While the King of France and the King of Navarre, whom the League wished to exclude from the succession, were besieging Paris, Henry III. was stabbed by an enthusiastic young Dominican. Before he died he acknowledged the King of Navarre his successor. Henry IV. thus became King of France, with a promise to maintain the Catholic faith and the property and rights of the Church. Many of his Huguenot followers fell from him, because they looked on this as an engagement to protect idolatry. But the League opposed him. Queen Elizabeth sent succour of men, and £22,000 in money. In September Henry IV. repulsed the Leaguers at Arques. At the end of October he carried the suburbs of Paris. He then retired on Tours, making that his capital. On the 14th of March, 1590, he obtained a signal victory over the Leaguers and the Spanish auxiliaries at the battle of Ivry, in which "the divine Bartas" fought.

Against England Spain was yet gathering force. He would persevere, Philip said, even if he sold the silver candlesticks on his table. But England had risen to the occasion. The golden time of Athens was the time when the soul of the people was stirred nobly in contest for liberty against the power of the Persians. The Netherlands were so much the better for their life-struggle on behalf of all that men should hold most dear, that while the southern unemancipated provinces were declining, the Dutch were adding to the streets of their old towns, new towns were erected by the industries that flocked in, and in the year 1586-7 eight hundred ships entered their ports. So England, trained for generations in the path of duty, faced the great peril of these days, held in the world of thought the

ground which she had thus far conquered, and, gathering all her energies, went strongly forward. When, in 1589, Drake was sent as admiral, with Sir John Norris in command of the land forces, to attack the Spanish power over Portugal, by making Don Antonio king, George Peele, the dramatist (§ 55, 57), sang A Farewell, entituled to the Famous and Fortunate Generalls of our English Forces: Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, knights, and all theyr brave and resolute followers; to which he added his Tale of Troy (§ 55), then first printed. Peele's cry was:

> "To arms, to arms, to glorious arms! With noble Norris and victorious Drake, Under the sanguine cross, brave England's badge, To propagate religious piety;

Sail on, pursue your honours to your graves: Heaven is a sacred covering for your heads And every climate virtue's tabernacle. To arms, to arms, to honourable arms! You fight for Christ, and England's peerless queen, Elizabeth, the wonder of the world, Over whose throne the enemies of God Have thunder'd erst their vain successful braves. Oh, ten times treble happy men, that fight Under the Cross of Christ and England's queen, And follow such as Drake and Norris are! All honours do this cause accompany; All glory on these endless honours waits: These honours and this glory shall He send, Whose honour and whose glory you defend.

Thus spoke out of our literature the mind of England; and such was its mind in the year 1590, to which we have now brought down this narrative.

70. Robert Greene was much occupied during his last years in exposure of the cheats of London, by his Notable Discovery of Coosnage; also his two parts of Coney Catching, published in 1591, and a third part of "Coney Catching" in the year of his death, 1592. In his novel of Never Too Late, published in 1590, he shadowed his relation to his own wife; and in the Groat's Worth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance, he drew from incidents in his own sad life part of the story of a reprobate Roberto. His hero, reduced to a single groat, said, "Oh, now it is too late to buy wit with thee! and therefore will I see if I can sell to careless youth what I negligently forgot to buy." This novel was published after Greene's death, in September, 1592. He died at the house of a

poor shoemaker, near Dowgate, to whom he owed ten pounds. Under the bond for this money, he wrote to his deserted wife, "Doll, I charge thee, by the love of our youth and by my soul's rest, that thou wilt see this man paid; for if he and his wife had not succoured me I had died in the streets." These last lines of of his, in Chaucer's stanza, were written not long before his death:

- "Deceiving world, that with alluring toys

 Hast made my life the subject of thy scorn,

 And scornest now to lend thy fading joys

 T'outlength my life, whom friends have left forlorn

 How well are they that die ere they be born,

 And never see thy sleights, which few men shun

 Till unawares they helpless are undone!
- "Oft have I sung of Love, and of his fire,
 But now I find that poet was advised
 Which made full feasts increasers of desire,
 And proves weak love was with the poor despised.
 For when the life with food is not sufficed,
 What thoughts of love, what motion of delight,
 What pleasaunce can proceed from such a wight?
- "Witness my want, the murderer of my wit:

 My ravished sense, of wonted fury reft,

 Wants such conceit as should in poems fit

 Set down the sorrow wherein I am left;

 But therefore have high heavens their gifts bereft,

 Because so long they lent them me to use,

 And I so long their bounty did abuse.
- "Oh, that a year were granted me to live,
 And for that year my former wits restored!
 What rules of life, what counsel would I give,
 How should my sin with sorrow be deplored!
 But I must die, of every man abhorred:
 Time loosely spent will not again be won;
 My time is loosely spent, and I undone."

Here also the depths were stirred; but the earnest spirit of the time, and the sweet music it drew from the souls of men, ennobled also the fallen dramatist whom a town ruffian, "Cutting Ball," defended from arrest. Among Greene's plays was one, written with Thomas Lodge, called A Looking-Glass for London and England. This was not printed until 1594. In it the corruption of Nineveh stood as a figure for the sins of England. Oseas the prophet witnessed and warned from the stage:

"Look, London, look; with inward eyes behold What lessons the events do here unfold. Sin grown to pride, to misery is thrall: The warning bell is rung, beware to fall." At the close of the play the prophet Jonas, who had been calling on Nineveh to repent, turned to the audience of islanders, "whose lands are fattened with the dew of heaven," and exclaimed:

"O London! maiden of the mistress isle
Wrapt in the folds and swathing-clouts of shame,
In thee more sins than Nineveh contains!
Contempt of God; despite of reverend age;
Neglect of law; desire to wrong the poor;

Thy neighbours burn, yet dost thou fear no fire;
Thy preachers cry, yet dost thou stop thine ears;
The 'larum rings, yet sleepest thou secure.
London, awake, for fear the Lord do frown:
I set a looking-glass before thine eyes.
Oh, turn, oh, turn, with weeping to the Lord,
And think the prayers and virtues of thy queen
Defer the plague which otherwise would fall!
Repent, O London! lest, for thine offence,
Thy shepherd fail—whom mighty God preserve,
That she may bide the pillar of His Church
Against the storms of Romish Antichrist!
The hand of mercy overshade her head,
And let all faithful subjects say, Amen."

Whereupon there arose, it may be, an emphatic "Amen" from the playhouse benches; for although many precisians stayed away, a playhouse audience under Elizabeth represented more nearly than it has done at any later time the whole people of England.

There were plays wholly by Greene, on the stories of Orlando Furioso; Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay; George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield; Alphonso, King of Aragon; and Scottish James IV.

His Groat's Worth of Wit was published after his death by his friend Henry Chettle, a fat and merry dramatist, of whose forty plays about four remain, and who was a printer before he became wholly a playwright. To the "Groat's Worth of Wit" there was an appended address from Greene to his brother playwrights, Marlowe and Peele, with whom he associated Lodge, which includes this reference to Shakespeare:

—"Unto none of you, like me, sought those burrs to cleave; those puppets, I mean, that speak from our mouths, those antics garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I to whom they all have been beholding—is it not like that you to whom they all have been beholding—shall, were ye in that case that I am now, be both of them at once forsaken? Yea, trust them not;

for there is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that, with his tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide, supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and, being an absolute Johannes-fac-totum, is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country. Oh, that I might entreat your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses, and let these apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions!"

71. Here, then, about six years after his coming to London, is, in 1592, the first evidence that William Shakespeare has worked his way up to success. It is the first and last unkind word spoken of him, spoken in bitterness of spirit and in sickness, by a fallen man. A few weeks after the appearance of this, Henry Chettle took occasion, in a publication of his own, called Kind-Hart's Dream, to regret that he had not erased what Greene wrote about Shakespeare. "I am so sorry," he said, "as if the original fault had been my fault, because myself have seen his demeanour no less civil than he excellent in the quality he professes; besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing that approves his art."

Greene's special reference is to Shakespeare's work upon those old plays which are placed among his own as the three parts of King Henry VI. The First Part of Henry VI. is doubtless an old play slightly altered and improved by Shakespeare. The Second Part of King Henry VI. was Shakespeare's alteration of a drama, printed in 1594 as The First Part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of York and Lancaster; and The Third Part of King Henry VI. was an alteration from The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the Death of good King Henrie the Sixt, with the whole Contentione betweene the two Houses Lancaster and Yorke, first printed in 1595. This was the play that contained the line preserved by Shakespeare, and turned against him by Greene, "O tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide" (Act I., Scene 4). The line may have been Greene's own, for one or two of the plays thus altered may have been written by Greene or by Marlowe.

72. Greene died at the age of thirty-two, on the 3rd of September, 1592. Marlowe died when he was not yet thirty, on the 16th of June, 1593, stabbed in the eye by Francis Archer, who was defending himself in a brawl after a feast at Deptford. We have spoken of Marlowe's Tamburlaine, and of his Faustus

His Few of Multa gives in Barabas a powerful picture of the Jew maligned still by the mediæval prejudices of the Christians. Marlowe's Edward the Second was the nearest approach made by the year 1590 to a play in which there is a natural development of character. The last and worst of Marlowe's plays, and the one that was most carelessly printed, is his Massacre of Paris, which dramatised the strife in France. It included not only the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, but also the death of Charles IX., the assassination of the Duke of Guise by Henry III., and the assassination of Henry himself by the Dominican Friar, Jacques Clement, with the succession of Henry of Navarre to the French throne. The dying Henry III. in the last scene of the play breathed vengeance against the pope, and said:

"Navarre, give me thy hand: I here do swear To ruinate that wicked Church of Rome, That hatcheth up such bloody practices; And here protest eternal love to thee, And to the Queen of England specially, Whom God hath blest for hating papistry."

In the last lines of the play Henry of Navarre vowed so to revenge his predecessor's death,

"As Rome, and all those popish prelates there, Shall curse the time that e'er Navarre was king, And rul'd in France by Henry's fatal death."

A tragedy of Dido, Queen of Carthage, left unfinished by Marlowe, was completed by his friend Thomas Nash, and acted by the children of Her Majesty's chapel. Thomas Nash (§ 68), who was baptised at Lowestoft in November, 1567, was dead in 1601. Marlowe made a poor version of Ovid's Elegies, first published in 1596 with the Epigrams of Sir John Davies. His beginning of a free paraphrase of the Hero and Leander ascribed to Musæus, was afterwards completed by George Chapman. George Peele died about 1598; but Thomas Lodge, whose novel of Rosalynde, published in 1590, suggested the plot of Shakespeare's "As You Like It," lived on throughout the reign of Elizabeth's successor.

In Peele's Old Wives' Tale, printed in 1595, there was a sort of child's story told with a poet's playfulness. There was no division into acts. Three men lost in a wood were met by Clunch, and introduced to his old wife Madge, who gave them a supper, over which they sang, and then began telling them in old

wives' fashion the "Old Wives' Tale." It is a tale of a king's daughter stolen by a conjuror, who flew off with her in the shape of a great dragon, and hid her in a stone castle, "and there he kept her I know not how long, till at last all the king's men went out so long that her two brothers went to seek her." While the old woman talked, the two brothers entered, and the story-telling passed into the acting of the story: very much as the art of the mediæval story-teller had passed into that of the Elizabethan dramatist. The Princess Delia was sought by her brothers, and sought also by Eumenides, her lover. A proper young man, whom the magician had turned into a bear by night and an old man by day, delivered mystic oracles by a wayside cross. Sacrapant triumphed in his spells, until Eumenides had made a friend of the ghost of Jack by paying fifteen or sixteen shillings to prevent the sexton and churchwarden from leaving poor Jack unburied. The ghost of Jack played pranks, and made an end of Sacrapant, whose destiny it was "never to die but by a dead man's hand." The light in the conjuror's mystic glass had been blown out, as before said (§ 47), by one that was "neither wife, widow, nor maid." The piece included a comic braggart, who could deliver himself-in burlesque of Stanihurst (\$ 53)according to the reformed manner of versifying:

" Philida, phileridos, pamphilida, florida, flortos; 'Dub dub-a-dub, bounce,' quoth the guns, with a sulphurous huff-snuff."

The piece was a playful child's story, told with child-like simplicity and grace.

73. William Shakespeare in 1593, the year of the death of Marlowe, had not yet produced any of his greatest plays. The plays of his own then written were The Two Gentlemen of Verona (1591?), The Comedy of Errors (1592?), probably also Love's Labour's Lost. In 1593 he first appeared in print by publishing his Venus and Adonis, a poem in the six-lined stanza then used as the common measure for a strain of love. It was dedicated to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, who in 1593 was twenty years old; the age of Shakespeare being twenty-nine. The Earldom of Southampton had been given in 1546 by Henry VIII. to the grandfather of Shakespeare's friend and patron. The father of Shakespeare's earl had been a Roman Catholic, and friend to the cause of Mary Queen of Scots. He died when his successor in the earldom (through death of an elder brother) was a child. The young earl, a ward

of Lord Burghley's, had been educated at Cambridge, where he took his degree of M.A. in 1589; he then came to London, joined an Inn of Court, was in favour with the queen, and was a liberal friend of the poets. In his dedication of it to Lord Southampton, Shakespeare called Venus and Adonis the "first heir of my invention." To the same patron Shakespeare dedicated in the following year, 1594, his Lucrece, in Chaucer's stanza -"Troilus verse." The two poems, one of the passion of love, one of heroic chastity, belong together, and their sweet music spread over the land that once had been filled with the songs of Chaucer. Of the Venus and Adonis there were five editions before the close of Elizabeth's reign Titus Andronicus, a play ascribed to Shakespeare, but certainly a piece from another hand which he but slightly touched (in an older form it had been called "Titus and Vespasian"), seems to have been first acted in January, 1594.

74. In 1599 the Blackfriars Company built, as a summer theatre, The Globe, on Bankside. It was a wooden hexagon, circular within, and open to the weather; but the stage was sheltered by some roofing. London Bridge was the one bridge of that time, and playgoers crossed to the Bankside theatres by water from various parts of London. Sunday performances had been abolished for the last sixteen years. They had been strongly opposed (§ 40). On the 13th January, 1583, in Paris Gardenan old place of entertainment, where beasts had been baited early in Henry VIII.'s reign-during performance on the Sabbath, a decayed wooden gallery fell down, and many lives were lost. This was looked upon as a judgment from Heaven, and the Privy Council thenceforth enforced an order that the actors should "forbear wholly to play on the Sabbath-day, either in the forenoon or afternoon, which to do they are by their lordships' order expressly denied and forbidden." But there was now no want of audiences on other days. Richard Barbage had leased Blackfriars to one Evans, whose actors were the children or the chapel. Barbage's sons bought in 1596 the remainder of Evans' lease. After this the children of Her Majesty's chapel acted at Blackfriars when the adult company was acting at the Globe. Thus we have prefixed to Lyly's "Campaspe," "the Prologue at the Court," and "the Prologue at the Black Friars."

75. John Lyly in 1590 was famous, but not prosperous in his dependence on court patronage. He had in vain sought office as Master of the Revels, and wrote to the Queen, "If your

sacred Maiestie thinke me vnworthy, and that after x yeares tempest, I must att court suffer shipwrack of my tyme, my wittes, my hopes, vouchsafe in your neuer-erring iudgement some plank or rafter to wafte me into a country where, in my sad and settled devocion, I may in euery corner of a thatcht cottage write praiers in stead of plaies, prayer for your longe and prosprous life, and a repentaunce that I have played the foole so longe." In 1593, in a second petition to the queen, Lyly prayed for "some lande, some good fines or forfeitures that should fall by the iust fall of these most false traitors, that seeing nothing will come by the Revells, I may pray vppon the Rebells. Thirteene years your highnes servant, but yet nothing; twenty freinds that though they saye they wil be sure I find them sure to be slowe. A thousand hopes, but all nothing; a hundred promises, but yet nothing. Thus casting vpp the inventory of my freinds, hopes, promises, and tymes, the summa totalis amounteth to iust nothing. My last will is shorter than myne invencion; but three legacies-patience to my creditors, melancholie without measure to my friends, and beggerie without shame to my family." Lyly's comedy of Mother Bombie, acted by the children of Paul's, was first printed in 1594. Mother Bombie is a fortuneteller, and the scene is laid at Rochester; but the construction of the plot is artificial, and even the names of the characters show the relation between Plautus and Terence, and the earlier Elizabethan comedy. There are Memphis and Stellio, Prisius and Sperantus, Candius, Mæstius, Accius, Livia, Serena and Silena, even a "Dromio, servant to Memphio," side by side with "Halfpenny, a boy, servant to Sperantus." Lyly, who lived in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less, had a son worn in 1596, who died in 1597, a son born in 1600, and a daughter in 1603; and he died himself in November, 1606, aged fifty-two.

76. Edmund Spenser (§ 23, 31, 34, 43, 45, 46), whose "Shepheard's Calender" had been reprinted in 1581 and 1586, came to London at the end of 1589, was introduced by Raleigh to Elizabeth, and published in 1590 the first section, containing the first three books, of The Faerie Queene, disposed into Twelve Bookes, Fashioning XII Morall Vertues. It was dedicated to Her Majesty, and had a prefatory letter addressed to Sir Walter Raleigh, dated January 23, 1589 (New Style, 1590). Spenser had been at work on his great poem for more than ten years (§ 43), and the part of it now published was received with an admiration that caused its publisher to get together a volume of

"Not a lamb of all their flockes supply Had they to shew; but ever as they bred They slue them, and upon their fleshes fed."

The Fox and the Ape, having escaped after a great slaughter of the flock entrusted to their care, set up a new calling "much like to begging, but much better named." They got gown and cassock, and as poor clerks begged of a priest, who reproached them for not seeking some good estate in the Church. Through the counsel given by this priest when the Fox and the Ape asked for advice, Spenser satirised the too easy lives of an indolent, well-to-do clergy.

"By that he ended had his ghostly sermon
The Foxe was well induc'd to be a parson,
And of the priest eftsoones gan to inquire
How to a benefice he might aspire.

'Marie, there,' said the priest, 'is arte indeed:
Much good deep learning one thereout may read:
For that the ground-worke is, and ende of all,
How to obtaine a beneficiall.'"

They must dress well, wait on some religious nobleman, and affect a godly zeal; or, if the Fox looked to court for promotion:

"Then must thou thee dispose another way:
For there thou needs must learne to laugh, to lie,
To crouche, to please, to be a beetle-stock
Of thy great Master's will, to scorne, or mock;
So maist thou chance mock out a benefice,
Unless thou canst one conjure by device,
Or cast a figure for a bishoprick."

The courtiers also must be bribed. The Fox and Ape were thankful for good counsel, and presently Fox was a priest, with Ape for parish clerk. They behaved so ill in their new calling that they were obliged at last to escape from it, and, by counsel of a fat mule from the court, they next tried life among the courtiers. At court the Ape walked on tiptoe, as if he were some great Magnifico; and the Fox, as his man, supported him. Here followed Spenser's satire of court vices and follies, with a picture in verse of the true courtly gentleman, for which in Spenser's mind perhaps his friend Sir Philip Sidney sat. It is in this part of "Mother Hubberd's Tale" that we find Spenser's lines upon the pitiful state of the suitor (§ 55). From court also Fox and Ape were obliged to fly; and next they came upon the Lion sleeping, stole his crown and skin, and assumed royalty. The Ape was king, the Fox his minister. A satire followed on tyrannical misgovernment. Jove saw it; and Mercury, sent from Jove to make inquiry into it, aroused the sleeping Lion, who reclaimed his own.

> "The Foxe, first author of that treacherie, He did uncase, and then away let flie:

But th' Ape's long taile (which then he had) he quight Cut off, and both ears pared off their height; Since which all Apes but halfe their eares have left, And of their tailes are utterlie bereft."

Muiopotmos; or, the Tale of the Butterflie, Spenser dedicated to the Lady Carey, who was Elizabeth, another of the daughters of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe. It is an original allegory in octave rhyme. The Ruins of Rome and the Visions, both from Bellay, his own Visions of the World's Vanity, and the Visions of Petrarch, are alike in form, and written sonnet wise, the "Visions" of Bellay and "Visions" of Petrarch, being chiefly a new version of Spenser's youthful contribution to the Theatre for Worldlings (§ 23). These were the contents of the volume of Spenser's poetry published as Complaints, in 1591, the year after the success of the the first three books of the "Faerie Queene."

Spenser wrote also about this time an elegy on the death of the wife of Arthur (afterwards Sir Arthur) Gorges, a "lover of learning and virtue." The lady was daughter and heir of Henry Lord Howard, Viscount Byndon, and the poem was published separately, under the name of Daphnaida.

77. In February, 1591, Spenser received, as further earnest of success, a pension of £50 a year from Queen Elizabeth.

In October, 1591, a grant was made or confirmed to him of land in Cork, with the old castle of Kilcolman, in which he seems to have lived before his visit to England, and which had belonged to the Earls of Desmond. It was two miles from Doneraile, on the north side of a lake fed by the river Awbey, Spenser's Mulla. After his return to Ireland, Spenser dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, from his house at Kilcolman, the 27th of December, 1591, his poem entitled Colin Clout's Come Home Again, to which additions were made before its publication. In this poem Colin, having told his fellow shepherds how Raleigh, "the Shepherd of the Ocean," visited him in 1589, and caused him to "wend with him his Cynthia to see," described, in pastoral form, England, the queen herself, and, under pastoral names, celebrated personages of the court and living poets. Among them was he of the name Shake Spear, that doth heroically sound:

"And there, though last, not least, is Aetion;
A gentler shepherd may no where be found:
Whose Muse, full of high thoughts' invention.
Doth like himselfe heroically sound."

This was not published until 1595, and in the same year appeared Spenser's sonnets or Amoretti, and the Epithalamium, an exquisitely musical and joyous bridal song, written about the time of his own wedding. Spenser had been married on the 11th of June, 1594, when his age was about forty, to a lady living near Kilcolman, whose name, like the name of his queen and of his mother, was Elizabeth. Dr. Grosart argues that Spenser's wife was a relation of Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, an Elizabeth Boyle who lived at Kilcoran, by the bay of Youghal, and, as Spenser's widow, married again, in 1603, a Roger Seckerstone. In 1595 Spenser came to England again with the next instalment of three books of the "Faerie Queene," and with a prose View of the Present State of Ireland, in a dialogue between Eudoxus and Irenæus, which was circulated in manuscript, but was not printed until more than thirty years after his death. It was hard in the policy it recommended, and about Kilcolman Spenser was not kindly remembered. The Second Part of the Faerie Queene, containing the fourth, fifth, and sixth books, appeared in 1596, together with a reprint of the first three books. In the same year Spenser, while in London, added to two hymns of "Love and Beauty," written years before, two other hymns of "Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty." These Hymns were published at once, and in the same year appeared also his Prothalamium on the marriage of two daughters of the Earl of Worcester. Spenser published nothing more before his death. In 1597 he returned to Kilcolman. In 1598 he was named by the queen for Sheriff of Cork. Children had been born to him; there were two sons living, Sylvanus and Peregrine. In October, 1598, Tyrone's rebellion broke out. Kilcolman was attacked, plundered, and burnt. Spenser and his family were cast out; an infant child of his is said to have perished in the flames, but that is doubtful. Spenser was thus driven back to England, and died soon after his arrival, on the 13th of January, 1599, at a tavern in King Street, Westminster. King Street was then a very good street, on one side open to fields, and forming the main road between the Abbey and Parliament House and the court, which since Wolsey's forfeiture had been at the old Palace of Whitehall. That palace having been for centuries the residence of the Archbishop of York, was the York House that Wolsey had enriched with his magnificence. Henry VIII. took it in 1529. Elizabeth held court there; and Spenser had taken his lodging where he might be near the court, to which helooked for repair of his fortunes.

78. Spenser's letter to Raleigh prefixed to the fragment of the "Faerie Queene," "expounding his whole intention in the course of this work," said only that he laboured to pourtraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve moral vertues, as Aristotle hath devised, the which is the purpose of the first twelve books; which if I finde to be well accepted, I may be perhaps encouraged to frame the other part, of polliticke vertues, in his person after that hee came to be king." It was left for the reader to discover how grand a design was indicated by these unassuming words. Spenser said that by the Faerie Queene whom Arthur sought, "I mean glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our soveraine the queene, and her kingdom in Faeryland." The student of the "Faerie Queene" must bear in mind that its "general intention" is its essential plan as a great spiritual allegory; that his is consistent throughout, is the very soul of the poem, source of its immortal life; and that the "particular" significations, which are frequent and various, are secondary senses lying only on the surface of the main design, with which they harmonise. and to which they gave a lively added interest in Spenser's time. Faery means in the allegory Spiritual. A faery knight is a spiritual quality or virtue militant, serving the Faerie Queene, Gloriana, which means in the general allegory Glory in the highest sense—the glory of God. Read out of allegory, theretore, "The Glory of God" is the name of Spenser's poem. Again said Spenser, in this introductory letter, "In the person of Prince Arthure I sette forth Magnificence in particular, which vertue, for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) is the perfection of all the rest, and conteineth in it them all: therefore in the whole course I mention the deedes of Arthure applyable to that vertue, which I write of in that booke; but of the xii other vertues I make xii other knights the patrones, for the more variety of the history." Spenser's ethical system was bound up with his religion; he painted, therefore, in his separate knights, each single virtue of a man striving heavenward, but failing at some point, and needing aid of Divine grace. This came through Arthur, in whom all the virtues are contained, who is filled with a great desire towards the Faerie Queene-the Glory of God-and who above all represents, in the literal sense of the word, Magnificence, since he may be said to indicate the place of the Mediator in the Christian system. If

we had had all twelve books of the poem, which was left only half finished, they would have been an allegory of man battling heavenward with all his faculties, through trial and temptation. The other poem, had it followed, would have been an endeavour to represent through allegory an ideal citizenship of the kingdom of Heaven. Because the "Faerie Queene" was published incomplete, Spenser told so much of what its readers could have found in the whole work as was necessary to direct their understanding to the well-head of the history, "that from thence gathering the whole intention of the conceit, ye may as in a handfull gripe at the discourse." He gave the clue into our hands, and then left us to find our own way through the poem

upon which he spent the best thought of his life.

Moral philosophy was divided into ethics, which dealt with the individual; and politics, which dealt with the community Spenser's project was of two poems, applying each of these to his own sense of the relation between man and God. In Plato's "Republic" there was mention of four Cardinal Virtues-Courage, Temperance, Justice, Wisdom. In the "Protagoras," Plato added to these, Holiness. This Aristotle omitted, because, as studies, he distinctly separated Ethics from Religion. Aristotle's list in his "Ethics," made without special devotion to the number twelve, was, in Book III., Courage and Temperance; in Book IV., Liberality, Magnificence, Laudable Ambition (Philotimia), Mildness of a Regulated Temper; Courtesy, or regulated conduct in society; Regulation of Boastfulness, including avoidance of the affectation of humility, that is to say, sincerity of manner; Social Pliability of Wit (Eutrapelia); and Modesty, which Aristotle called hardly a virtue, but rather a feeling. In the fifth book of his "Ethics," the virtue he discussed was Justice. In the sixth book he took Intellectual Virtues-Philosophy and Wisdom, including Prudence, Apprehension, and Considerateness. The seventh book of the "Ethics" was on Pleasure, and dealt also with Incontinence and Intemperance; the eighth and ninth books were on Friendship. Upon the groundwork of this treatise of Aristotle's there had been built this classification of the virtues, which was that commonly received in Spenser's time: they were of three kinds-I. Intellectual, II. Moral, III. Theological. The Intellectual Virtues were - Intellectual Knowledge, producing Art; Wisdom, producing Prudence. The Moral Virtues were-1, Prudence, Mother of All; 2, Justice; 3, Courage; 4, Temperance. These

were the four Cardinal Virtues. Then came, 5, Courtesy; 6, Liberality; 7, Magnificence; 8, Magnanimity; 9, Philotimia (Laudable Ambition); 10, Truth; 11, Friendship; 12, Eutrapelia (Social Pliability of Wit). The theological virtues were these three-Faith, Hope, and Charity. Spenser dealt as a poet with his subject, and in no way bound himself to the scholastic list. In the six books of the "Faerie Queen" which are extant, and the fragment of a seventh, first printed with a new edition of the poem, in 1611, this is Spenser's order of the virtues:-1, Holiness; 2, Temperance; 3, Chastity; 4, Friendship; 5, Justice; 6, Courtesy; and (probably) 7, Constancy. The several qualities of the true man taken in this order represent fidelity to God, I, in soul, and, 2, in body; 3, 4, the bond of love hetween man and woman in pure marriage, this form of love being dealt with especially under the head of Chastity; and between man and man, his form being dealt with especially under the head of Friendship. Love, the great bond of humanity, naving been taken first, Spenser then passed to the next great bond, 5, Justice. Where the supremacy of Love does not suffice, Justice must govern. Having dealt with these two great bonds between man and man, Spenser passed next to the lighter, all-pervading bond of, 6, Courtesy. "Greet kindly, though ye be strangers," said one of the old Cymric bards. The recognition of this bond of common kindliness, where there has been no opportunity for closer ties, was the next condition in a sequence reasoned out like Spenser's. But Courtesy, which bids us yield to others on all non-essential points, needs to be balanced with the virtue that will save us from a careless yielding of essentials. So after Courtesy came, probably, Constancy, in Spenser's system. Thus we may trace the mind of the poet even in the sequence of the six books of his poem.

The more detailed study of English writers, to which this volume is an introduction, attempts an analysis of the whole allegory of the "Faerie Queene." Here there can be no more said than will suffice to show its nature. The form of a romance of chivalry was in its own day the most popular that could have been selected. Spenser not only followed Spanish tomances, and Ariosto's "Orlando," but adapted himself to the humour of his time, as illustrated by the Famous Historie of the Seven Champions of Christendome, a pious romance of saintly knights and fair ladies, dragons and chivalrous adventures, told in Euphuistic style, of which the first part,

which Spenser had read, appeared probably about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, the second part certainly in 1597. Richard Johnson, whose name is associated with this book, and who finished re-editing it in the year of Shakespeare's death, was not its author. Shakespeare also had read it; and since Elizabeth's time it has been dear to many generations of children. Spenser formed his allegory out of stock incidents in such romances, but he so told his story as to give to every incident a spiritual meaning. The form of verse contrived by Spenser for exclusive use in this poem is a nine-lined stanza, called "Spenserian." It was made by adding an Alexandrine to the stanza that French poets often used in the Chant Royal, a longer form of balade, called "Royal Song," in which God was the King celebrated. That eight-lined stanza was applied also to other uses. Marot, for example, who did not use it for his "Chants Royaux," made it the measure of his poem on the marriage of James V. of Scotland with Magdalene of France. Chaucer and followers of his had used it now and then, as in the "Envoye to the Complaint of the Black Knight," in "Chaucer's A B C," in "The Balade of the Visage without Painting," and "L'Envoye à Bukton." It consisted of two quatrains of ten-syllabled lines, with alternate rhyme; the second rhyme of the first quatrain agreeing with the first rhyme of the quatrain that followed, thus, a b a b, b c b c; this could go on indefinitely upon the same system - cdcd, dede, efef, &c. Now, Spenser's added line follows the system of the verse as to its rhyme, but destroys expectation of continuance by the two extra syllables, which close with a new turn the music of the stanza. Thus the Spenserian stanza becomes as to its rhyming a b a b, bcbc, c. The Faerie Queene, it may be added, abounds in graceful imitations or paraphrases from the ancient poets, and from Ariosto and Tasso; incidents are also suggested by Spenser's readings in Arthurian romance, in the first part of "The Seven Champions," in "The Orlando Furioso," and in Tasso's heroic poem.

Let us now lightly illustrate from the first book the manner of the allegory. Twelve Faerie Knights, who represent twelve virtues, were knights of the Faerie Queene; they served the Divine glory. One, a clownish young man—"base things of the world, and things that are despised, hath God chosen"—desired to serve, and rested on the floor, "unfit through his rusticity for a better place." Then came Truth, as a fair lady, to complain

of the huge dragon-"the Dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil"-who besieged her father and mother, an ancient king and queen, Adam and Eve, typifying the race of man. What knight would aid her? Then "that clownish person," who was to represent in the allegory Holiness, or the religion of England in Spenser's time, and that, too, in Spenser's form of it-" upstarting, desired that adventure." The lady told him that unless he could use the armour which she brought, he could not succeed in that enterprise: that was the armour of a Christian man specified by St. Paul: "Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the Word of God." St. Paul used the image again: "Let us who are of the day be sober, putting on the breast-plate of faith and love; and for an helmet the hope of salvation." When thus armed, the clownish person "seemed the goodliest man in all that company, and well liked of the lady." "If any man," said St. Paul, "be in Christ, he is a new creature." The knight set out to battle with the Dragon, and-so much having been indicated in the letter to Raleigh—here the first book of the Faerie Queene begins. The gentle knight was the element of holiness in the Christian soul, seeking conquest of evil, clad in the armour of righteousness, with the cross on his breast and on his shield. His steed represented passions and desires, disdaining the curb, but needing the curb as they carry us upon the chosen path. The knight sought his adventure to win the grace of Gloriana, which of all earthly things he most did crave. "The Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory." Beside him rode a lovely lady, Truth, on a lowly ass, more white than snow-patient of desire, dispassionate of temper-Truth under a veil. "And by her, in a line, a milk-white Lamb she led," guide and companion of innocence, herself as guileless descended from the angels who knew man in Paradise.

> Behind her farre away a Dwarfe did lag That lasie seemd, in being ever last, Or wearied with bearing of her bag Of needments at his backe.'

The dwarf was the Flesh, with its needments: sometimes the bodily life of the man; sometimes, when the allegory took a wider range, the common body of the people, with its natural instincts. The theme of the book was opened with a general allegory of the contest with Error; then it became individual and national, painting English religion from the point of view of an Elizabethan Puritan.

The day became troubled, and the knight and his companions found shelter in a wood, whose ways were the ways of the world. The trees in it typified the forms of human life: "the sailing pine" for trade; "the vine-prop elm" for pleasure: "the poplar never dry," freshness of youth; "the builder oak, sole king of forests all," man in mature strength building his home in the world; "the aspen, good for staves," to support decrepid age; and then the grave, "the cypress fune al." The other trees typified glory and tears, chase of meat, grinding of meal, griefs of life and their consolations, the shock of war and the wise uses of life, fruitfulness, completeness in form, that which is for us to mould, and that which is often rotten at the core. Losing themselves among the pleasant ways of the world the knight and his companions took the most beaten path, which led them to the den of Error. Before the battle with the monster there was flinching of the flesh, eagerness of the spirit. By the light of his spiritual helps the Red Cross Knight could see the monster as it was; it was a light from his glistening armour which the brood of Error could not bear.

"Soone as that uncouth light upon them shone
Into her mouth they crept, and suddain all were gone."

When the knight, in the contest, was wound about with the huge train of the monster, the poet cried, "God helpe the man so wrapt in Errores endlesse traine!" That was the help his lady urged him to secure. "Add faith unto your force, and be not faint." After this general picture of the conquest over Error, Spenser began to sketch, in the bitter spirit of his time, the relation of Catholicism to the Red Cross Knight of England.

The knight's armour was worn that he might stand against "the wiles of the devil." That chief deceiver, Archimago, now appeared, representing as a simple hermit the first stage of what Spenser looked upon as the "diabolical faith" (§ 45). He bade the Red Cross Knight and his companions to rest within his hermitage, and, as they slept there he created by his magic a

deceiving semblance of the lady, now named Una, because of the singleness of Truth. The deceiving image represented sensuous religion. The Christian misdoubted the corrupt Church that yet feigned to be his, and missed the firm voice of his guide and comforter:

Why, dame,' quoth he, 'what hath ye thus dismayed?
What frayes ye, that were wont to comfort me affrayd?'

The close of that first canto represented, then, from Spenser's point of view, the Christian before the Reformation. In the second canto, simple Truth having been maligned by arts of the devil, the Christian was stirred to passion against her, she was deserted by him, body and soul, but at her slow pace she followed the man carried away by his swift passions. Then the devil, hater of truth, disguised himself as the Red Cross Knight, and there was the "diabolical faith" personified. The true Saint George—the religion of England—parted from Truth, met with a faithless Saracen, named Sansfoy, Infidelity, strong, careless about God and man, companion of the woman clothed in scarlet, who was mitred, jewelled, and borne on a "wanton palfrey"—by wanton passions. Then followed the shock of battle against infidelity, which only through the death of Christ has Christianity been able to survive:

"'Curse on that Cross' (quoth then the Sarazin),
'That keepes thy body from the bitter fitt!

Dead long ygoe, I wote, thou haddest bin,

Had not that charme from thee forwarned itt.'"

The heavenward-striving soul could strike down infidelity; but then it took the woman clothed in scarlet, named Duessa, because of the doubleness of Falsehood, for Fidessa, the true faith. She was another image of the Church of Rome—

"Borne the sole daughter of an Emperour,
He that the wide West under his rule has,
And high hath set his throne where Tiberis doth pas."

Her the knight took for companion; but she appealed rather to his eyes than to his mind, he was—

" More busying his quicke eies her face to view, Than his dull eares to heare what shee did tell.

He travelled on with his new lady, who could not endure the neat of the day, and rested with her under shade of trees, from which he plucked a bough to make a garland for her forehead. But the tree bled, and uttered a sad voice. It was Fradubio,

thus transformed because he had doubted between the witch Duessa and Frælissa. That witch had caused Frælissa to appear deformed, Fradubio had then given himself to Duessa, till one day he saw her in her own true ugliness. Fradubio and Frælissa were both turned to trees, and

"We may not channge' (quoth he) 'this evill plight,
Till we be bathed in a living well.'"

Frælissa being thus transformed, and awaiting such release, could not herself represent true Christian faith, between which and the false Church Fradubio was in doubt. Spenser represented by her a pure heathen philosophy, like that of Plato; purer and fairer than the "diabolical faith" that rivalled and supplanted it, but no longer an active moving power in the world. Philosophy must live with its votary a vegetative life until its powers are renewed by union with the Church of Christ. "A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse—a well of living waters."

In the next canto, forsaken Truth, parted from men,

In secrete shadow, far from all men's sight:
From her fayre head her fillet she undight,
And layd her stole aside. Her angel's face,
As the great eye of heaven, shyned bright,
And made a sunshine in the shady place;
Did never mortal eye behold such heavenly grace."

A lion that rushed upon her was subdued to the service of her innocence. Spenser used here the romance doctrine that a lion will not hurt a virgin. St. George, in "The Seven Champions," recognised the virginity of Sabra by two lions fawning upon her. Spenser's lion, whose yielded pride and proud submission made him the companion of Una, represented Reason before the Reformation serving as ally of Truth against Ignorance and Superstition. "The lion would not leave her desolate, but with her went along," and presently they came near the dwelling of Ignorance and her daughter Superstition. Una called to the damsel—the voice of Truth calling to Superstition:

"But the rude wench her answered nought at all:
Shee could not heare, nor speake, nor understand:
Till seeing by her side the Lyon stand
With suddeine feare her pitcher downe she threw,
And fled away: for never in that land
Face of fayre Lady she before did view,
And that dredd Lyon's looke her cast in deadly hew."

She never had seen the fair face of Truth, and dreaded the attack of Reason. The Lion, "with his rude clawes, the wicket open rent," thus representing still the work of Reason at the Reformation. Una and the lion, Truth served by Reason, lay down in the house of Ignorance and Superstition, whither by night came Kirk-rapine with plunder of the Church to his companion, "the daughter of this woman blind, Abessa, daughter of Corceca slow." Kirk-rapine represented theft of sacred things and of the money of the poor, by men who entered the Church only for the goods they could take out of it; by the abbots and high clergy, the hirelings in the Church, false pastors who took no care of the sheep committed to their care, except to fleece them and devour their flesh. Kirk-rapine found in Abessa's den the lion, who,

"Encountring fierce, him suddein doth surprise:
And, seizing cruell clawes on trembling brest.
Under his lordly foot him proudly hath supprest."

Doubtless, the general image of the force of reason in attack on the ill-gotten wealth of those who took to their own use what was given to maintain religion and relieve the poor, was joined here to a particular image of the lion of England, as Henry VIII., with his foot on the suppressed monasteries. Therefore, when it is said of Kirk-rapine that "the thirsty land dranke up his life," there might be reference to the enrichment of the land by restoration of wealth that had been drawn from it to feed the luxury of Churchmen.

Reason had now taken its fit place in the allegory. In Spenser's system it was not by help of Reason, but only by Grace of God, that the last triumph was to be secured. The lion, therefore, fell under the stroke of Sansloy. Reason could not resist the force of lawlessness. Not yet joined to her Red Cross Knight, Una had only the natural heart of man to recognise her beauty. She was adored by the "salvage nation."

"During which tyme her gentie wit she plyes
To teach them truth, which worshipt her in vaine,
And made her th' Image of Idolotryes."

The Red Cross Knight was taken by Duessa to the House of Pride, thence, warned and aided by the natural instincts of his dwarf, he escaped, wounded by Joylessness; and being weary took his armour off and rested by the way. He sat by a fountain which had been once a nymph—one of Diana's nymphs—

who "satt downe to rest in middest of the race." "Let us not be weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap—if we faint not." The Christian warrior, thus resting in midst of his race, escaped from the pomps of "the diabolical faith" only to become the thrall to like pomps in another form. That Spenser held to be the present danger of the English Church. The woeful dwarf, the common body of the people, took up the knight's neglected arms, carried them on, seeking aid in this distress, and met with Una. Then to the aid of Truth and to the rescue of the religion of England came Prince Arthur, bearing the shield of Divine Grace. "Ay, me," now says the poet in the prelude to the canto which describes Prince Arthur's intervention,—

"Ay, me! how many perils doe enfold
The righteous man, to make him daily fall,
Were not that heavenly Grace doth him uphold
And stedfast Truth acquite him out of all."

The wondrous horn blown by Arthur's squire—the faithful preacher—before the giant's castle, was the horn of the Gospel.

"Wyde wonders over all
Of that same hornes great virtues weren told,
Which had approved bene in uses manifold."

The rescued Christian looking back on his delusions and misdeeds was tempted by despair, but the voice of Truth answered to his doubt:

Come, come away, fraile, feeble, fleshly wight,
Ne let vaine words bewitch thy manly hart,
Ne divelish thoughts dismay thy constant spright;
In heavenly mercies hast thou not a part?
Why should'st thou then despeire that chosen art?
Where justice growes, there grows eke greater Grace.

And when the Red Cross Knight was next brought by Una to the House of Holiness, where Dame Coelia lived with her three daughters, Faith, Hope, and Charity, to be prepared for the last great fight with the Dragon, the opening stanza showed, again, how carefully Spenser had provided for the most essential feature of his poem, express declaration of its meaning:

What man is he, that boasts of fleshly might And vaine assuraunce of mortality, Which, all so soone as it doth come to fight Against spirituall foes, yields by and by, Or from the fielde most cowardly doth fly! Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill,

That thorough Grace hath gained victory:

If any strength we have, it is to ill,

But all the good is God's, both power and eke will."

Spenser believed that he had given aid enough for the interpretation of his allegory. In the introduction to his second book he told the reader that

"Of faery land, yet if he more inquyre,
By certein signes, here sett in sondrie place
He may it fynd: ne let him then admyre,
But yield his sence to bee too blunt and bace
That no'te without an hound fine footing trace."

Spenser's "fine footing" has been traced but carelessly; while all readers have felt the sweetness of music, and enjoyed the feast of imagination that the Faerie Queene offers to those who simply yield themselves up to a sense of the surpassing beauty of its pictures and of its deeply earnest spiritual undertone. Profoundly earnest, and the work of a pure mind, the Faerie Queene is yet bitter at core. It is the work of a great poet, who felt and expressed both the essence and the accidents of the great struggle in which he was himself a combatant. Through all its delicious meledy it breathes a stern defiance of whatever cause was not, in the eyes of a true-hearted Elizabethan Puritan, the cause of God. The deeper allegory that expresses abstract truth holds on throughout the Faerie Queene its steady course, but it is conveyed through many references, in their own time not in the least obscure, to affairs of England, Ireland, France, Spain, Belgium. For example, in the ninth canto of Book V. Spenser enforced the whole case for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and at the beginning of the next canto he spoke his mind, still on the surface of the allegory of Mercilla and Duessa, upon Elizabeth's unwillingness to sentence Mary. The doom was

"By her tempred without griefe or gall,
Till strong constraint did her thereto enforce:
And yet even then ruing her wilfull fall
With more than needfull naturall remorse,
And yeelding the last honour to her wretched corse,

The larger allegory dealt here with the mercy that should season justice; but the bitterness of conflict was so prominent that, on the publication, in 1596, of the second part of the Faerus Queene, which contained this passage and others like it, King James of Scotland desired Spenser's prosecution. The English

ambassador in Scotland wrote to Lord Burghley, in November, 1596, that he had satisfied the king as to the privilege under which the book was published, yet he still desired that Edmund

Spenser, for this fault, might be tried and punished.

79. Samuel Daniel was born near Taunton, in 1562, the son of a music master. From 1579 to 1582 he was studying as a commoner at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, but he did not take a degree. In 1585, at the age of twenty-three, he translated from the Italian The Worthy Tract of Paulus louius, contayning a Discourse of rare Inventions, both Militarie and Amorous, called Impresse. Whereunto is added a Preface, contayning the Arte of Composing them, with many other Notable Deurses. Daniel became tutor to the Lady Anne Clifford, afterwards Countess of Pembroke, and became historian and poet under the patronage of the Earl of Pembroke's family. He began his career as an original poet, strongly influenced by the Italian writers, in 1592, with Delia: contayning certayne Sonnets, with the Complaint of Rosamond. This he dedicated to Mary, Countess of Pembroke, Sidney's sister; augmented editions, bringing the number of sonnets to fifty-seven, followed in 1594 and 1595. In 1595, Daniel combined his functions of historian and poet by publishing The First Fowre Books of the Civille Warres betweene the Two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke. This poem is in stanzas of the octave rhyme, established by Boccaccio as the Italian measure for narrative poetry (ch. iv. § 12), used by Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, Tasso. Strongly influenced by Italian forms, and often paraphrasing and translating from Italian, Daniel took naturally to octave rhyme for his poem on the civil wars. It was, like Sackville's tragedy of Buckingham, in the Mirror for Magistrates, too much of a history to be a poem in the true artistic sense, but it was musical in versification, patriotic and religious, and somewhat diffuse in moralising, with so much of the conservative tone that, in Church matters, some thought Daniel inclined towards Catholicism. In 1597 appeared his Tragedy of Philotas; in 1599, Musophilus, and other Poetical Essayes. The poem on the Civil Wars was also extended to five books in 1599, a sixth book followed in 1602. Daniel's Musophilus was a general defence of learning in dialogue between Philocosmus, a lover of the world, and Musophilus, a lover of the Muses. It has been said that atter the death of Spenser, in 1599, Daniel succeeded him as poet laureate. But there was in Elizabeth's time no recognised court office of poet laureate (ch. v. § 34).

80. Michael Drayton, born at Harthill, Warwickshire. was of about the same age as Daniel, but a poet with more sensibility, more vigour and grace of thought. Like Daniel, he began to write after 1590, and became a busy poet. He is said to have been maintained for a time at Oxford by Sir Henry Godere, of Polsworth, and he had a friend and patron in Sir Walter Aston, of Tixhall, in Staffordshire. In 1591, Drayton began his career as poet with a sacred strain: The Harmonie of the Church, containing the Spiritual Songs and Holy Hymnes of Godly Men, Patriarchs, and Prophets, all sweetly sounding to the Glory of the Highest. This was followed, in 1593, by Idea; The Shepherd's Garland, fashioned in Nine Eclogs; Rowland's Sacrifice to the Nine Muses; in 1594, by his Matilda, and his Idea's Mirrour, Amours in Quatorzains. In 1596, Matilda reappeared in a volume which showed Drayton's muse to be then running parallel with Daniel's in choice of subject, and to be passing from love pastorals and sonnets to a strain from the past history of England. A year after Daniel's "Civil Wars," appeared Drayton's Tragical Legend of Robert Duke of Normandy, with the Legend of Matilda the Chaste, Daughter of the Lord Robert Fitzwater, poysoned by King John; and the Legend of Piers Gaveston, the latter two by him newly corrected and augmented; and in the same year, 1596—year of the second part of the Faerie Queene, and of Spenser's last publicationsappeared Drayton's Mortimeriados; The Lamentable Ciuell Warres of Edward the Second and the Barrons-a poem afterwards known as the Barons' Wars. It was in stanzas of octave rhyme, like that poem on the civil wars of Lancaster and York which Daniel had published in part, and was still at work upon. The poets chose these themes because they yielded much reverse of fortune that could point a moral in the spirit illustrated by the still popular Mirror for Magistrates (§ 9). In 1598 Drayton again made poetry of history by publishingtheir idea taken from Ovid-England's Heroical Epistlesletters from Rosamond to Henry II. and Henry II. to Rosamond, with like pairs of letters between King John and Matilda, Mortimer and Queen Isabel, and so forth.

Henry Constable published in 1592 twenty-three sonnets, under the title of Diana; or, the Praises of his Mistres in Certaine Sweete Sonnets: five were added to the next edition (1594). Other occasional verses and his Spiritual Sonnets bear witness to his ingenuity and sense of music. Constable