

To be returned to the Academic Registrar,
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON,
SENATE HOUSE, W.C.1.
With the Examiner's Report.

E
Wallis

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARACTER PRESENTATION
IN ELIZABETHAN PROSE FICTION, WITH SOME
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE WORKS OF
THOMAS DELONEY.

ProQuest Number: 10096367

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10096367

Published by ProQuest LLC(2016). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

PRELIMINARIES.

The term "Elizabethan prose fiction" may, for the purposes of this study, be broadly defined as comprising all fictitious stories about human characters, and imaginative narratives dealing with the lives of real men, which were written in English prose during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558 - 1603). Translations of foreign works, both ancient and modern, collections of short stories, and works of instruction or edification cast in the form of fiction are included, as well as those few works which approximate a little more closely to the modern conception of the novel.

It is no part of the aim of this thesis to trace the historical development of the English novel; all that is attempted in the first chapter is a brief survey of the traditions of character-drawing inherited by the Elizabethan writer of fiction, in order to show what models were available upon which he could base his characters, and what methods of character-presentation it would seem most natural to him to use.

In studying the Elizabethan narratives, I have always consulted the earliest texts accessible to me, but, since linguistic and textual minutiae are not involved, I have for convenience' sake worked from, and given page references to, modern standard editions wherever these exist. Where there was no reputable modern edition, I have worked from

the earliest texts available in the British Museum; in the case of one or two minor works of which no early copy was accessible, I have had to rely on versions to be found in such collections as John Payne Collier's Illustrations of Old English Literature.

Shortened titles of Elizabethan works have been used in the text and foot-notes; titles in full are given in the "List of Books Consulted."

	<u>Introduction and Preface</u>	p. 53.
Chapter IV	<u>Advances in various directions;</u> <u>Richs and Loiks.</u>	p. 76.
	<u>Appendix to Chapter IV.</u>	p. 106.
Chapter V	<u>The development of character-</u> <u>isation in the fiction of</u> <u>Robert Greene.</u>	p. 109.
	<u>Appendix to Chapter V.</u>	p. 145.
Chapter VI	<u>The contribution of Thomas Nashe.</u>	p. 148.
Chapter VII	<u>The achievement of Thomas</u> <u>Deloney.</u>	p. 163.
	<u>Conclusion.</u>	p. 204.
	<u>List of Books Consulted.</u>	p. 211.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Summary.

Preliminaries.

Chapter I.	<u>Introductory.</u>	p. 1.
Chapter II.	<u>The Adapters and Imitators.</u>	p. 26.
Chapter III.	<u>Advances by two non-romantic writers: Gascoigne and Lyly.</u>	p. 53.
Chapter IV.	<u>Advances in various directions; Riche and Lodge.</u>	p. 76.
	<u>Appendix to Chapter IV.</u>	p. 106.
Chapter V.	<u>The development of character- isation in the fiction of Robert Greene.</u>	p. 109.
	<u>Appendix to Chapter V.</u>	p. 145.
Chapter VI.	<u>The contribution of Thomas Nashe.</u>	p. 148.
Chapter VII.	<u>The achievement of Thomas Deloney.</u>	p. 163.
	<u>Conclusion.</u>	p. 204.
	<u>List of Books Consulted.</u>	p. 211.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARACTER PRESENTATION IN ELIZABETHAN
PROSE FICTION, WITH SOME PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE
WORKS OF THOMAS DELONEY.

SUMMARY.

This thesis sets out to demonstrate the gradual growth of interest in, and successful presentation of, character traceable during the Elizabethan period. It attempts to show:

- (a) the lack both of conscious interest in character and of the tools for its portrayal in the early years;
- (b) the effects of the period of apprenticeship, - the assimilation of new character-types and the development of the methods of presentation;
- (c) the emergence of certain writers, notably Gascoigne, Greene, Nashe and Deloney, who made original advances in the field of characterisation.

It has proved necessary to investigate the origins of English Renaissance fiction in order to reveal the paucity of the story-teller's stock-in-trade at the beginning of the period. Interest in character is to-day taken so much for granted that the lack of satisfying characterisation in early fiction may be wrongly ascribed to failure on the writer's part successfully to fulfil his aims. In fact, the depiction of human personalities and relationships was little part of his aim, and conscious interest

in character, except under its moral aspect, was rare.

Against this background, the successes of a few writers stand out in their true perspective. The most successful creators of character were, with the possible exception of Robert Greene, innovators rather than perfecters of others' techniques. It has been possible, by concentrating on their achievements in characterisation alone, and by measuring these against the achievements of the average fiction-writer of the day, to shed new light on the work of Gascoigne, Greene, Nashe and Deloney. In particular, a reassessment of the relative merits of Greene's various works of fiction has been arrived at, and the detailed analysis of Deloney's methods of characterisation has shown how he achieved the considerable success now generally conceded to him.

...the first half-century works. The
...has therefore been used through-

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

...the Elizabethan narrators' shortcomings in
...the eyes of a modern novel-reader are apparent that in
...least recognition of character.

The vast novel-reading public of the twentieth
century look for two main elements in the books they read:
plot and character. - This attitude was not shared by
sixteenth-century readers of fiction. Those very different
educational backgrounds and reading habits in other fields
led them to accept rhetorical descriptions, orations or
epigrams, and long passages of analysis as natural to
fiction. It would be true to say that the English reader

CHAPTER I.

The English novel first began to emerge as a form of literature during the Elizabethan period, but, to use a favourite simile of the time, it was like a bear cub not yet licked into its final shape. The great majority of Elizabethan works of fiction are far from being all that a reader of to-day expects of a novel - indeed, if the word "novel" is understood to carry the full implications of its modern meaning, it is scarcely permissible to use it in connection with any but a few sixteenth-century works. The neutral term "prose fiction" has therefore been used throughout this thesis as a general description of the genre, and the word "novel" reserved for those works in a more realistic vein, in contradistinction to the "romance." Nowhere, perhaps, are the Elizabethan narrators' shortcomings in the eyes of a modern novel-reader more apparent than in their presentation of character.

The vast novel-reading public of the twentieth century look for two main elements in the books they read: plot and character. This attitude was not shared by sixteenth-century readers of fiction, whose very different educational background and reading-matter in other fields led them to accept rhetorical descriptions, orations or exempla, and long passages of moralising as natural to fiction. It would be true to say that the reading-public,

at least in the earlier decades of Elizabeth's reign, had, even if educated, no preconceived ideas of what exactly was to be expected from a prose narrative, because this was not one of the literary "Kinds" which had come down from Antiquity with their natures crystallised by the authority of an Aristotle or a Horace. The early writers of fiction for the most part shared this uncertainty¹ as to what constituted a good "history," "tale," "fable" or "discourse," as they most often called their works.

It is obvious that neither sustained characterisation nor consistent plotting bulked nearly so large in the consciousness of the Elizabethan writer of fiction as in the mind of the novelist of to-day. It is important to remember that the early Elizabethan writer had little interest in character for its own sake; such an interest would have been alien to his habit of mind. He would realise the necessity of introducing a number of persons as actors in his tale, but it would not be likely to occur to him that one of the main interests of his story might be the developing personalities and relationships of these characters.

The only aspect of character to which the average sixteenth-century author paid much attention was the

1. See E.A. Baker, The History of the English Novel, Vol. II, 1929, pp. 11 and 14-15, for comments on this point.

moral aspect, - the conflict between the good and the evil man, or the struggle of Vice and Virtue, or Reason and the Passions, in one man's soul. Average writers of that time were not familiar with the idea of introspection, or of the study of human personality and behaviour as an end in itself. The only apparatus they possessed for the examination of character were the moral and religious theories of Man, and the two related doctrines of the four Humours and of the influence of the planets on men's temperaments. This meagre stock-in-trade was not likely to stimulate the ordinary writer to produce highly successful character-studies, and it is not, therefore, surprising that the earliest Elizabethan story-tellers more often peopled their tales with conventional lay-figures than with convincingly human beings.

It must also be borne in mind that the pioneers of Renaissance fiction had to evolve a suitable narrative prose, and generally to develop the stylistic tools necessary to their craft. Apart from the surviving mediaeval prose romances, which they regarded as "old-fashioned," they had little native prose fiction to guide them, and had to rely primarily on the techniques of rhetoric, with which they were most familiar. The influence of foreign fiction to a large extent reinforced that of rhetoric. Most of the early writers employed a very ornate, elaborate style, full of rhetorical devices and erudite allusions, which was

quite unsuited to narrative writing. Their chief means of introducing characters was the formal descriptio, which usually abounded in artificial antitheses and similes. Dialogue was generally stilted and unnatural, and copious use was made of the "passion," or impassioned monologue. Convention played a large part in the treatment of many stock situations, such as courtship or the attempt on a maiden's honour, with a consequent standardisation of characters' reactions in such circumstances.¹

Renaissance fiction in England was born of the fusion of native and foreign elements, and developed by a process of assimilation and innovation. The period of apprenticeship to foreign masters was of some value in helping writers to learn the techniques of prose narrative, but it was only when they had acquired enough confidence to turn from literary models to life for their material that any real advance or development in characterisation was made. There was a gradual growth of interest in the portrayal of natural human beings, which, together with the development of more direct, dramatic means of presentation, and the breathing of new life into the conventional "passion" and descriptio, led to more convincing characterisation.

1. John Clark Jordan, in his study entitled Robert Greene (New York, 1915, p. 46), comments on this "advanced state of conventionality" in early Elizabethan fiction.

The first emergences of prose fiction in Western Europe are to be found in two works of the decadent period of the Roman Empire, the Satyricon of Petronius (first century A.D.), and The Golden Asse of Apuleius (second century A.D.), and in three products of post-Classical Greece, the Aethiopica of Heliodorus and Daphnis and Chloe of Longus (both probably of the third century A.D.), and Clitophon and Leucippe by Achilles Tatius (fourth or fifth century A.D.).

These were comparatively late importations into this country, however, and the origins of English fiction are discoverable in various types of mediaeval work, both literary and popular. First and foremost were the romances, in verse and in prose, which were the staple form of fiction in the Middle Ages.¹ The great romantic cycles dealing with the "Matters" of Rome, France and Britain were the common property of most European peoples; in England the tales of the Trojan War and the "British" stories of King Arthur and his knights were evergreen favourites, as were also the tales of such local heroes as Bevis of Hampton and Guy of Warwick. Emphasis in these romances was far more on wonderful deeds and happenings than on character. The

1. The continued popularity of mediaeval romances is proved by the number of impressions of them that issued from the printing-presses of Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde and later printers.

characters in any given romance tend to be accepted stock-types, lacking in individuality; it must be remembered, however, that many romantic characters, have, in the course of time, acquired an accidental, adventitious complexity, due to the various shifts of character in the different versions, and so the composite figure called up by the name of Lancelot or Gawain has a certain depth and complexity not often found in the characters of a single romance.¹

On the more popular side, the Middle Ages contributed to the development of fiction with orally disseminated ballads and tales of local heroes and wonders, such as Robin Hood or Adam Bell, and collections of jests and humorous stories. The Gesta Romanorum is a fine collection of funny stories, which shares the bias of its age in that each tale has a moral interpretation appended, however incongruously, at its close. Many other stories, such as those in A C. Mery Talys, without pious messages attached, were widely current. Some excellent examples found everlasting life in the pages of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. These ballads, jests and tales were antidotes to the tendency of mediaeval romance to leave the world of every-day life for the realm of legend; here the reader is brought down to earth, among ordinary people, of low as well as of

1. Malory's Morte Darthur is an exception.

high birth.

Chaucer, apart from his use of popular material in his Canterbury Tales, stands out as the author of the work which contains the most complex and most skilfully drawn characters in all mediaeval English literature. His Troilus and Criseyde reveals a masterly handling of character-portrayal and an acute psychological insight not encountered again in fiction for a great many years. It remained an isolated masterpiece, strangely ignored by later writers of fiction.

Mediaeval drama reflected more interest in character, although interest of a restricted nature, than the majority of narrative works. Everyman and other Morality plays encouraged an identification of self with the central figure of the drama in his struggle against evil and gradual attainment of self-knowledge and Grace. The depiction of the conflict between Vice and Virtue in a man's soul occupied an important part of such plays, although the presentation of the struggle was not naturalistic, but symbolic. The methods were not suitable for the use of fiction-writers, but the conceptions of character found in the religious drama were important and influential.

All in all, however, later mediaeval literature provided few precedents of a conscious interest in character, beyond the doctrine of the Humours, certain accepted romantic character-types and the idea of the conflict

between Vice and Virtue within a man. Very little attention had been paid to the actual methods of presenting character, and there was not even a suitable narrative prose in existence at the beginning of the Elizabethan period.

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century the native mediaeval streams coincided with new influences which came from the Continent, and the outcome of this fusion was English Renaissance fiction. The first years of Elizabeth's reign saw unprecedented activity in the field of translation, and later, translation continued side by side with the production of English works in imitation of, or greatly influenced by, these foreign books.

The art of translation, like that of fiction-writing, did not mean the same thing to an Elizabethan exponent or reader as it means to us to-day; we should be more inclined to call their works adaptations or free versions than translations. In the sixteenth century a writer would probably translate a work originally written in Spanish or Italian through the medium of a French version, and also make his own modifications, omissions and additions. It was the habit of the age, and it served to foster native talent for narration more than the strict discipline of literal translation could have done, for it is but a small step from translating, and simultaneously modifying and amplifying, a foreign work, to producing another of the same type.

It was in this way that many Elizabethan writers

served their apprenticeship, sometimes learning from their own essays in translation, sometimes gathering valuable hints from another's performance, so that after a time the stock-in-trade of Byzantine and Peninsular romancers, as well as of the Italian novellieri, became the common property of English writers, and the typical characters of these foreign works were imported into English stories.

In order, therefore, to find the origins of what subsequent years were to bring forth, it is necessary to study the translations which came first. It will be more useful to consider all the translations together at this point, although they were not all products of the sixties and seventies.

Among the first translations to be published in Elizabeth's reign were those of Spanish and Italian courtesy-books; versions of Italian novelle followed soon afterwards. Ancient romances appeared in English over a long period,¹ and Anthony Munday's labours on the Peninsular cycles occupied the eighties and nineties of the century. It is only necessary here to touch on those aspects of all this work of translation that are concerned with the various types of character and methods of presentation which were thus introduced into English

1. Adlington's Golden Asse appeared in 1566, Day's Daphnis and Chloe in 1587, and Burton's Clitophon and Leucippe in 1597.

fiction.

The literature of manners, not to be classified as fiction itself, is yet relevant on account of the not inconsiderable influence it exercised on certain types of English fiction. Several courtesy-books were early translated into English, and enjoyed a vogue similar to that of Sir Thomas Elyot's Boke named the Governour (1531); some of the best-known translations are the two versions of one work by Guevara, Lord Berners' Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius and Sir Thomas North's Diall of Princes (1534 and 1557 respectively), Sir Thomas Hoby's Courtyer (1561), Robert Peterson's Galateo of Maister Iohn Della Casa (1576) and George Pettie's Ciuille Conuersation of M. Steeuen Guazzo (1581). These books may, at first sight, seem unlikely models for the creation of more credible characters in fiction, but, in fact, they played a distinct, if minor, part in influencing English writers in this direction. There is certainly one writer, John Lyly, who owed a considerable debt to the literature of manners for the inspiration of his novel, Euphues, and its hero.

One of the contributions made by the literature of manners was the conception of the new, humanist type of ideal man. This ideal, so finely depicted in The Courtyer, particularly in Count Lewis' speeches in the First Book, blends the wisdom of the ruler, the bravery of the warrior,

the learning of the scholar and the virtue of a true Christian. It is a picture of perfection, but this ideal represents a goal at which a man might aim, unlike the artificial ideal of the romantic hero, and the discussion revolves around the processes by which one might strive to attain to it. There were, undoubtedly, some Italian nobles who came near to being perfect courtiers, and Englishmen, after 1586, claimed to have seen the ideal exemplified in the person of Sir Philip Sidney. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius is not such an ideal type, and emerges from North's pages as a rather priggish pattern of virtue in office; a more human side to his character is revealed in his relations with an exasperating wife. The relatively life-like dialogue, in The Courtyer especially, was another feature in which the courtesy-books pointed the way forward towards more natural characterisation.

A further step forward was made by the many translators of Italian novelle. There were numerous collections of stories consisting partly or wholly of versions of novelle; Italian stories provided Painter with about a third of the material in his Palace of Pleasure (1566 - 1567), and other writers, such as Fenton in his Tragicall Discourses (1567), and Robert Smyth in his Straunge, Lamentable, and Tragicall Hystories (1577),

a greater air of reality.

relied entirely on Bandello's novelle. Single stories by Boccaccio, Bandello or Cinthio frequently found their way into various collections, with or without acknowledgment.

The pages of the novelle, like those of The Courtyer, contain credible human characters seen against a background of contemporary life. The novelle, however, cover a wider range of society than the courtesy-books, as they introduce characters from the merchant classes, as well as from the nobility and gentry. The didactic motive, so strong in the literature of manners, is by no means absent from the English versions of these Italian tales. The translators, particularly Painter and Fenton, made much of their moral purpose in re-telling these stories, although their moralising often seems as inapposite and adventitious as that of the Gesta Romanorum.

A new range of character-types emerged from the pens of the novellieri, and subsequently re-appeared in English fiction; the young wife and jealous old husband, the treacherous betrayer of a maiden's love, the resourceful wife who prevents discovery of her lover and the wily old bawd are some of the favourite figures of this type of story. The characters are still far from being wholly life-like, but they are credible figures, portrayed against a recognisable environment, which lends them a greater air of solidity.

One weakness in the novelle is that the dialogue, as rendered by the English translators, is artificial and unconvincing. An example of such dialogue is this speech of a girl to her sick brother:

"I hope sayeth she my present commyng (excedyng my ordinary custome) will not move you to conceytes of presumption against me; chiefly for that I desier to communicate with you in that which yourself ought to disclose to such as are deare unto you, to th'ende that, if the meane to restore you consiste in straungers, the remedie may folow with expedicion. But if a sleighte salve may cure a slender sore, and that your greefe is of no other consequence then a passion of ymaginations, why do you not take up the vaine that fedes the humour of such fonde conceites, and of yourselfe dismissee the darke cloudes of your troubled fansie?"¹

This stiff, conventional utterance is typical of most of the dialogue in Fenton's stories; the monologues or "passions" are, if anything, even more conventional. Almost every heroine repulses a wooer with a great show of indignation, as Julya does in Discourse VIII,² then

1. Geoffrey Fenton, Certaine Tragicall Discourses, ed. with Introduction by R.L. Douglas, "The Tudor Translations," Nos. XIX - XX, London, 1898, Vol. 1, Discourse II, pp. 93 - 94.

2. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 69.

after meditation, in the form of the familiar rhetorical monologue, and generally after repeated persuasions by a cunning bawd, she is caught in the deceiver's snare, and later proceeds to bewail her lot in yet another conventional "passion". Almost without exception, the plots of these stories turn on some question of love, and they contain a great body of conventional sentiments and stock situations. It is by means of the translations of these novelle that many of the familiar types of amorous intrigue enter or re-enter English story-telling; the situations and characters are age-old, but received new life and impetus through being translated from fashionable Italian stories.

Works, not new but of great antiquity, also produced a fresh impact on Elizabethan literature when translated into English for the first time. These were the post-classical Greek romances, The Aethiopian Historie, translated by Thomas Underdowne (1569), Daphnis and Chloe, translated by Angel Day (1587) and Clitophon and Leucippe, translated by William Burton (1597). Of a slightly different nature, and not so immediately popular and influential as these Byzantine romances, the late Latin tale of The Golden Asse

1. Chaucer's Canterbury Tales and Troilus and Criseyde are supreme examples of the native handling of such themes in the fourteenth century.

of Lucius Apuleius was also translated early in the Elizabethan era by William Adlington.¹

These tales represent the earliest known essays in prose fiction; fiction had no status in the ancient world, and it was only in the years of decline which followed the Classical period that experiments in this form were made. It is easy to see the relation of these three Greek romances to certain of the established Classical "Kinds." The Aethiopian Historie and Clitophon and Leucippe have many of the characteristics of epics in prose, and the Daphnis and Chloe has obvious affinities with the pastoral idyll. The Golden Asse is more mixed in form and intention, but even this can be seen to have connections with both comedy and satire.

It is not necessary here to examine the complicated plot-structure of the Byzantine romances, except to note that it is just this intricacy of plot, the coincidences, reversals of fortune, and, in particular, the important rôle played by Fate or Chance, that prevent the creation of credible human characters in these romances.² The demands of the plot are always put first, and little scope

1. The Golden Asse in Adlington's translation was published in 1566. The other late Latin tale, the Satyricon of Petronius, was not translated into English until late in the seventeenth century.

2. Samuel L. Wolff, Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction, New York, 1912, pp. 137 - 138.

or opportunity is left for the development of any of the characters. In fact, there is little room for them to be more than the passive victims of amazing adventures.

Forces outside the characters, - Fortune, Chance, or Cupid, for example - are the arbiters of their destinies, and so it is impossible to view them as anything more than animated puppets. There is some delineation of appearance and the superficialities of personality, but this is not enough to make the characters live. The pressure of events and the omnipotence of Fortune make the heroes, even more than the heroines, of these romances sufferers rather than initiators of action; Lord Ernle, among others, has justly commented that the heroines seem better equipped to stand up to their fates than the heroes:

" . . . the hero is inferior to the heroine. Theagenes is insipid; Clitophon is not only a mere animal, but a coward. On the other hand, Chariclea shows both firmness and presence of mind, while Leucippe, though a gentler figure than the fair Ethiopian, supports her misfortunes with patience and constancy."¹

Perhaps this feature of Byzantine romance accounts for the well-defined characters of the heroines in the romantic tales of such English writers as Sidney, Lodge

1. R.E. Prothero (Lord Ernle), The Light Reading of Our Ancestors, London, 1927, p. 32.

and Greene. Certainly no valuable contribution to the development of the romantic hero is made by the Aethiopian Historie or Clitophon and Leucippe. Some new character-types, such as pirates, brigands, robber chiefs and pirate captains who fall in love with the heroine at first sight, wise old counsellors or "Gymnosophists," are, however, presented, and were duly introduced into English romances.

The pastoral story of Daphnis and Chloe introduced into fiction a totally different set of figures, - the nobly-born children brought up by rustic foster-parents, and the various types of shepherd and shepherdess amongst whom they live. The pirates and their captain who played important parts in the other two Greek romances are also encountered here. The translation of Daphnis and Chloe initiated a vogue for pastoral romances, with plots based on the general outlines of its story and characters ultimately derived from its pages. The ultra-sophisticated delineation of the ultra-innocent lovers, however, was too subtle and complex to be imitated by the Elizabethan apprentices in fiction, and they mainly contented themselves with conventional heroes and heroines, although they took over the various types of rustic characters from Daphnis and Chloe.

Apuleius' Golden Asse was also rather too complex a work to be easily imitated by Elizabethan writers, and

too original to start a fashion for tales of the same sort. Apuleius is the only one of these early storytellers to endow his hero with a real personality, and to develop it consistently throughout his strange adventures; this is very possibly due in part to the autobiographical form. Lucius' actions are largely motivated from within his own character, although Chance also has an important part to play. The tale is told with gusto and vividness; irony and satire are allowed to play over characters and events, and there is a real morality underlying the seemingly frivolous story.

Elizabethan writers learnt little from The Golden Asse; Thomas Nashe, who had a temperament and outlook on life similar to Apuleius', appears to have been the only author who may have felt some influence from his work. It is interesting to speculate whether a reading of The Golden Asse was any part of the inspiration of The Unfortunate Traveller.

The Byzantine romances, with their emphasis on Fortune as the cause of all, and the consequent removal of responsibility from the characters, are fundamentally amoral, in spite of the strict adherence to the externals of the moral code by Heliodorus' chaste hero and heroine. Daphnis and Chloe is a purely erotic romance, rather immoral in tendency, which devotes much more space to the delineation of the states of mind and feeling of the hero and heroine.

Longus displays more subtlety and psychological insight than either Heliodorus or Achilles Tatius, but it was not of a type to appeal to Elizabethan writers.

The amorality of Byzantine romance was a feature new to sixteenth-century authors; similarly new was the loose morality of the Peninsular romances. A key motif of the Amadis and Palmerin cycles is the child secretly born to the heroine before marriage; nor is it unknown for a hero of one of these romances to console himself in the absence of his beloved in the arms of another maid. All the heroics and chivalrous sentiments cannot disguise a certain laxity in morals in the condoning of such actions, but, in fact, contribute towards making the hero seem either a hypocrite or a completely inconsistent character.

The Peninsular romances are the products of decadent taste, and they exploit all the most exaggerated traits of earlier romance. The incidents become even more incredible, and the supernatural plays an ever-increasing rôle as the cycles progress. Adventure is huddled upon improbable adventure, and Amadis and Palmerin have even less chance to behave like ordinary human beings than Clitophon or Theagenes. True to romantic convention, the heroes are brought up by foster-parents in ignorance of their high birth, but reveal their nobility by their beauty, strength, bravery and precocious prowess at all

manly pursuits. They continue their glorious careers as patterns of Christian chivalry by performing a monotonous series of heroic feats, and incidentally seducing their future wives, thus producing the next generation of secretly-born, long-lost, but finally re-discovered heroes.

Here again, as in the Byzantine romances, the heroine is a more sympathetic character than the hero, and she at least remains faithful after her one lapse. The romancer's time, however, is so fully occupied in relating innumerable chivalric exploits that there is little opportunity for the heroine or any other figure to emerge as a genuine person. Miss Mary Patchell remarks that the characters are the customary stock figures, "mere types, shadowy and unreal, but valuable as pegs on which to hang several episodes; for in chivalric romance human nature is subordinated to the demands of the narrative."¹

These late romances show no advance over the earlier in the matter of character-portrayal, but are inferior to them in this, as in many other, respects.

1. Mary F.C. Patchell, The Palmerin Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction, New York, 1947, pp. 73 - 74.

The first extant edition of *Le roman de Palmerin de France*, attributed to Bertrando, dated from 1575; it was translated into English by David Rowland, and published in 1580.

Writers such as Johnson, Robartes and Forde, who produced tales closely modelled on the lines of these romances were not giving themselves the best chance of developing their talents as creators of character.

It is a very different kind of Spanish story which shows a really considerable advance towards realistic characterisation, and that is the picaresque tale. The only picaresque novel already written in Spanish, and thus available for translation, was Lazarillo de Tormes. It was therefore the only anti-romantic story of low-life characters to be translated during a period which saw English versions of so many romantic works; its influence therefore stood little chance against the flood of romance.

To turn from the artificial realms of romance to the very material earth inhabited by Lazarillo is like entering another world. In the world of romance, the characters seem to live by love and chivalry alone; in the world of the picaro, on the other hand, Lazarillo has to exercise all his considerable ingenuity to keep his body and soul, if he possesses such a spiritual attribute, together. Against this background of a hand-

1. The first extant edition of Lazarillo de Tormes, attributed to Hurtado, dates from 1554; it was translated into English by David Rouland, and published in 1586.

to-mouth struggle for very existence emerges a character demonstrably the product of his environment, and one who develops as he progresses through life. Lazarillo is a character in the round, and the first really solid and credible human being so far encountered in Elizabethan translated fiction. The fact that this story, unlike any of the other translations except The Golden Asse, is told in the first person, also adds to its sense of reality and immediacy.¹

Having given due praise, however, it is necessary to add that Lazarillo is far from being an example of perfect character-presentation. He is more a type, a generalisation of the picaresque, than an individual, although he is a refreshingly different type from the romantic, and one with very human traits and the actuality of his environment. The character of Lazarillo, like the structure of the book itself, lacks any other unity than that given by simple continuity, and he has no more depth than that allowed by an external impression. The character is shown as developing through experience, in that he learns to steal from the blind man through pure necessity, and then increases in cunning until he

1. This use of the autobiographical form is one hint that Nashe may have gathered from the picaresque novel, or, on the other hand, from The Golden Asse.

is an accomplished rogue. Each episode, however, might almost as well have been written about a different picaro. The tale of the destitute squire whom Lazarillo maintains out of the goodness of his heart seems to concern a different character from the hard-bitten rogue of the previous pages, or the mari complaisant of the last episode. If the author had penetrated a little deeper into the springs of action, these episodes could easily have been presented so as to reveal a more complex character, but, as it is, the characterisation is too superficial to reconcile the different aspects presented in the various anecdotes into a wholly consistent person.

Lazarillo de Tormes does, however, mark a great advance in actuality over the other types of fiction translated during the period, and is of distinct importance as the work which introduced into England the "Rogue-tale," with its greater concern with real life in all its discomforts and material exigencies, than with noble sentiments and conventional rhetoric. This one work provides a healthy antidote to the spate of romantic and courtly works, as it offers a different standpoint from which an author could view life, a standpoint from which it was easier for him to see characters as real human beings. Neither Lazarillo nor his creator views life with any illusions, nor are they respecters of persons or conventions, and so they inevitably bring the reader nearer to the basic

truths of human nature and behaviour. It was, unfortunately, some time before English fiction was ripe to profit from such lessons.

There was one other source, not hitherto mentioned, from which one might imagine the later Elizabethan writers of fiction could have learnt and borrowed, and that is the contemporary drama. In the latter half of Elizabeth's reign the state of the drama offers a striking contrast to that of the prose tale. Drama was the dominant literary form, which attracted to itself large numbers of the most gifted writers of the day, often regardless of whether their talents were of a dramatic order, or better suited to the more discursive methods of prose fiction. In the plays of this period, even setting aside those of Shakespeare, there are striking character-studies of a host of different types and individuals, while fiction was still largely peopled with shadowy lay-figures.

In view of this state of things, it is to be wondered at that writers of fiction did not turn to the drama, and borrow stories and characters, and adapt dramatic technique to the different needs of their own medium. What borrowing did take place, however, was almost exclusively in the reverse direction. It was the dominant form, the drama, which borrowed from all sources, and prose fiction, so ready to imitate and borrow from all kinds of foreign works, ignored this wealth of native material on its own doorstep.

Very late in the period there is a little evidence of the influence of the stage, in the works of Deloney, and in the one or two exceptional cases of stories based on plays, such as George Wilkins' Painfull Aduentures of Pericles Prince of Tyre (1608). This latter work, however, is already beyond the limits of the Elizabethan period. Earlier, it is for the most part only fiction-writers who were also dramatists, like Lodge and Greene, who profited a little from their own experience of writing for the stage, but even they did not fully realise the possibilities.

Dramatic characters are necessarily bolder and sharper in outline than the figures in a prose tale; their speeches and actions must be immediately understandable and significant, so that personality may be swiftly established. No novelist before Deloney shows a mastery of the art of letting characters reveal themselves, or of vivid and life-like dialogue, comparable to that possessed by many dramatists. It is certainly unfortunate that the narrative writers neglected the drama as a source of material and inspiration, for it was just those qualites which could have been fostered by a study of the drama that they conspicuously lacked.

... of imitation...
... overlapping that...
... fast diving line...
... was...
... others...
... imitation of...
... translator...
... translation...
... this was

CHAPTER II.

THE ADAPTERS AND IMITATORS.

... the English...
... their art by walking in the footsteps...
... At first, their work is very...
... derivative, but as confidence is gained they proceed...
... until eventually they can discard...
... their old models and follow their own best. In the early...
... and have been able to write a book...

1. Palmer's Grammar (Book I) was published in 1812, Palmer's Grammar (Book II) in 1828, Palmer's Grammar (Book III) in 1843, Palmer's Grammar (Book IV) in 1851, Palmer's Grammar (Book V) in 1859, Palmer's Grammar (Book VI) in 1867, Palmer's Grammar (Book VII) in 1875, Palmer's Grammar (Book VIII) in 1883, Palmer's Grammar (Book IX) in 1891, Palmer's Grammar (Book X) in 1899, Palmer's Grammar (Book XI) in 1907, Palmer's Grammar (Book XII) in 1915, Palmer's Grammar (Book XIII) in 1923, Palmer's Grammar (Book XIV) in 1931, Palmer's Grammar (Book XV) in 1939, Palmer's Grammar (Book XVI) in 1947, Palmer's Grammar (Book XVII) in 1955, Palmer's Grammar (Book XVIII) in 1963, Palmer's Grammar (Book XIX) in 1971, Palmer's Grammar (Book XX) in 1979, Palmer's Grammar (Book XXI) in 1987, Palmer's Grammar (Book XXII) in 1995, Palmer's Grammar (Book XXIII) in 2003, Palmer's Grammar (Book XXIV) in 2011, Palmer's Grammar (Book XXV) in 2019.

CHAPTER II.

The "age of translation" in Elizabethan fiction passed easily and imperceptibly into the "age of imitation." Indeed, the two were so intermingled and overlapping that it is impossible to draw any hard and fast dividing line between them; while one writer, Anthony Munday, was translating a continuous succession of romances,¹ others were already publishing works written in imitation of various foreign models.² Munday, the tireless translator, himself produced one work which was not a translation but was closely modelled on Lyly's Euphues; this was Zelauto, the Fountaine of Fame (1580), which was published earlier than most of his translations.

In these imitative works one can see the English writers learning their art by walking in the footsteps of various foreign guides. At first, their work is very derivative, but as confidence is gained they produce freer adaptations, until eventually they can discard their old models and follow their own bent. In the early stages a writer would take one foreign work and base his

1. Palmerin of England (Book I) was published in 1581?, Palmerin D'Oliua (Book I) in 1588, Amadis of Gaule (Book I) in 1588, Palmendos in 1589 and Primaleon (Book I) in 1595.

2. E.g., Lyly's Euphues, the Anatomy of Wyt (1578) and Euphues and his England (1580), Barnaby Riche's Farewell to Militarie Profession (1581), Lodge's Forbonius and Prisceria (1584), and Richard Johnson's Seauen Champions of Christendome (1596).

story on that alone, but later he would select more than one model, blend the material together, and produce a story with debts to two or three sources, but with some originality in the mingling of the strains.¹

At first, writers likewise took over many of the techniques of their models, and their methods of character-presentation were largely confined to the use of various rhetorical devices, such as the descriptio, discourse, "passion" and stiff, conventional dialogue and letters. When they became more confident, mere rhetoric was gradually discarded, and these devices were humanised and made into more effective vehicles for characterisation. This increase in stylistic naturalism accompanied the growing freedom in the choice of subject-matter.

These developments, however, did not take place until later in the period, and it is first necessary to show the great pressure that romantic conventions exercised on the average fiction-writer. This can only be done by indicating the spate of romantic tales which poured from the printing presses in the middle years of Elizabeth's reign, and studying their characteristics. Only in this way can the great influence

1. Compare, for instance, Lodge's Forbonius and Prisceria (1584) with Chettle's Piers Plainnes seauen yeres Prentiship (1595).

of romance be felt, and the enormous appetite of the ordinary reading-public for such fiction fully realised.

It is for this reason that considerable space in this chapter is devoted to the examination of average specimens of Elizabethan romance. These works are not valuable in themselves, nor do they contain any noteworthy character-drawing; they must, however, be considered as illustrating an unfortunate phase through which English fiction had to pass on its way towards greater naturalism in characterisation. The great vogue of the romance explains why such writers as Lodge and Greene produced so many tales of a romantic type, and why even non-romantic authors like Nashe and Deloney could not altogether escape its influence. It is interesting to note that the two highly original writers considered in the next chapter, Gascoigne and Lyly, wrote their stories at an early date, before the overwhelming tide of romance swept in during the eighties.

At the beginning of this period of apprenticeship, however, writers can usefully be grouped according to the type of foreign work they imitated. In the wake of the translators of the courtesy-books came John Lyly with the two parts of his Euphues, George Whetstone with An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses (1582), and Robert Greene with the two parts of his Morando, The Tritameron of Loue

person, and made Sir Christopher Astor, to write the

(1584 and 1587). Lyly's famous book, although it owes a great deal to the literature of manners, and to The Courtyer and The Diall of Princes in particular, shows far more originality of handling than either the Heptameron or Morando, which are more closely modelled on Castiglione's book. Lyly uses material suggested by the courtesy-books, and develops his hero into a perfect character and a moral example; his aims are in part those of Castiglione, Della Casa and Guevara, but his methods and approach are different.

George Whetstone's Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses, though it follows closely the familiar pattern of many courtesy-books, the gathering of gentlefolk who discuss a set theme or series of related questions, is by no means a slavish imitation. The autobiographical form of the first few pages is a departure from the models, and one which gives a greater sense of actuality. The author's charming account of his arrival at the palace of the hospitable Philoxenus one Christmastide, his welcome and his participation in the courtly entertainment introduces the reader to the main body of his book, the discourses, by means of a realistic reminiscence of his own experiences. The discussions which follow are not left in a vacuum, but seem a natural part of those experiences. There seems to be some reason to suppose that Whetstone, like Castiglione and others, based at least one of his characters on a real person, and made Sir Christopher Hatton, to whom he

dedicated the work, the model for Philoxenus.

The main bulk of the Heptameron, consisting of various discourses and debates by the company on different aspects of marriage, does not offer much scope for the portrayal of character. It is difficult to draw the line clearly between conversation in the "framework" part of the book, and the speeches which are part of each day's "proceedings", but it remains true to say that there is a greater attempt at characterisation in the framework than in the set discourses. The tone of both conversational dialogue and formal discussion is full of ease, culture and wit, and is far more natural and convincing than that of many other Elizabethan works dealing with similar situations and characters. The speech of this gathering is free from the excesses and artificialities of the style commonly labelled "Euphuistic", and is much nearer dramatic speech than are the dialogues of Painter, Fenton, Pettie or the early Greene.

The character of the bountiful host is the most fully developed and presented; his kindness, generosity and courtesy, the conventional qualities of a good host, are given depth by the seriousness and religious conviction he reveals in his words.¹ His sister Aurelia,

1582,
1. An Heptameron of Civill Discourses, sigs. A1^v, B2 and B2^v.

"Queen" of the Christmas games, is a typically graceful, cultured and beautiful lady, whose aspect is humanised by being seen through the partial eyes of the author. The host, his sister and the author, or the "Caualliero Ismarito", are the only figures worthy of being called main characters; the company of minor characters is not very fully developed. These figures are briefly sketched at their first appearance,¹ and allowed to reveal themselves a little further in conversation. Most of them are well defined types, and Whetstone takes some care to keep them consistent; thus sharp quips and sallies are put in the mouth of Katherina Trista, who is initially described as "a sowre and testy Dame".² Unlike some other authors, Whetstone also takes pains to make the "discourses" in the discussion fit the character of the speaker. Characterisation in the Heptameron is never very deep, but at its own level it is competent and successful.

Apart from the characterisation of the company at Philoxenus' palace, the presentation of character in the shortened version of Whetstone's "comedy" of Promos and Cassandra, here re-told as part of the Fourth Day's Proceedings, must also be considered. This tale loses

1. Whetstone, op. cit., sig. Cl.

2. Ibid., sig. Cl.

nothing from being condensed and shorn of its comic subplot, but rather demonstrates that Whetstone could tell a story more effectively as a prose narrative than in dramatic form. The characterisation also gains by the change; although Whetstone in a prose tale shows a realisation of the value of dramatic speech as a means of revealing character, in actual dramatic composition he seems unable to make his characters reveal themselves fully. In the re-telling of the story, some speeches are repeated almost word for word, but other, less important and effective speeches are omitted, and some comment, explanation and amplification are added. The outlines of the main characters are by this process made clearer, and their motives more understandable. To take one example, he alters for the better the crucial scene¹ where Andrugio is presented with the terrible choice between death and life at the expense of his sister's honour, which, in its re-cast form, shows considerable insight into a complex state of mind and feeling. This scene, indeed, shows Whetstone's portrayal of character at its best, and, from the point of view of character-presentation, will even bear comparison with the parallel scene in Shakespeare's Measure for Measure, a play which was based on this story.

1. Whetstone, op. cit., sig. (N 4).

Robert Greene's Morando. The Tritameron of Loue has far less to recommend it than Whetstone's book. As was the case with many of Greene's works, Morando was produced in imitation of books which were popular and fashionable at the moment. Greene was to follow many literary fashions that came and went during his career as a writer; this is his attempt at the "courtesy-book" type of literature. One feels that Greene took more pains to conform to the fashion than to produce a work with merits of its own, and the result of his efforts is but a lifeless imitation of the cultured and civilised world of Castiglione. Little attempt is made to individualise the characters; they are merely typical young gallants and maidens who discuss love in conventional terms. A love-affair between two of them, Silvestro and Lacena, is traced in conventional phrases and situations, and adds little sense of life or actuality to the characters. Morando cannot be compared with the Heptameron, either for characterisation or for the charm and polish of the whole work.

More writers, and Robert Greene was again among them, were drawn towards the imitation of the novelle. Apart from writers like Painter, who innovated by making his own selection of stories from various novellieri, there

soon emerged authors such as Pettie, who seized upon the idea of a collection of short stories, and proceeded to gather together a number of tales from various sources. In A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure (1576) he relied almost entirely upon stories ultimately derived from Latin authors, including Livy, Ovid and Tacitus, and re-told in his own words. Barnaby Riche, in Riche his Farewell to Militarie Profession (1581), made a further step towards originality by mingling translations with one or two tales of his own. The final stage in this process was reached (chronologically earlier) by George Gascoigne. His one excursion into prose fiction, "The Adventures of Master F.J.",¹ is a very effective original work in the style of a novella; it is not derivative, although the second version² claims to be "translated out of the Italian riding tales of Bartello."

Robert Greene's essays in this types of fiction were numerous,³ and range from translations from the Italian and re-tellings of stories long in circulation to some original tales. It was Greene who introduced into English

1. First version published in A Hundreth sundrie Flowres bounde vp in one small Poesie, 1572.

2. Published in The Posies of George Gascoigne, 1575.

3. He produced in all eight collections of short stories.

fiction the idea of the collection of novelle in some kind of framework, probably derived from Boccaccio's Decameron; this provided him with more opportunity for character-drawing, and in Perimedes the Blacke-Smith, for example, the characters of the smith and his wife, Delia, are more real than those of the figures in the stories they tell. Greene, Riche and Gascoigne all made valuable contributions to the development of the art of characterisation, which will be discussed at length in later chapters.

Pettie's Petite Pallace is not a work of great originality or great naturalness, but it has slightly more of these two qualities than are found in the works of Painter, Fenton or Smyth, in spite of the fact that Pettie's style is often artificial and overloaded with Euphuistic allusions and figures of speech. In a prefatory letter, Pettie explains that these tales were originally told by him to certain gentlewomen of his acquaintance, at whose desire he later "set downe these trifles in writing". This fact very possibly accounts for the comparatively easy and familiar tone of the narratives, and also for the part played by the narrator, who interpolates comments and advice in his own person, addressed to the "Gentlewomen" his listeners, now readers. Pettie, although expressly writing for ladies, is by no means invariably, or even usually, complimentary in his

presentation of the feminine character; his attitude is sane and sensible, and a corrective to the idealisation of women prevalent in romantic fiction.

Pettie's common-sense and knowledge of the world and of people have their effect on the portrayal of character in his stories. His heroines, in particular, are not depicted in tones of pure black or white, vice or virtue, such as are used by more conventional storytellers like Fenton, but are shown to have elements of both good and bad in their characters. Camma's reaction to Sinorix' illicit wooing, for example,¹ is a natural blend of virtuous indignation, vanity and self-interest.²

In spite of Pettie's highly decorative style, there is some quite natural dialogue in these stories; especially noteworthy is the lively and life-like speech of the child Itys in the tale of Tereus and Progne.³ Even the long monologues and discourses reveal hints of psychological penetration, and do not remain mere set-pieces of rhetoric.

The romances, both Byzantine and Peninsular, likewise

1. A petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure, ed. H. Hartman, New York, 1938, pp. 26 - 29.

2. It is interesting to compare this with Julya's conventionally virtuous reaction in Fenton's discourse VIII, Vol. II, Certaine Tragicall Discourses, ed. R.L. Douglas, p.69.

3. Pettie, op. cit., p.54.

found many imitators in England. The love of romance had never died; the printing presses long continued to produce the old favourites, and later writers, such as Christopher Middleton, in his Famous Historie of Chinon of England (1597), still composed romances of the native mediaeval type, almost untouched by foreign influences. Alongside the continued popularity of these old romances there flourished a vogue for romances on new models. Both Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene at certain points in their careers tried their skill at romantic tales on Byzantine lines. Lodge's Forbonius and Prisceria (1584) is obviously Heliodorean in origin, and his later Rosalynde (1590) shows some signs of the influence of both the Aethiopian Historie and Daphnis and Chloe; so also do Greene's Pandosto (1588) and Menaphon (1589).

The late Elizabethan romancer, Emanuel Forde, wrote one tale in which the guiding influence is clearly more Byzantine than Peninsular, his Ornatus and Artesia (1595?). Here too, among works written in imitation of Byzantine romance, must be included Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia (published 1590), although the influences which helped to form this work included those of later pastorals, such as Sannazaro's Arcadia (1502) and the Diana of Jorge de Montemayor (c. 1559), as well as that of the Peninsular cycles. The influence of Sidney's Arcadia, in its turn, was felt by other English writers, including Lodge and Greene.

It must be remembered in this connection that, although Sidney's Arcadia was not published until 1590, four years after his death, it was written and circulated in manuscript several years earlier, and was therefore known to a limited extent in his life-time.

Lodge's Forbonius and Prisceria is one of the clearest examples of direct imitation from the Aethiopian Historie, although it is far simpler in plot and less ambitious in scope. Lodge makes the provenance of his tale clear by informing his readers that the heroine, Prisceria, is none other than the grand-daughter of "Theagines of Greece" and "Charicleala, the strange borne childe of the Aegyptian king".¹ The hero and heroine are no more than conventional types, and the limited scope of the romance does not even allow Prisceria to show Chariclea's resolution and initiative in the face of danger. The other characters are equally lifeless; the only ones who play any real part in the story are Prisceria's father and the old "Gymnosophist", Apollonius, who aids the lovers by advice and the gift of a magic mirror. The father is a very unsatisfactory character; he begins by being extremely strict and overbearing, and then changes from threatening to kill Forbonius to mildly

1. The Works of Thomas Lodge, ed. E. Gosse, (Hunterian Club) 1879, p. 54.

accepting him as his daughter's future husband, without any adequate reason.

Lodge's Rosalynde and A Margarite of America are more complex, mature romances; they will be considered, together with his other works of fiction, in Chapter V, and the study of Robert Greene's works in Chapter IV will include an examination of the characterisation in his romances Pandosto and Menaphon.

Emanuel Forde was influenced by both Byzantine and Peninsular romances; Ornatus and Artesia alone owes little debt to the Amadis and Palmerin cycles. It is a tale in which the influence of Byzantine romance is reinforced by that of Sidney's Arcadia.¹ In typical Byzantine manner, the love of the hero and heroine is threatened by disapproving parents; Artesia, like Chariclea and Leucippe, awakens love in all beholders, - Floretus, Lenon, and the conventional pirate captain, Luprates; Ornatus's disguise as Sylvia is in the Byzantine tradition, but recalls most vividly Pyrocles' disguise as Zelmene, in the Arcadia.

The complications, Byzantine and Arcadian, of the plot, which has its full measure of intrigues, feuds, murders, miscarriages of justice, disguises, kidnappings, travels and encounters with pirates, prevent any sustained characterisation. As is usual in this type of romance,

1. The name Artesia is to be found in Chapter 14 of the Arcadia.

the characters are the puppets of Fate, but within these limitations there are some touches of nature. The speech of the characters, and of the hero and heroine in particular, is less rhetorical and more life-like than that in most earlier romances, and the love-scenes are much less conventional.¹ Artesia is not the ideally pure heroine of Heliodorean romance, but gives herself to Ornatus before marriage like the heroines of the Peninsular cycles. She is far more gentle and passive than Chariclea, and Ornatus is more active and manly than either Theagenes or Clitophon. There is one character, the old bawd Flera, who seems to have more affinities with the figures of contemporary drama or the novella than those of romance.

Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, one of the most important prose works of the period, is of far more value and significance than any of the other romances mentioned in this chapter, but it is not on account of its character-drawing that it has earned its high place. From the point of view of the study of characterisation, a slighter and lesser-known work, such as Gascoigne's "Adventures of Master F.J.", or Greene's Neuer too late may be of greater value and interest than Sidney's famous book, and less attention

1. See, for example, the charming account of the first meeting of Artesia and Ornatus, The most Pleasant History of Ornatus and Artesia, 1634, sigs. B 1^v - B 2.

has therefore been devoted to the Arcadia than to the works of Greene and Gascoigne.

The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia, though bearing the unmistakable stamp of its author's personality, is yet derivative in many respects, and shows the effects of Sidney's wide reading. This revised and unfinished version shows definite signs of having been drastically altered and re-cast into the epic form favoured by Heliodorus. The complications of the plot suggest Byzantine influence, and the pastoral setting is probably derived from Longus via Sannazaro and Montemayor; there are yet other elements which are borrowed from Amadis of Gaule.

As far as is possible in this type of romance, the characters are well realised and presented. Pyrocles and Musidorus are more virile and intrepid than the usual type of Byzantine hero, and the characters of Pamela and Philoclea are charming and well-differentiated: Pamela is the bolder, more dominant personality; Philoclea is gentle and timid.

The unnatural situation of both father and mother falling in love with their daughter's disguised admirer is made credible and acceptable by the skilful presentation of the feelings of Basilius and, more particularly, of Gynecia. The study of the effects of a passionate infatuation on the character of a woman no longer young is the most effective example of character-presentation

in the Arcadia. The force of Gynecia's passion and jealousy is made real and convincing, so that the reader accepts the terrible fact that the mother is willing to sacrifice her daughter to further her own desires. It is instructive to compare this study in passion as a motivating force with the conventional sketches of violent and unnatural actions to be found in Painter's and Featon's translations of novelle, where the motives of such actions are seldom adequately presented.

The doting old Basilius is also well suggested, but this character-study has not the same depth. His infatuation is consistent, however, with the foolishness of his plans to defeat the prophecies of the oracle, and helps to create the total impression of weakness and lack of good sense. The minor characters - comic shepherds and shepherdesses, villains, subsidiary heroes and heroines, kings and counsellors - are rather lifeless and stereotyped, but the six main figures are well conceived, and portrayed with more regard to human nature than was usual in romance at this time. One of the reasons for Sidney's success in this direction may be that he, unlike so many of his fellow-romancers, was a gentleman and a courtier himself, and presumably knew more about courtly life and behaviour than Johnson or Forde, for example.

The Peninsular romances in general seem to have

exercised a less happy influence than the Byzantine tales, and the many English romancers who modelled their works on the careers of Amadis or Palmerin produced stories even more stylised and lifeless. Richard Johnson published, among other works, two such uninspired narratives of chivalric adventures, The Most famous History of the Seauen Champions of Christendome (1596), and Tom a Lincoln (1607, but licensed in 1599). Forde, in addition to his Ornatus and Artesia, wrote two romances in the Peninsular style, Parismus (1598), continued in a second part entitled Parismenos (1599), and Montelyon, Knight of the Oracle (1633). Also among the imitations and adaptations of Peninsular romances must be included Barnaby Riche's rather mixed product, The adventures of Brusanus Prince of Hungaria (1592), and Henry Robartes' Pheander, The Mayden Knight (1595).

Johnson's two romances are inferior works which are extremely derivative, and have little life or vitality. The first part of The Seauen Champions of Christendome recounts the monotonously repetitive adventures of St. George, St. Denis, St. James, St. Anthony, St. Andrew, St. Patrick and St. David; a quotation from the title-page gives a very fair picture of the contents:-

"The first Part: Shewing their Honourable Battels by Sea and Land: their Tilts, Iusts, Turnaments for Ladies:

"their Combats with Giants, Monsters and Dragons: their adventures in forraine Nations: their Inchantments in the Holy Land: their Knighthoods, Prowesse and Chivalry, in Europe, Africa and Asia, with their victories against the enemies of Christ."

Here, in short, is the complete formula for a Peninsular type of romance; it is hardly necessary to add that there is no room for character-drawing in the midst of all these stirring deeds, nor in the continuation, which deals with the very similar careers of St. George's three sons.

Tom a Lincoln is modelled even more closely on the Peninsular romances, for it tells the life-story of one hero, and then proceeds to relate the adventures of his offspring. Although Tom is introduced as a natural son of King Arthur, this story has little affinity to native Arthurian romance. Tom is the familiar secretly-born, long-lost child of an illicit union, brought up poorly in ignorance of his high birth, but betraying his noble lineage by his comeliness, bravery and early prowess in heroic pursuits.¹ After his fame has brought him to his father's notice, he pursues the conventional career of the hero of romance, travelling, jousting, killing

1. Richard Johnson, Tom a Lincoln, 1655, sig. B 1.

strange beasts, and eventually winning the love of Anglitora, daughter of the fabulous Prester John. The characterisation in this romance, although by no means noteworthy, is not quite so conventional and lifeless as that of The Seauen Champions of Christendome.

Emanuel Forde's two romances of this type are also very imitative, and the characterisation is, in general, more artificial and stylised than in Ornatus and Artesia. In Parismus especially, the treatment of love is very conventional, and the courtship of Parismus and Laurana is presented by means of rhetorical discourses, "passions" and stilted letters.¹ The episode of Parismus' illicit love for Violetta, a merchant's daughter, makes nonsense of the high-flown praises of the hero as a pattern of chivalry and virtue. The inconsistency is not made much more acceptable by this explanation of the motives which made Parismus leave his pleasures:

"Parismus reaped such sweete content from this Uirgins pure delightfull bodie, that hee was altogether vnwilling to leaue her pleasant imbracings, but at last remembring his estate, told her that hee would work such meanes for sauegard of her honour, as she should wel like of ..."²

1. Emanuel Forde, The First Part of Parismus, 1608, sigs. D 1^v, D 3 and D 4.

2. Ibid., sig. M 2^v.

These are all too human feelings, and show that Forde understood some of the promptings of human nature, but they make the character of the romantic hero ridiculous when he has elsewhere been presented as an idealised model of all that is good. The second part relates the conventional adventures of Parismenos, Parismus' son. Forde's second Peninsular-type romance is, if anything, more stylised than Parismus, and as the date of publication of Montelyon (1633) falls outside the Elizabethan period, there is no need for a detailed examination.

Robartes' Pheander is yet more lifeless than Johnson's and Forde's romances. Pheander himself is a slight departure from the norm, in that he is a more martial figure than the usual type of hero in the Peninsular romances, and his battles are more often fought against the enemies of his country than simply for personal glory. He is merely another, slightly different heroic type, however, and has as little individuality as the heroes of the other romances.

Barnaby Riche's Adventures of Brusanus Prince of Hungaria is a hybrid work, and does not follow the pattern of Peninsular romance as closely as do the majority of the works mentioned above. It will be considered, together with Riche's other works of fiction, in Chapter IV.

The last category of translated work to be considered as a model for Elizabethan writers is the picaresque, and in this case there are far fewer imitative works, or even stories deriving from Rouland's translation of Lazarillo de Tormes. In fact, there is only one example of Elizabethan prose fiction of which it can be said with any degree of certainty that it was in part written in imitation of the picaresque novel, and that is Henry Chettle's Piers Plainnes seauen yeres Prentiship (1595). This is a work in which the author seems to have set out to blend several incongruous strains into one tale. The picaresque element is the most marked, but it is inevitably modified to some extent by the romantic elements in the story.

Piers Plainnes is a very different type of story from Chettle's other fictional work, Kind-Hartes Dreame (1592)¹. One of the most interesting features of this slight but pleasant tale from the point of view of character-portrayal is the initial sketch of the five

1. Probably best known for its Dedication, in which Chettle, as Robert Greene's literary executor, apologises for the insults to Shakespeare contained in the last pages of his edition of Greenes Groats-Worth of witte (1592).

2. See Piers Plainnes seauen yeres Prentiship, 1595, sig. B 4^v, for tale typically picaresque episode.

apparitions which appear to Kind-Harte, characterised by realistic details of appearance and costume.¹

Whereas Kind-Hartes Dreame is placed in a familiar English setting, Piers Plainnes transports the reader to the never-never land of pastoral convention, in this case labelled "Thessalie", and instead of life-like characters, introduces a company of shepherds, including Piers. This pastoral scene is soon exchanged, however, for the rougher material world of the picaresque tale, which, in turn, gives place to the artificial realms of Byzantine romance. At one moment Piers is ridiculing his early masters, or complaining at the leanness of his diet under Flavius,² and at the next, the story plunges into accounts of ship-wrecks, plots, intrigues and beautiful ladies falling in love, only to return once more to satire and picaresque exploits when Piers enters the service of the Broker and the Usurer. The romantic and picaresque strains never unite into an integral whole, but are alternated until the conventional happy ending rounds off the story.

The only character of any stature is Piers himself;

1. Henry Chettle, Kind-Hartes Dreame, ed. G.B.Harrison, Bodley Head Quartos No. IV, London, 1923, pp. 11 - 13.

2. See Piers Plainnes seauen yeres Prentiship, 1595, sig. B 4^v, for this typically picaresque episode.

his masters are quite vividly sketched, but each of them only makes a brief appearance. At the very beginning of the tale Piers' current master, Menalcas, gives his friend Corydon a brief description of Piers:

"... we entertaind a new seruant, plaine in condition for any thing I can gesse, of body strong, of wit prompt, of speech not altogether rude, but exceeding Satyricall: his bringing vp I know not, thence arises my doubt ..."¹

And this, together with his own remark, that he is "plaine by name and nature",² may be taken as a general indication of his characteristics. His satirical tongue is Piers' most marked feature, and one of the few by which he shows himself kin to Lazarillo. In other respects he is far from being a typical picaro; he does not indulge in any roguery or thieving, but is an honest, if critical, servant, with a conscience that makes him uncomfortable in the service of the Broker and the Usurer.³

Piers in fact emerges as a kind of "man-in-the-street", ordinary, sensible, fairly honest but no pattern of virtue, whose natural reactions to people and events are those of

1. Henry Chettle, Piers Plainnes seauen yeres Prentiship, 1595, sig. B 2.

2. Ibid., B 2^v.

3. See especially Piers' speech beginning "If when I serud Flatterie my soule were afflicted..." ibid., Sig. F 4^v.

the average man. Piers is the one realistic thread that runs through Chettle's book, providing a hard core and a rudimentary unity in an otherwise fragmentary work. In Piers Plainnes one misses the descriptive passages based on actual observation which were the remarkable feature of Chettle's earlier tale, as most of the characters and events are, in the manner of the picaresque tale, seen through the eyes of the central figure. Of the thumbnail sketches of Piers' masters, only those of the Usurer Ulpian and his daughter Ursula¹ are strikingly vivid.

It is interesting to compare Piers Plainnes with the only other work in Elizabethan prose fiction which has any affinities to the picaresque novel, Nashe's Unfortunate Traueller (1594). Nashe was a far more accomplished writer than Chettle, with a much greater command of language, and a more vivid, individual style, but in essentials their methods of characterisation were very similar. In both these tales the central figure, Piers or Jack Wilton, is the one sustained and realistic character; the other figures are critically and satirically presented through his eyes. Both Chettle and Nashe were more successful in the portrayal of "low"

1. Henry Chettle, op. cit., sigs. D 4, E 2^v and G 1.

1. By E. A. Baker, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 101.

2. Ibid., note 1.

or vicious characters than of the romantic, idealised figures which both introduce into their narratives. Neither writer fully succeeds in making his hero a truly consistent, developed character in the round, but, like the author of Lazarillo de Tormes, they create a credible portrait of a recognisable type of man, with definite characteristics and his own individual approach to life. Chettle's book is inferior to The Vnfortunate Traueller in characterisation, as well as in style and structure, but it nevertheless marks an advance towards the realistic novel, peopled with natural and convincing human figures.

The Vnfortunate Traueller is sometimes labelled as the first picaresque novel in English; it has some similarities to the genre, but not sufficient to justify such a claim. There is no real evidence that Nashe was influenced by Lazarillo de Tormes when he wrote his tale. It has been suggested¹ that the autobiographical form used by Nashe was taken from Lazarillo; this may be so, but it could equally well have been borrowed from The Golden Asse, a work with which The Vnfortunate Traueller seems to have more affinities. There is only one episode, as Dr. Baker notes,² which recalls the Spanish tale, and that is the account of the miserliness of Doctor Zacharie, and even this is so

1. By E.A. Baker, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 161.

2. Ibid., note 1.

much in keeping with Nashe's habitual bent towards exaggerated caricature that it may be wholly original.¹

During this period of imitation and adaptation one can trace the gradual assimilation by English authors of character-types and methods of presentation which they found in their foreign models. It is unfortunate that the models they so often chose were not those calculated to help them towards natural characterisation. Thus, in one sense, their apprenticeship was harmful, for although it taught them some techniques which they later modified and used to good effect, the general tendency was to divert writers from basing their stories on life and telling them simply and naturally. The influence of foreign romances, and of the Peninsular romances in particular, was especially unhelpful.

1. Works of Thomas Nashe, ed. R.B. McKerrow, London, 1904, Vol. II, pp. 305 - 306.

CHAPTER III.

ADVANCES BY TWO NON-ROMANTIC WRITERS:

GASCOIGNE AND LYLLY.

In fact, Gascoigne deserves the greater credit for being the first to break this new ground, and for being the more successful creator of character. He has, therefore, at least as great a claim to be the author of "the first English novel." Moreover, his story is highly original in that, unlike Lyly's, it is free from the didactic motive.

1. I.e., counting *Spesnes, The Anatomy of Wit* (1578) and *Emulous and his Duellist* (1580) as two parts of the same work, and not as separate books.

2. *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. F. Bond, Oxford, 1902, Vol. I, p. 159. All references to Lyly's works given in this chapter are to this edition.

CHAPTER III.

The first two decades of Elizabeth's reign produced, in addition to a great crop of imitative works, two¹ original and important works in Gascoigne's "Adventures of Master F.J." and Lyly's Euphues. Gascoigne and Lyly, so unlike in many respects, yet had this much in common, that they took almost identical paths away from the romantic in fiction. Lyly's editor, R. Warwick Bond, though he claims that Euphues is "the first English novel, the first holding-up to English men and women of the mirror of their own life and loves," must concede that:

"The Adventures passed by Master F.I. (Ferdinando Ieronimo), in its subject matter, its love-making, its letters, the coquetry of its heroine Elinor, and its general aspect as a picture of polite society, forms the only anticipation of Euphues in English literature."²

In fact, Gascoigne deserves the greater credit, for being the first to break this new ground, and for being the more successful creator of character. He has, therefore, at least as great a claim to be the author of "the first English novel." Moreover, his story is highly original in that, unlike Lyly's, it is free from the didactic motive.

1. i.e., counting Euphues, The Anatomy of Wyt (1573) and Euphues and his England (1580) as two parts of the same work, and not as separate books.

2. The Complete Works of John Lyly, ed. R.W. Bond, Oxford, 1902, Vol. I, p. 159. All references to Lyly's works given in this chapter are to this edition.

The poet George Gascoigne's one prose tale, "The Adventures of Master F.J.,"¹ was first published, together with a collection of verse, in A Hundreth sundrie Flowres bounde vp in one small Poesie (1572), and was apparently based on an actual episode in Gascoigne's life. The lady in question and her family were much angered at its publication, and endeavoured to make trouble for the author;² accordingly, when he reprinted it in The Posies (1575), Gascoigne gave it a pseudo-Italian disguise, and called it "The pleasant Fable of Ferdinando Ieronimi and Leonora de Valasco, translated out of the Italian riding tales of Bartello." The story is substantially the same in both versions, but the sense of immediacy is largely lost with the omission of the preliminary letters and the rôle of the reporter, "G.T.," from the second. Apart from this, the beginning and ending of the tale are made more definite

1. In his Textual Notes to George Gascoigne's A Hundreth sundrie Flowres bounde up in one small Poesie, Columbia, 1942, C.T. Prouty writes: "To be consistent, "u" and "v" are distinguished according to modern usage, as are consonant and vowel "i". This last distinction justifies the use of the initials "F.J." for the hero of the prose tale, since the printer in his letter to the reader suggests "Freeman Jones" as a possible name." (p. 223.)

2. For a discussion of this, see C.T. Prouty, George Gascoigne; Elizabethan Courtier, Soldier and Poet, New York, 1942, pp. 193 - 194 and 195 - 198.

and explicit, and the episode of the hunting-party with Elinor's husband is omitted in the second version.

As it was based on personal experience,¹ there is no question of the tale being a translation or adaptation of a foreign work; "Bartello" is merely a fictitious name invented by Gascoigne. Possibly the current vogue of the novella first suggested to Gascoigne the idea of casting his story in the form he chose, just as later it provided him with a ready disguise. The amorous intrigue is of a type familiar in novelle, and the courtly pastime of storytelling in which some of the company engage recalls the Decameron and the literature of manners; the originality of Gascoigne's tale, as of Lyly's, lies in his individual approach. All is subordinated to the main concern of the story, the tracing of F.J.'s love affair with Elinor and its effects on the characters involved.

The briefest comparison of "The Adventures of Master F.J." with any of the stories in the collections of Painter, Fenton, Pettie, or even Riche, will reveal the essential differences between them. The novella hinges upon an action, the clever ruse of a pair of lovers to outwit a jealous husband or a perfidious lover's trick to capture a maiden, and the characters are drawn in mainly conventional

1. Perhaps, as C.T. Prouty suggests (George Gascoigne, p. 201), the story was built up around poems written at the time; it may also be a development of the device of prose links, used to connect other related poems in A Hundreth sundrie Flowres.

lines. In Gascoigne's story this state of affairs is reversed; the characters, their interplay and relationships, are the main interest, and events are only important in so far as they reveal character. There are thus some grounds for the claim¹ that "The Adventures of Master F.J." is the first psychological novel in English. It is certainly remarkable to find, as early as 1572, a writer who shows such command of the art of characterisation in his one and only prose narrative. It is perhaps a pointer to what others could have done, if they too had thought to "look in their hearts and write," although they would also have had to possess powers of observation and insight comparable to Gascoigne's.

The subtlety of handling and attitude in "The Adventures of Master F.J." is a striking contrast to the naive approach of the majority of early writers of fiction. F.J. is the character who plays Gascoigne's part, and, as is natural, events are seen mainly from his viewpoint;² yet while F.J. is still blindly infatuated with Elinor, the reader is gradually allowed to see her real nature, and recognise her for what she is. Gascoigne achieved sufficient artistic detachment from his experiences to

1. Made by C.T.Prouty, George Gascoigne, p. 201.

2. Prouty, *ibid.*, pp. 195-198 and 205-206, notes that Gascoigne relied on his own knowledge, plus information given him by "Fraunces."

be able to see and laugh ironically at his own past foolishness, and, though presenting the character of Elinor as base and malicious, not to indulge personal feelings by reviling or denouncing her or her conduct. His method of characterisation is mainly that of allowing his figures to reveal themselves, although there are often pointers to Gascoigne's own opinion given in such passages as this description of Fraunces:

"I must let you understand that she was unto F.J. a kinswoman, a virgin of rare chastitie, singular capacitie, notable modestie, and excellent beauty: and though F.J. had cast his affection on the other (being a married woman) yit was ther in their beauties no great difference: but in all other good giftes a wonderfull diversitie, as much as might be betwene constancie & flitting fantasie, betwene womanly countenance & girlish garishnes, betwene hot dissimulacion & temperate fidelitie."

He indulges in a brief but effective sketch of Elinor's Secretary, which is an instance of a pen dipped in gall:

"Hee was in height the proportion of twoo Pigmeys, in bredth the thicckesse of two bacon hogges, of presumption a Gyant, of power a Gnatte, Apishly wytte, Knavishly

1. A Hundreth sundrie Flowres, pp. 66 - 67.

"mannerd., and crabbedly favord, what was there in him then to draw a fayre Ladies liking? Marry sir, even all in all, a well lyned pursse, wherewith he could at every call, provide suche pretie conceytes as pleased her peevish fantasie: and by that meanes hee had throughly (long before) insinuated him selfe with this amorous dame."¹

This description also serves to cast light on the character of the "amorous dame" who encouraged "this manling, this minion, this slave, this secretary."²

This gives an important hint of Elinor's real nature at an early stage in the story; at the same time, she is shown encouraging F.J.'s advances under cover of an assumed coyness,³ employing ruses to avert possible suspicion, as when she returns "his" letter,⁴ meeting him "accidentally" and just as easily avoiding him when it suits her, boldly kissing her lips when he offers to kiss her hand,⁵ and giving in to his passion without demur, having herself created the opportunity by suggesting a nocturnal rendezvous. All this time, F.J. has little suspicion of her real character, but the reader is drawing his own conclusions from her conduct.

The next stage in the unfolding of Elinor's character

1. A Hundreth sundrie Flowres, p. 58.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 52.

4. Ibid., pp. 52 - 53.

5. Ibid., p. 55.

is reached when F.J. begins to have doubts about her, and when he, and the reader, learn from his faithful "Hope", Dame Fraunces, that Elinor has had at least two lovers in addition to the Secretary.¹ Elinor is piqued and jealous of Fraunces when she does not command F.J.'s whole attention; she sulks after hearing him say in company that he "cannot love" any woman, and has to be coaxed back into humour.² F.J. begins to have an inkling of her true nature, but at first refuses to believe it. Eventually he voices his doubts about her relations with the newly-returned Secretary, and Elinor's pride and vanity are so wounded at this lack of blind trust and devotion that she withdraws her favours altogether. Gascoigne's account of this crisis in the love affair is too good to be omitted:

you and other

"Now, here I would demaunde of such as are experts: Is there any greater impediments to the fruition of a Lovers delights, than to be mistrusted? or rather, is it not the ready way to race all love and former good will out of remembrance, to tell a guilty mynd that you do mistrust it? It should seeme yes, by Dame Elynor, who began now to take the matter whottely: and of such vehemency were hir fancies, that sheenowe fell into flat defiance

1. A Hundreth sundrie Flowres, p. 66.

2. Ibid., pp. 60 - 62.

"with F.J., who although hee sought by many faire wordes to temper hir chollericke passions, and by yielding him selfe to get the conquest of an other, yet could he by no meanes determine the quarrell . . . But the Dame denied flatly, alledging that shee found no cause at all to use such curtesie unto such a recreant: adding further many wordes of great reproche: the which did so enrage F.J. as that having ^{now} forgotten all former curtesies, he ~~assayleth his enimie by force~~ ^{drew upon his new professed enimie} . . . At last shee rose sodeinlye and determined to save hir selfe by flight, leaving ^{F.J.} him in bedde, with many despytefull wordes, and swearing that he shoulde never (eftsoones) take hir at the lyke advayntage, the whiche oathe she kepte better than hir former professed good will: and having nowe recovered her chamber (because shee founde hir hurt to be nothing daungerous) I doubt not but shee slept quietly the rest of the night."¹

Gascoigne's manner of making general observations in his own person is almost as subtle and skilful as that of the nineteenth-century novelists who made a habit of addressing their readers in similar fashion; he does not directly pronounce judgment on a character, but indirectly suggests his attitude. Elinor's petty and spiteful nature

1. A Hundreth sundrie Flowres, p. 92. "F.J. is meant to appear as a very young man who in the glory of his youth rather fancie his boldness and sophistication." (George Gascoigne, p. 201.)

is fully revealed by her conduct after this quarrel, when she returns to the embraces of her Secretary, and takes delight in revenging herself on F.J.

F.J.'s character is rather shadowy, as is often the case with figures who represent the author, but his personality gradually emerges as the rise, climax and extinction of his passion for Elinor are traced. He is by no means a card-board figure of the lover-hero, for the reader is shown the workings of his mind, the state of his feelings, and the motives for his actions, which reveal him as an all too human man. He has no scruples about seducing another man's wife, but he at least, unlike Elinor, has the excuse of his infatuation. The initial strength of his passion is matched by the depth of his disillusionment. Gascoigne's character-drawing is very true to nature when he shows F.J. at first blinded by passion, unwilling to believe the undeniable signs of frailty and falsehood in his beloved, deliberately closing his eyes to her deceptions, but eventually unable to stand the strain of his doubts any longer. F.J., like the other characters, is an experienced courtier, and, in spite of his passion, exercises considerable formal circumspection in his conduct.

1. C.T. Prouty is of the opinion that F.J. is meant to appear as a very young man "who in the glory of his youth rather fancies his worldliness and sophistication."
(George Gascoigne, p. 201.)

There are two very effective scenes in which F.J., hoping against hope that she will do so, gives Elinor her last chances of redeeming herself.¹ When she takes delight in snubbing and insulting him, and shows no inclination to excuse or explain her conduct, F.J. departs in disgust.

Mr. Prouty believes that Gascoigne looked back on this love affair as the turning-point in his life between adolescence and adulthood:

"He remembered his first love affair, not as a series of events which ended unhappily, but as an emotional experience that changed him from a credulous youth into a wiser man. In telling the story, therefore, he emphasized its psychological aspects: his pseudo-sophistication, his youthful confidence, Elinor's callous nonchalance, and the rather inscrutable subtlety of Frances, which he understood and appreciated only in retrospect."²

This theory of Gascoigne's interpretation of his experience is perhaps anachronistic, but the suggestion that he did not fully understand Frances at the time is valuable. Her character, as presented in the story, is rather

1. A Hundreth sundrie Flowres, pp. 103-104.

2. C.T.Prouty, George Gascoigne, p. 206.

mystifying without some such explanation; if one accepts the theory that Gascoigne had not completely made up his own mind about her and the rôle she played at the time, most of the difficulties and apparent inconsistencies are accounted for. She is portrayed as F.J.'s faithful friend and confidante, who gives him sympathy and advice, but at the same time she seems to lose no opportunity of making the lovers uncomfortable. Gascoigne perhaps valued her help and friendship at the time, and only later realised that her own love and jealousy of him were the explanation of much of her behaviour.¹

Dr. E.A. Baker speaks of Fraunces as a character of great beauty, and says:

"One would almost think that this pathetic figure had been created independently of the author's volition."²

This seems a quite erroneous interpretation, based on a superficial study of the second version of the tale. Fraunces is undeniably a more sympathetic character than Elinor, whom Dr. Baker rightly labels as "an objectionable heroine." She provides a foil to Elinor, and the sense

1. Her position is made much clearer in the second version, where the reader knows that her father intends F.J. to marry Fraunces.

2. E.A. Baker, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 28-29.

of irony which Gascoigne imparts to the whole story is increased by the suggestion that a more sensible man would have realised the relative worth of these two women, and chosen Fraunces.¹

Mr. Prouty is nearer to the truth when he notes that Fraunces "usually imparts an acid rather than a dulcet tone to her remarks,"² and that she, like Elinor, is an experienced courtier and woman of the world. The fact that in the "Pleasant Fable" (the second version of the tale) she dies pathetically of a "myserable consumption"³ should not blind the reader to the characteristics she reveals in the course of the story. She is a slightly enigmatic figure, who stimulates the reader's curiosity, - a welcome change from the all-too-transparent characters of most Elizabethan writers.

The general success of Gascoigne's characterisation lies largely in two factors, his interest in people and his mainly dramatic method of presentation. The caricature of the Secretary is, as noted before, a departure from his usual practice, as is this brief introduction to

1. See Gascoigne's comment on this, quoted above, p. 57.

2. George Gascoigne, p. 200.

3. The Posies of George Gascoigne, ed. J.W. Cunliffe, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1907, p. 453.

another minor figure:

"This dame had stufte in hir, an old courtier, and a wylie wench, whomefor this discourse I will name Pergo, least hir name natural were to brode before, and might not drinke of all waters."¹

There are also exceptional instances, as Mr. Prouty notes,² when Gascoigne has to revert to the more conventional method of describing a character's thoughts and feelings himself, because it is impossible to show them in speech. He only uses this means of presentation, however, where it is quite impracticable to portray the character dramatically, and when it is imperative to his purpose that certain thoughts or reactions should be made known to the reader. One such example occurs when F.J. is beginning to doubt Elinor, and is not yet ready to confide in Fraunces. On a great many occasions Fraunces, the confidante, is used as a means of allowing F.J. to unburden his thoughts, and this is by no means her slightest function in the story.

Enough, perhaps, has now been said to show that, in characterisation at least, "The Adventures of Master F.J." is a unique and original work. Its emphasis upon

1. A Hundreth sundrie Flowres, p. 87.

2. George Gascoigne, p. 205.

the psychological implications of actions, rather than the events themselves, is quite exceptional in early Elizabethan fiction. The integration of characters and background is another factor which helps to give an air of reality to the figures in this story; they live and love, hope and fear, against a convincingly and realistically presented background of the life of a provincial nobleman and his household. Many of the virtues of Gascoigne's story may be attributed to the fact that it was based on actual experience; this is more noticeable in the first version, and is somewhat obscured by the modifications and Italianate disguise in the "Pleasant Fable." The handling of the theme and characters is remarkably skilful as a transposition of an episode from real life into effective literature.

There is no characterisation that can bear comparison with that in "The Adventures of Master F.J." before the later works of Robert Greene and the novels of Thomas Deloney; as a work of the early years of Elizabeth's reign Gascoigne's tale remains a splendid exception. It is remarkable also in its moral neutrality at a time when most writers of fiction made much of their moral purpose in story-telling. This amoral attitude of Gascoigne's is not shared by Lyly, whose Euphues is exceptional in other ways; the didactic note is often

predominant, especially in the first part.

Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt, as was noted in the last chapter,¹ is in many ways akin to the literature of manners. The moral aim of this novel, as of many of the courtesy-books, may be expressed in the words of Spenser's Dedication to The Faerie Queene:

"The generall end therefore of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline: Which for that I conceived shoulde be most plausible and pleasing, being colored with an historicall fiction, the which for the most part men delight to read, rather for variety of matter then for profite of the ensample."

This moral purpose is the mainspring of Lyly's story, as the dominating interest in psychology was in Gascoigne's; this affects the characterisation in many ways. Lyly, like Gascoigne, is interested in revealing his hero's reactions to an unhappy love affair, but his concern is not merely to investigate fully the states of mind and feeling involved, but to draw a moral conclusion. Euphues' character, like F.J.'s, develops as a result of his infatuation for a worthless woman, and there is a certain resemblance between their reactions of disgust and dis-

1. See above, pp. 28 - 29.

illusionment, but whereas F.J., at the end of the "Pleasant Fable", becomes a cynical libertine, Euphues turns moral philosopher.

One of the impulses behind Lyly's novel is almost identical with Gascoigne's; that is, to prick the bubble of romance, and paint a picture of fashionable love in its true colours. Lyly depicts the rather empty life of courtiers, and his characters, unlike those of the romancers, are recognisable as inhabitants of the contemporary world. Although the first part of the story is set in Naples, in the second Euphues and Philautus travel to England, and the society portrayed is that of which Lyly had first-hand experience. Although there is little action in the story, particularly in the first part, Euphues is thus much closer to fulfilling the requirements of the novel than the numerous contemporary romances.

Euphues and Philautus are the only two characters who appear in both parts and can be regarded as the main figures. In Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt the interest centres on Euphues, and the development of his character through his relations with Lucilla and Philautus; in Euphues and his England Euphues recedes slightly into the background, and plays the part of onlooker and adviser to Philautus, who now takes the main rôle in the action. A considerable part of Euphues and his England is also devoted to the inset story told by Fidus of his love for

Iffyda.

Euphues is more credible as the frivolous young gallant than as the philosopher, but is not a sympathetic character in either rôle. His answer to the well-meant advice of old Eubulus¹ shows his early conceit and vanity, but his later letter to the old man on the death of his daughter is inhumanly priggish and self-consciously virtuous:

"Thou weepest for the deathe of thy daughter, & I laugh at the folly of the father, for greater vanitie is there in the minde of the mourner, then bitternesse in the deathe of the deceased, but she was anyable, but yet sinful, but she was young & might haue lyued, but she was mortall and must haue dyed. I but hir youth made thee often merry, I but thine age should once make thee wise, I but hir greene yeres wer vnfit for death, I but thy hoary haire shoulde dispise lyfe. . . Descende therefore into thine owne conscience consider the goodnesse that commeth by the ende, & the badnesse which was by y^e beginning, take y^e death of thy daughter patiently, and looke for thine own speedely, so shalt thou perfourme both the office of an honeste man, and the honour of an aged father, and so farewell."²

1. Works, ed. R.W.Bond, Vol. I, pp. 190 - 194.

2. Ibid., pp. 310 - 311.

Euphues' development, however, is consistent and convincing; first he turns from an idle, conceited youth to a traitor to his best friend, and the reader cannot help rejoicing, as Lyly doubtless intended, that he should be justly punished for his treachery by Lucilla's subsequent fickleness. The next stage is one of disgust and disillusionment, but, in accordance with human nature, the passage of time softens Euphues' cynicism, and leaves him a priggish, moralising mentor. In the self-opinionated young wit of the early pages can be seen the seeds of the self-opinionated philosopher of the latter part of the story: the progress is consistent and natural, and though the character is not pleasant, it is credible and convincing.

Philautus is a less fully conceived and presented figure. His rôle is largely that of foil to Euphues, and he represents the average man. Lucilla's deception does not have the same far-reaching effect on his character as on Euphues'; like any normal man, he suffers at first, but later gets over his disappointment. In spite of all Euphues' cautions and preaching, Philautus never learns to scorn love and ladies, and eventually marries Frauncis, a modest "Uiolet."

The minor characters are little more than type-figures, but they are well-presented, recognisable human types. Lucilla is the typical vain and heartless flirt, Eubulus

the wise old counsellor, Fidus and Iffyda the perfect types of romantic fidelity in love, and Frauncis of the modest and virtuous maiden.¹ All these sketches, in spite of much that is artificial, contain some touches of nature.

Lyly's style and methods of characterisation, unlike Gascoigne's, are not as original as his theme and approach, but are largely derivative and conventional. A great deal has been written about "Euphuism," and this is not the place for a detailed examination of it, more than to note that it was the culmination of the ornate, elaborate and highly artificial style affected by early Elizabethan prose writers such as George Pettie. It was not suited to the needs of narrative writing, and the artificiality of the style partly conceals the originality of what is said.²

Lyly's methods of presenting character were almost entirely limited to those rhetorical devices which were the stock-in-trade of the early story-tellers, and although he makes considerable use of dialogue, it is in general stilted and unlife-like. His style is extremely

1. It is interesting to note this identity of name in the virtuous heroines of Gascoigne's and Lyly's stories.

2. E.g., in the exchange of letters between Euphues and Philautus, Bond, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 233-236, or Philautus' expressions of annoyance at Euphues' continual preaching, ibid., Vol. II, pp. 14, 48, 83 and 92-94.

prolix, and the monologues and "passions" in which his characters frequently indulge often run into several pages of rhetorical argument, in which the core of feeling is largely obscured by the conventional manner of expression.¹ This is also true of the many letters which play a part in the story.² The one rhetorical device of which Lyly scarcely makes any use is the "descriptio." There are very few descriptive introductions, apart from the initial sketch of Euphues himself:

"There dwelt in Athens a young gentleman of great patrimonie, & of so comely a personage, that it was doubted whether he were more bound to Nature for the liniaments of his person, or to fortune for the encrease of his possessions. But Nature impatient of comparisons, and as it were disdainig a companion, or copartner in hir working, added to this comliness of his body suche a sharpe capacitie of minde, that not onely shee proued Fortune counterfaite, but was halfe of that opinion that she hir selfe was onely curreant. This younge gallant, of more wit then wealth, and yet of more wealth than wisdom, seeing himselfe inferiour to none in pleasant conceits, yet thought himselfe superiour to al in honest conditions,

1. See, e.g., Euphues' "passion" after his betrayal by Lucilla, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 240 - 242

2. E.g., the letters exchanged by Philautus and Camilla, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 123 - 141.

"insomuch y^t he deemed himselfe so apt to all things, that he gaue himselfe to nothing, but practising of those things comonly which are incident to these sharp wits, fine phrases, smoth quipping, merry taunting, vsing iesting without meane, & abusing mirth without measure."¹

There are, in contrast to the usual prolixity, occasional brisk transitional passages and incisive proverbial phrases.

Lyly's treatment of love, in spite of the originality of attitude, is extremely conventional in its presentation. He employs all the familiar devices of the early storytellers, and such incidents as the hiding of a letter in a book or a gift,² borrowed from the novella, and the discussion of questiones d'amore,³ borrowed from the courtesy-books.

Although Euphues may speak a strange language, he is a credible example of sixteenth-century man; he may be unsympathetic and tediously priggish, but he reacts to experience, and develops through those reactions, as do few other characters in early Elizabethan fiction.⁴ There is much that is stylised and artificial in Lyly's book, yet it undeniably marks an important advance towards convincing

1. Bond, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 184.

2. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 125 and 129

3. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 70-72.

4. Always excepting Gascoigne's "F.J."

characterisation. There is little sense of spontaneous life in Lyly's presentation of character, but he succeeds in conveying the personality of his hero, largely through Euphues' own words, stylised as they are. There is also a certain subtlety of attitude, especially in Euphues and his England, where Lyly is not altogether taking his hero seriously.

The phenomenal, if short-lived, success of Euphues begot many imitations, both of its style and of the career of its hero. Much artificiality of style is due to its influence, but, on the other hand, some advance in characterisation is gained, as the moralising, Euphuistic hero usually bears more resemblance to ordinary human beings than the romantic types of hero. Stories based on, or strongly influenced by Euphues include Anthony Munday's Zelauto (1580), Barnaby Riche's Don Simonides (1581-1584), Greene's Mamillia (1583-1593) and Arbasto (1584), Lodge's Euphues Shadow (1592) and John Dickenson's Arisbas (1594).

Both Lyly and Gascoigne made important early contributions to the development of characterisation, and it was unfortunate that later writers did not learn more from their examples. Gascoigne's only two imitators,¹

1. For a discussion of Gascoigne's influence on Whetstone and Grange, see Studies in Honor of A.H.R. Fairchild, ed. C.T. Prouty, Columbia, 1946, pp. 133-150.

Whetstone in his Rinaldo and Giletta and Grange in The Golden Aphroditis, missed the significance of "The Adventures of Master F.J.," and his original advances were not followed up. The influence of both these important books was largely lost in the flood of romantic fiction which poured forth in succeeding years. The fact that neither Lyly nor Gascoigne were influential in the desired direction cannot, however, detract from their own positive achievements.

CHAPTER IV.

ADVANCES IN VARIOUS DIRECTIONS;

RICHE AND LODGE.

In spite of these facts, however, one looks in vain for an impression of real life in their work; instead, one finds the bookishness so characteristic of the Elizabethan of the early efflorescence.

Riche produced, in addition to various works of social, political and military import, three works of prose fiction, each cast in a very different pattern, and each making a different contribution to the development of character portrayal. Two of his fictional works appeared in one year, 1581; these were Riche his Farewell to Militarie Profession, a collection of short stories

CHAPTER IV.

Two Elizabethan writers who were in advance of the average attainment in the presentation of character, although far below the standard set by Gascoigne, were Barnaby Riche and Thomas Lodge, both competent authors of several distinct types of fiction. It is interesting to note that both were, in different degrees, men of action. Riche was, at various times, a soldier, a Government spy, and an official in Ireland; Lodge, who came from a family of some consequence (his father, Sir Thomas Lodge, was Lord Mayor of London), journeyed to South America with Candish as a gentleman-adventurer, earned his living as a man of letters, and late in life turned to a new career and became a doctor of medicine. In spite of these facts, however, one looks in vain for an impression of real life in their work; instead, one finds the bookishness so characteristic of the Elizabethan of the early efflorescence.

Riche produced, in addition to various works of social, political and military import, three works of prose fiction, each cast in a very different pattern, and each making a different contribution to the development of character portrayal. Two of his fictional works appeared in one year, 1581; these were Riche his Farewell to Militarie Profession, a collection of short stories

of the novella type, and the first part of a long moral tale modelled on Euphues, entitled The strange and wonderful adventures of Dō Simonides. The year 1584 saw the publication of the second part of the latter work, The Second Tome of the Trauailēs and adventures of Don Simonides and probably also the composition of Riche's romance, The adventures of Brusanus Prince of Hungaria, which was not published until 1592.

In this order of composition, Riche's work exhibits a movement away from more natural characterisation, towards the more literary and conventional. The stories in the Farewell show Riche at his best as a teller of tales and creator of credible characters. In this collection Riche, like Painter and Fenton, pointed his stories with a moral, but his bent towards moralising is far more pronounced in the two parts of Don Simonides, in which, unlike so many followers of Lyly, he selects the matter and aims of Euphues for imitation, rather than the style. The Adventures of Brusanus is a romance with some affinities to the Peninsular cycles, but probably also indebted to Robert Greene.

The eight stories of the Farewell to Militarie Profession are drawn from various sources, but the majority are typically Italian in flavour, and deal with some aspect of the subject of love. "Apolonius and Silla" tells of the adventures of a disguised maiden in pursuit of the

man she loves, "Nicander and Lucilla" and "Fineo and Fiamma" of the conduct of lovers in the face of parental opposition, and "Gonsales and his Vertuous Wife Agatha" and "Phylotus and Emilia" of the difficulties of unequal marriages. Some of the stories recall the intricate plots of Byzantine romance; this is particularly true of "Sappho, Duke of Mantona"¹ and "Fineo and Fiamma".

There is one story, "Of two Brethren and their Wives", which is much more humorous and anti-romantic than any of the others in the collection. It is reminiscent of the native, Chaucerian manner of story-telling, and invites comparison with the admirable tale of Tomkins the Wheelwright, told by "Chaucer" in Greenes Vision. This belongs to the traditional jest-book type of story, and is also related to the large body of writings on the subject of the vices and virtues of women.

Although Riche, like other authors of novella-type stories, almost invariably gives his tales the names of the main characters as titles, his chief concern is with the telling of the tale and the pointing of the moral, not with the presentation of the characters. Where the exigencies of plot allow, however, he is

1. The story of Sappho is almost identical with that of an anonymous play, The Weakest Goeth to the Wall, published in 1600, but said to have been acted many times before this. In the absence of definite evidence, it seems more probable that the dramatist borrowed from the story-teller, both in this case and in the similar one of Riche's "Phylotus and Emilia" and Sir David Lyndsay's Philotus (1603).

capable of giving some excellent touches of nature to the figures in his stories. The romantic young lovers do not offer him much scope to display his talents, but even a story with such an intricate and complicated plot as "Sappho, Duke of Mantona" contains some comparatively natural dialogue between the boy Aurelianus and the Duke of Vasconia. This shows an attempt to exploit the pathos of the lost child, and some appropriate simplification of diction and ideas:

"Alas, my little boye, what makest thou in this place? art thou here alone, or how camest thou hether? I praie thee tell me. Forsothe, godfather (q. the child) I came hether with my father, who lyes a sleape here by, and I was seekyng somethyng to eate; for, by my troth, I am so a hongered, that I could eate worse meate then a peece of rosted pigge, and that with all my harte.

"The Duke greatly pleasuring to heare the pretie aunswere of the childe, replied in this wise: How saiest thou, my little knave, wilt thou be my boye, and dwelle with me? and I will give thee good meate thy beallie full. How saiest thou? wilt thou goe with me?

"Yea, forsoothe, godfather (q. the childe) on that condition you will give me roste meate enough, I will goe with you; for I thinke I did not eate my beallie full of roste meate this moneth and more."¹

1. Riche his Farewell to Militarie Profession, ed. J.P. Collier, Shakespeare Society, 1846, p. 28.

The humorous story of "Two Brethren and their Wives" is richer in characterisation than the more romantic tales. The first brother's wife, Mistress Doritie, reveals herself by her handling of her first lover, the Doctor; Riche's account shows some shrewd observation of the tactics of the experienced flirt, alternately encouraging and repulsing the admirer in order "to make hym the more eger."¹ Further insight is given when she takes a second lover, thinking that "store ~~was~~ no sore",² and then becomes angry when the two men are jealous and suspicious. She finally takes the characteristic step of abandoning them both for a soldier who helps her take her revenge on them. It seems a little out of character, however, although highly moral, that she should settle down and determine "to live orderly and faithfully with her ~~housband~~^{al} the rest of her life"³ merely because the soldier has to go off to the wars.

The second brother's wife does not provide so amusing a story, but gives Riche an opportunity of painting, not in the set terms of the descriptio, a lively caricature of a shrew.⁴

Riche shows in these stories that he can, when he allows himself the opportunity, portray fairly life-like characters. The method he uses is mainly that of description

1. Collier, op. cit., p. 130. 2. Ibid., p. 133.

3. Ibid., p. 154.

4. Ibid.

and comment, but he occasionally employs the more dramatic means of letting the figures reveal themselves. The Farewell to Militarie Profession is a mixture of convention and original observation.

Don Simonides is a longer and more sustained work than any single story in the Farewell, but the characterisation is, on the whole, less effective and certainly less lively. The first part of this narrative deals mainly with Simonides' love for a "faire damosel" named Clarinda, her refusal to marry him, and the beginning of his travels. The Second Tome recounts Simonides' journeys in search of wisdom and virtue, which give occasion for much moralising and philosophising.

The plot follows a regular pattern of journeys to various cities, diversified by an inset story or moral discourse, meetings with fresh moral counsellors and departures for another place. This structure provides Riche with many opportunities for moralising and criticising various vices and failings; it is this moralistic tendency, rather than great complexity of plot, which is the reason why so many of the figures are wooden and lifeless.

All the characters, apart from the hero, only make one brief appearance in the story, when Simonides meets them in the various cities he visits. The only character, therefore, to the portrayal of whom any considerable care and space are devoted is Simonides himself. He

resembles Euphues in his experiences and in his moral bias, but he is a Euphues shorn of his characteristic utterance, and at the same time of much of the courtliness and polish which Lyly's hero never entirely loses, even when he retires from worldly life. Simonides is essentially a serious character, and one which is taken seriously by his creator as a vehicle for moral instruction.

The character of Simonides is too narrow, too priggish and too lacking in vitality ever to take on flesh and blood, or fully to engage the reader's sympathies, and yet a clear impression of him remains after a reading of the book. He is a "flat" character, built upon one central idea emphasised out of all life-like proportions. This method of characterisation is not to be confused with the mechanical repetition of conventional types, for Simonides is a genuine creation of Riche's mind. There is a certain power in the character, as there is in the book as a whole, unequal though each is, which is indicative of a noble failure rather than a third-rate achievement.

Riche's last work of fiction to be published is a romance of hybrid nature. It has some of the characteristics of the Peninsular romance, but an even closer relationship to the romantic tales of Robert Greene, and in particular to his Gwydonius.¹ There are, in fact, whole paragraphs

1. For a more detailed examination of the relationship between Riche's Brusanus and Greene's Gwydonius, see the Appendix to Chapter IV.

in the early part of Riche's Brusanus that are identical in everything but proper names with certain passages at the beginning of Gwydonius. The more likely explanation of this seems to be that Riche borrowed from Greene; if this was indeed the case, he did not choose a model of great worth, and his own romance, which is both derivative and lifeless, is the least successful of his fictional works.

The sketches of the hero, his father and sister are lifted bodily out of Greene's pages, and Brusanus is a typical creation of Greene's pen, with strong likenesses to both Euphues and the Prodigal Son. He thus qualifies for one of the "conversions" which are among the more irresponsible of the romantic treatments of character. The conversion-motive had some moral or emotional reality for Greene, but Riche, though he borrows the crucial monologue in which the hero reflects on his mis-spent youth,¹ cannot, or at least, does not, motivate the conversion as convincingly as Greene does. At the end of a comedy one has to accept changes of heart and transferences of affection as necessary parts of the comic resolution, but in the middle of a story the duty of maintaining alter et idem imposes a strain on any fiction-writer with an artistic conscience. Riche

1. Barnaby Riche, The Adventures of Brusanus, 1592, p.10.

has none; in the latter part of the tale a totally new character, with the name of Brusanus, begins his career as the romantic hero. At the end, the inevitable happy ending is contrived by an unmotivated, but highly convenient transference of Dorestus' affections from the heroine, Moderna, to Brusanus's sister.

Riche's three works of fiction provide material for an interesting study of three distinct types of story which were in vogue at the time, each of which contains a different kind of character. There is nothing of outstanding originality or value in the characterisation, but Riche was capable, when opportunity afforded, of creating credible human figures, and of revealing personality through dialogue which is rather more natural than that in most contemporary fiction. He contrived to impart a touch of his own personality to some of his characters, especially Simonides, and it is perhaps this fact more than any other which makes this character strangely compelling.

The general standard of Lodge's work is higher than Riche's, and his characterisation, at its best, is more successful. Although he wrote several derivative romances, Lodge made a valuable contribution towards the humanising of romance and romantic characters, and he was also the first to experiment in fiction based on the lives of historical figures.

Lodge's first volume of fiction (1584) contained two very dissimilar types of story, the Heliodorean romance Forbonius and Prisceria, discussed in an earlier chapter,¹ and An Alarum against Usurers, a precursor of Greene's "Conny-catching Pamphlets". The Alarum is the more interesting of the two from the point of view of characterisation; there is some opportunity to use actual observation of life and people in this cautionary tale, but Lodge's style (unlike that of Greene's pamphlets) is literary and artificial. The sketch of the broker seeking out his victim and accosting him with plausible talk,² very similar to Greene's accounts of the "setters" and "versers" at work, is quite convincing and life-like, and the subsequent career of the young man, encouraged in profligacy by the broker,³ and ensnared by a typical courtesan, "Mistres Minxe",⁴ is credibly, if not very vividly, traced. The tale is more conventional and in many ways less successful than Greene's pamphlets, but it must be remembered that it was Lodge who first broke this new ground, and "the secret of realism was not discovered at once."⁵

1. See above, pp. 38 - 39.

2. An Alarum, ed. E. Gosse, Hunterian Club, 1883, p. 16.

3. Ibid., p. 17.

4. Ibid., pp. 17 - 18.

5. H.V. Routh, Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. IV, Ch. XVI, p. 364.

It was some time before Lodge made any further steps in the direction of realism. His next fictional work was another romance, Rosalynde (1590), followed by a pseudo-biographical tale, The Historie of Robert Second Duke of Normandy (1591), and a further romantic story, modelled on the work of Lyly, entitled Euphues Shadow (1592). Lodge's second attempt at a realistic tale of London life was William Long beard (1593), one of the first precursors of the historical novel. His last narrative, A Margarite of America (1596), marked a return to romance. Some of Lodge's moral and satirical pamphlets, although not strictly fictional works, yet contain some interesting character-drawing which makes them worth study in this context.

Lodge's fiction may be conveniently divided into two categories: romantic and non-romantic; all his stories except An Alarum and William Long beard can be classified as romantic. Euphues Shadow, the second of his imitative tales, is represented as "shapen out" by Philautus for the edification of his sons. In this way Lodge makes his debt to Lyly quite plain, and his story is indeed but a "shadow" of Euphues. The plot is identical with Lyly's, except that Harpaste (the counterpart of Lucilla in Euphues) never wins Philamis' affections, and finally returns to her first love, his friend Philamour. Another

(Euphues Shadow, ed. 2. Gosse, p. 9.)

woman, Eurinome, is the one to disillusion Philamis. The characters, as well as the plot, are very similar to Lyly's, and the conventional descriptio which introduces Philamis¹ reads like another description of Euphues. This work is merely a competent pastiche, and there is no attempt on Lodge's part to make the characters more than lay-figures re-enacting the story of Euphues.

Rosalynde, like Euphues Shadow, is described as a story intended for Philautus' sons; its title-page states that it is "Euphues golden legacie: found after his death in his Cell at Silexedra. Bequeathed to Philautus Sonnes nursed vp with their father in England." This and the Euphuistic style are, however, the only connections with Lyly's novel; the plot and characters of Rosalynde are very different.

This, Lodge's second romance in order of composition, is an excellent example of what an English writer could achieve by assimilating and modifying what he learnt from foreign romancers. Lodge has taken some of the data of Byzantine romance - the tyrannical usurper and banished ruler, the maid disguised as a boy, the adventures with wild beasts and fierce outlaws, and blended them with native strains; by this process of integration, and by

1. Thomas Lodge, Euphues Shadow, 1592, sig. B 1.
(Euphues Shadow, ed. E. Gosse, p. 9.)

skilful characterisation, Lodge has produced an extremely successful romance, with more warmth and humanity, and less artificiality than any other of the period.

The most noteworthy point about the characterisation in Rosalynde, apart from its comparative naturalness, is the remarkable number of different relationships that are portrayed. Mr. Paradise describes the work as "essentially an intellectual presentation of the emotion of love under various aspects",¹ but this does not convey an accurate impression of the warmth of Lodge's treatment of the relationship between Rosader and Adam Spencer, or of the affection of Rosalynde and Alinda. Most romancers contented themselves with depicting the love-relationship of courtship, with the possible addition of the conventional stern father's tyranny over his child, or rivalry between lovers. In Rosalynde, Lodge sketches the relationships between brothers, cousins, rivals, master and servant, two pairs of lovers, two fathers and daughters and two rulers and their courtiers. Other writers, with a plot which offered similar possibilities, would not have paid as much attention to the emotional implications of each situation as Lodge has done here. This may well have been one of the features which attracted Shakespeare.

1. N. Burton Paradise, Thomas Lodge. The History of an Elizabethan, New Haven, 1931, p. 86.

It is in the delineation of the affection between the cousins, Rosalynde and Alinda, and of the relationship between Adam Spencer and his old master's sons that Lodge's presentation adds most to the traditional, romantic outlines. As a lover, Rosader is little more than a conventional hero; in his dealings with his brother Saladyne and with old Adam, however, Lodge is concerned to reveal fresher and warmer moral content. It is Rosader's generous, trustful nature that allows him to be kept down by his brother as a boy, and later to be taken in repeatedly by Saladyne's feigned friendship. These qualities are, indeed, still treated with romantic simplification; it is only after Saladyne has made him captive while asleep, tied him to a post and tried to starve him to death, that the ingenuous Rosader finally realises that his brother cannot be trusted.

Rosader's courage is shown by his victory over the giant wrestler,¹ his almost single-handed fight against Saladyne and his followers,² his attack on the lion³, and battle with the outlaws. To this is added proof of magnanimity in the incident of his fight with the lion which is about to attack the sleeping Saladyne. His remembrance of his brother's many treacheries causes

1. Rosalynde, ed. E.Gosse, Hunterian Club, pp. 23 - 24

2. Ibid., pp. 52 - 53

3. Ibid., p. 85

him at first, very naturally, to intend leaving his enemy to his fate,¹ but his better nature triumphs, and he risks his life for Saladyne. The reconciliation, this time genuine, between the brothers, rejoices Rosader's heart, and he generously utters not a word of reproach.² Another incident, concerning Adam Spencer, also gives an indication of Rosader's true worth. When he finds Gerismond's court in the forest, he will not eat, although starving, until he has brought Adam, on his back, to take first place.³

Adam's conflicting loyalties after the death of his beloved master, Sir John of Bordeaux, are well suggested. He plays a large part in persuading Rosader to become reconciled with Saladyne,⁴ because he wishes the brothers to uphold the honour of the house and their father's memory. When Saladyne's treachery is fully established, however, Adam's love for his old master urges him to help the wronged and captive Rosader, and from this time onwards he devotes himself whole-heartedly to Rosader's cause. The most notable proof of his devotion is his chivalrous offer of his own life to

1. Gosse, op. cit., p. 84

2. Ibid., p. 89 - 18

3. Ibid., p. 56 - 57

4. Ibid., p. 27

save Rosader's:

"Master (quoth hee) you see we are both in one predicament, and long I cannot liue without meate, seeing therefore we can find no foode, let the death of the one preserue the life of the other. I am olde, and ouerworne with age, you are young, and are the hope of many honours: let me then die, I will presently cut my veynes, & master with the warmebloud relieue your fainting spirits."¹

Saladyne, before his change of heart, is a consistently conceived villain - selfish, treacherous, ambitious and domineering, but cowardly at heart. His monologue after his father's funeral² reveals something of his conflicting thoughts and feelings, and the final triumph of his selfish desires over his conscience shows the bent of his character. Lodge is here using the convention of the "passion" to reveal character, as Greene does in his stories. It is Saladyne's self-seeking ambition which dictates his tyranny over his young brother,³ and his essential cowardice is shown by his flight from Rosader,⁴ and by the treacherous stratagems he employs in his attempts to rid himself of his brother.

1. Gosse, op. cit., p. 56

2. Ibid., pp. 15 - 16

3. Ibid., p. 17

4. Ibid., p. 18

5. Ibid., p. 35.

Saladyne is, in short, a disagreeable but consistently drawn type as long as he remains a villain. His repentance, however, is no more convincing than other romantic conversions. The "complaint"¹ in which he repents and resolves to make amends to his brother is more conventional and less revealing than his earlier monologue, and there seems little reason why he should suddenly repent at that particular moment. After his change of heart he bears no resemblance to the character he was; not only does he beg his brother's forgiveness, but the former coward rescues Rosader from a band of fierce outlaws.

Rosalynde and Alinda, like Sidney's Pamela and Philoclea, are effectively differentiated. Rosalynde is the gayer, bolder, more dominant personality of the two; she takes the lead in most practical matters,² and enjoys masquerading as a page and carrying a rapier.³ She has a playful disposition, and delights in teasing both her cousin and Rosader. In her character of Ganymede she speaks slightingly of those "mad cattle", women, and wittily defends herself against Aliena's reproaches:

"Thus (quoth Ganymede) I keepe decorum, I speake

1. Gosse, op. cit., pp. 59 - 60

2. E.g., in planning the journey to the forest, ibid., pp. 35-36.

3. Ibid., p. 35.

"now as I am Alienas page, not as I am Gerismonds daughter: for put me but into a petticoate, and I will stand in defiance to the vttermost that women are courteous, constant, vertuous, and what not."¹

Alinda (Aliena) is a more retiring, gentler maiden, and acts as a foil to Rosalynde, although she too occasionally indulges in good-natured raillery at her cousin's expense. Each heroine is loyal and loving, both to cousin and lover. Just as Rosader is more of an individual in his relations with his brother and Adam than as the lover of Rosalynde, so Rosalynde and Alinda are more natural in each other's company than in that of their lovers. The scene where Alinda pleads against her father's sentence of exile on Rosalynde, and then chooses to share her banishment rather than be separated from her,² is particularly effective as revealing the strength of affection between the cousins.

The lighter side of their relationship is shown in their good-humoured banter, such as Aliena's raillery at Ganymede's desire to rise early in the hope of seeing her beloved,³ and Ganymede's turning of the tables on

1. Gosse, op. cit., p. 37

2. Ibid., pp. 31 - 33

3. Ibid., pp. 68 - 69

a later occasion.¹ Rosalynde, more than Alinda, retains much of her individuality in her relations with her lover, partly because she is disguised as a boy, and not recognised by him. As Ganymede, she teases Rosader about his devotion to his beloved, suggests he should transfer his affections to Aliena,² play-acts the role of "Rosalynde", and goes through a mock-marriage with him.³ Disguise, therefore, is used by Lodge to procure release for natural spirits, and not merely as a convenient means of allowing the heroine some independence of action. This importation of wit and raillery into courtship is new; Rosalynde is one of the first predominantly gay and witty heroines in English fiction, and marks a significant departure from romantic stock-types.

Even the minor characters, such as Montanus, Phoebe and Coridon are effectively sketched in this romance. Lodge's rustics are not so crude and humorous as Greene's; they are credible human beings, and the old shepherd Coridon is a particularly pleasing character. The description of his appearance on the wedding-morning, "in his holiday sute meruailous seemely", is one of the most vivid and delightful pen-pictures in Elizabethan fiction.⁴

1. Gosse, op. cit., p. 97.

2. Ibid., pp. 62 - 71

3. Ibid., p. 81

4. Ibid., pp. 126 - 127

The heroine of Lodge's last romance, A Margarite of America, is less human and appealing than the two charming maidens in Rosalynde. Margarite is a more conventional type of heroine, but she has an unusual touch of pathos lent her by her sufferings. It is very seldom that a heroine in Elizabethan romance comes to an unhappy end without having won the man she loves, as happens to Margarite. She is naively innocent and trusting, and entirely free from the coquetry which many heroines display before eventually admitting their love. First in obedience to the peace terms and her father's wishes,¹ and then in accordance with her own romantic inclinations,² she thinks of Arsadachus as her destined husband, and falls in love with him before she has even seen him.

The growth of Margarite's affections, her alternating hopes and fears, are delicately traced³ and touched with slight pathos, which is particularly noticeable in the suggestion of foreboding in her farewell to Arsadachus before his return to Cusco:

"With these words Arsadachus was ready to take his leaue. When Margarita presaging the mischiefe that was to follow; casting her armes about his necke, gaue him this sorrowfull adue.

1. A Margarite of America, ed. E. Gosse, Hunterian Club, 1883, p. 8.

2. Ibid., p. 12

3. See especially ibid., pp. 20, 33-34, 49 and 57

"Since my misgiuing mind assureth me of my succeeding harme: ah suffer me (sweet prince) to embrace that which I neuer heereafter shall beholde and looke vpon."¹

Margarite's strong, loyal and self-forgetful love explains how she is made use of by Arsadachus for his own ends,² and why she takes her secret journey to Cusco to find him. She is presented as a character whose affections bring about her destruction, through no real fault of her own; this is a type which is not at all common in the fiction of the period, although often found in the drama. If the character were more sustained and developed, Margarite could become a tragic figure; as it is, she is pathetic, but too slight in stature fully to engage the reader's sympathies.

The hero-villain, Arsadachus, is also more akin to dramatic characters than those of contemporary fiction. The villain as hero is extremely rare in Elizabethan fiction, apart from the occasional treacherous lover or jealous husband of novella-type stories, and it is remarkable that three of these rare phenomena should occur in the works of Lodge, in the persons of Arsadachus, Robert, Second Duke of Normandy, and William Long beard.

Arsadachus is a typical dramatic villain of the

1. Gosse, op. cit., p. 62

2. Ibid., pp. 33 - 34

"Machiavellian" type, and it seems highly probable that Lodge (who was, like Greene, a dramatist as well as a story-teller) imported the main lines of his character from the theatre. If, as has been suggested,¹ this romance is based on a Spanish play, the influence of dramatic character-types on the delineation of both hero and heroine would be easily explained. Although he is a dramatic type, Arsadachus is mainly presented not in dramatic, but in conventional terms, such as those of the initial descriptio,² which recalls both Lyly and Greene.

Robert, Second Duke of Normandy, is, in the early pages of his story, an even more exaggeratedly evil character than Arsadachus. For the main lines of this figure Lodge drew, not upon drama, but the popular chap-book of the life of Robert the deuyll, supposedly based on the actual career of either the first or the second Duke of Normandy.³ The story is extremely didactic in tone, and emphasises the sharp contrast between Robert's early and seemingly irredeemable wickedness, and his complete conversion. This pattern, and also the many nuns, friars and other religious figures, including

1. By G.B.Harrison in the Introduction to his edition of Greene's "Menaphon" and Lodge's "A Margarite of America", Oxford, 1927.

2. Gosse, op. cit., p. 19

3. See N.B.Paradise, op. cit., p. 93, for discussion of history v. folk-tale in the composition of the legend.

the Pope, who play parts in the story, point to links with mediaeval Saints' Lives. Romantic episodes in the latter part of the narrative have affinities with mediaeval romances, and no likenesses to Byzantine or Peninsular works.

The extravagances in the depiction of Robert's character are typical of hagiology rather than romance; this is an impediment to natural characterisation not hitherto encountered in Elizabethan fiction. Many writers had conceived their characters as moral examples, and traced their careers with a definite didactic motive, but none had indulged in the description of portents, prodigies and miracles as Lodge does in this tale. The birth of Robert is preceded by frightful portents, and the baby is born complete with teeth.¹ It is hinted that he is a kind of devil incarnate, for before his conception his mother Editha, in lamenting her barrenness, had called upon the Devil to send her a child if God would not.²

The youth and manhood of Robert live up to the portents of his birth; there is only one occasion when he shows any normal human feeling, and that is when his mother pleads with him to reform, on the night

1. The Famous, true and historical life of Robert second Duke of Normandy, ed. E. Gosse, Hunterian Club, 1883, p. 11.

2. Ibid., p. 9

before he is knighted.¹ The same night, however, he reverts to form, and rapes a young nun. One is prepared for his ultimate conversion, however, by the description of his appearance and of his valour,² which befit the romantic hero rather than the villain.

Robert's repentance, after he has been wounded in a fight, is conventionally sudden and complete, and religious feeling plays a much greater part in it than in the repentance of Saladyne. Robert's conversion is continued by confession to a hermit, pilgrimage to Rome and the acceptance of certain penances. As so often happens in these cases, the penitent Robert is a totally different character from the wicked youth he had been; the depths of depravity have been exchanged for the heights of virtue. This great contrast was no doubt highly effective for Lodge's didactic purpose, and quite acceptable to contemporary readers in the context. The second Robert is a combination of Saint and mediaeval romantic hero of the Sir Gowther type.

The third of Lodge's villain-heroes is a much more down-to-earth figure than the designedly unrealistic Robert. William Long beard, like Robert, was based on

1. Gosse, op. cit., p. 17

2. Ibid., p. 28.

a historical figure, but one of a very different kind. In this case Lodge drew his material from the chronicles of Stow and Grafton,¹ and based his character on a real man who lived and died in twelfth-century London. Although the book of William Long beard is hastily written and not well constructed, the character of William is one of the most interesting in Lodge's fictional works. Some feeling of real life and its struggles, lacking in his more romantic tales, can be felt in this account of the career of a popular rebel.

There appears to be some ambiguity in Lodge's attitude towards his central character; most of the time William is presented as a wicked, unscrupulous, self-seeking adventurer, but occasionally Lodge seems to forget this conception, and shows him as a genuine champion of the poor and oppressed. William is thus a more complex, if less completely integrated character than Lodge's other villains. William Long beard is an interesting work because it is one of the earliest examples of the historical novel, in which the author builds up his most important figures on the known facts about actual men and women, interpreted and amplified by his imagination. The imaginary episodes are those which concern William's

1. See Richard Grafton, A Chronicle at large, 1569, pp. 91-92 and John Stow, The Annales of England, 1592, pp. 233-234 for entries dealing with the career of William.

romance with the fair Maudeline, and his tricks on courtiers. The incidents dealing with his plot against his brother, his work among the poor, and the murder of his rival in love, together with the account of his flight to Bow church, are all grounded in fact. Considerable care is devoted to lending the narrative an air of historical validity by frequent references to the dates of well-known events.¹

The character of William emerges from Stow's Annales as that of a thoroughly unscrupulous criminal, who stirred up the discontent of the people for his own selfish ends. Stow explicitly calls him "this counterfait friend to the poore",² and gives an unprepossessing picture of his appearance:

"William fitz Osbert a citizen of London, poore in degree, euill faouered of shape, but yet very eloquent."³

Grafton's portrait of William is more like Lodge's, and reveals something of the same inconsistency of attitude; Grafton is not so outspoken in denigration as Stow, and dwells more on William's actions as a political agitator than as a criminal. His sketch of William says that:

"He was quicke of witte, and somethyng learned, bolde of speche, and graue of countenance."⁴

1. E.g. reference to Richard I's reconciliation with John, "in the eight yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord 1197", (William Long beard, ed. ~~J.F. Collier, 1860, p.8.~~ E. Gosse, 1883, p 7.

2. Stow, op. cit., p. 234.

3. Ibid., p. 233

4. Grafton, op. cit., p. 91

It is unlikely that a Tudor chronicler would do other than condemn such a revolutionary figure as William, whatever his opinion of the rebel's personal character. There is, however, more sympathy in Grafton's account than in Stow's, although they both drew their material from the same source, Reynulph. The inconsistency of Lodge's attitude to William might be partly explained if he used Grafton as his main source.

Lodge's narrative (quite apart from the additional "Histories" published in the same volume) is lacking in construction and unity. The various episodes of William's career are told as separate stories, each with its own title, and the tone varies greatly from one to another. The account of William's wooing of Maudeline is romantic, that of his aid to Peter Nowlay's widow naturalistic, and the story of "How William with the long beard behaved himselfe towards the Courtiers" is reminiscent of nothing more than a jest-book anecdote. The characterisation is inevitably affected by these changes of tone; it is this and the ambiguity of attitude already mentioned which prevent William being shown as the vital and compelling character he could have been.

It is in the accounts of William's political activities that the ambiguity of Lodge's presentation is to be felt. The author's explicit attitude to this side of William's career is early expressed:

"In wit he was pregnant, in publike affaires

"pollitike; in reuenges constant, in speeches affable, in countenance graue, in apparẽll gorgeous; yea so cunning was he to insinuate himselfe among the Commons, that, as the report went, he had more Prentises clubs at his command, then the best Courtier had seruants to attend him." ¹

It is also reiterated when Lodge draws a moral conclusion from William's final confession.² In many of the intervening episodes, however, although Lodge often remembers to slip in a few words of censure,³ the actions of William speak louder than the author's words. In the account of the affair of Peter Nowlay's widow especially,⁴ William appears as a true friend of the poor, in direct contrast to the villain of the piece, Robert Besaunt, one-time bailiff of London, and his last speech,⁵ before his confession, is particularly effective and noble in sentiment. In fact, Lodge has been so successful in reproducing William's famous eloquence that the character's speeches are more telling than the author's comments, and William, the popular rebel, at times gains the reader's sympathies, in spite of Lodge's avowed didactic aim. With all its faults

1. Gosse, op. cit., p. 7.

2. Ibid., pp. 33 - 34.

3. E.g. ibid., pp. 8 - 9.

4. Ibid., pp. 13 - 16.

5. Ibid., pp. 31 - 33.

and inconsistencies, this portrait has interest and vitality, and the language of much of William's speech and other dialogue¹ is simpler and more natural than in Lodge's other works.

Lodge's moral pamphlets are not fictional works, but they contain some interesting examples of his character-drawing. Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse (1596) in particular contains instances of "Character" writing, not found to a very great extent in his fictional works. The allegorical personifications of the "seuen capitall sinnes", each presented as a "Deuil incarnat", have much in common with Greene's sketches of such figures as Valdracko, Gradosso and Pandosto, although Lodge pays much more attention to the details of appearance than Greene does.²

Lodge was not as skilled in the portrayal of character as Gascoigne or Greene, because he did not possess the same degree of insight into the inner workings of the human heart and mind. His most completely successful work was Rosalynde, in which all the characters are well drawn, although to a slight extent limited by romantic conventions. In realistic works, he was not so successful,

1. E.g. dialogue of Besaunt and Nowlay's widow, Gosse, op. cit., pp. 12 - 13.

2. The attention to external appearance recalls the sketches of the apparitions in Chettle's Kind-Hartes Dreame.

partly because he never entirely cast off the artificialities of his ornate, Euphuistic style. Lodge, like Riche, never succeeded in drawing a fully-developed, consistent portrait of a convincingly life-like character, although there are many natural touches in several of his figures. His main contributions to the development of character-portrayal lie in his humanisation of romantic figures, and his experiments in the creation of fictional characters based on historical people.

Scarcely one of the fictional works of either Lodge or Riche repeats another in type, yet there is no impression of deliberate experimentation, nor the signs of any desire to extend the techniques of character-drawing. They exemplify the search for new material, from which new blendings and some unplanned variety resulted. Some fresh potentialities for character-delineation are uncovered, as it were by accident, and where the author finds himself in harmony with his temporarily adopted subject, a measure of original success may be achieved.

Psychical connections in his past life,
(Psychicist, pp. 26 & 27)

There is also a general similarity between the beginning and ends of the careers of the two heroes, including the double weddings of the heroes and their sisters which conclude both romances. The intervening

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV

The relation of Barnaby Riche's Brusanus Prince of Hungaria

to Robert Greene's Gwydonius. The Carde of Fancie.

There are, near the beginning of these two romances, several passages, identical in wording except for the proper names. They vary in length from a few lines to whole paragraphs, and are to be found as follows:-

- (1) Description of Myletto, his son and daughter,
(Brusanus, 1592, pp. 1 - 2)

and

description of Clerophontes, (Gwydonius, Works of Robert Greene, ed. A.B. Grosart, Vol. IV, pp. 11 - 12) his son, Gwydonius (Ibid., p. 12) and his daughter, Lewsippa (Ibid., p. 12)

- (2) Parts of Myletto's exhortations to Brusanus,
(Brusanus, pp. 3 - 5)

and

parts of Clerophontes' advice to Gwydonius,
(Gwydonius, pp. 18 - 23)

- (3) Brusanus' reflections on past folly,
(Brusanus, p. 10)

and

Gwydonius' meditations on his past life,
(Gwydonius, pp. 26 - 27)

There is also a general similarity between the beginnings and ends of the careers of the two heroes, including the double weddings of the heroes and their sisters which conclude both romances. The intervening

adventures, though not dissimilar, are not strikingly alike.

The identical passages noted above show beyond question that there was borrowing by one author from the other. In this instance, in spite of Greene's notorious aptitude for borrowing from both his own and others' works, the available evidence seems to indicate that it was Riche who was indebted to Greene.

The fact that Gwydonius was entered on the Stationers' Register on 11th April, 1584, and published in the same year (Grosart was mistaken in calling the edition of 1587 the "earliest known"), whereas the title-page of Riche's romance (published in 1592, the year of Greene's death) merely says vaguely that it was written "seauen or eight years sithence", i.e. in 1584 or 1585, means that although Greene's work was easily available to Riche from 1584 onwards, Riche's tale was, during Greene's life-time, unwritten or still in manuscript.

Probability, therefore, in the lack of any evidence that Greene had access to Riche's manuscripts, is strongly on the side of Riche being the borrower. The facts that Brusanus was published so long after its postulated date of composition, that Riche was not more precise in giving the year in which it was written, and that he published it in 1592 after the death of Greene (Greene died on 3rd

September, and Brusanus was entered on the Stationers' Register on 23rd October), add weight to this opinion.

CHAPTER V.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARACTERISATION IN THE

FICTION OF ROBERT GREENE.

The central classes of the libertine in private life and Greene the moralist in letters has often been commented upon. M. René Pruvost sees him as torn between the conflicting tendencies of the Reformation and the Renaissance,² and Dr. John Clark Jordan, among others, has drawn attention to Greene's subservience to literary fashion and custom.³ While it would be out of place here

1. For a full, classified list of Greene's fiction, see Appendix to Chapter V.

2. René Pruvost, Robert Greene et ses Romans, Paris, 1938, pp. 40 and 557-558.

3. J.C. Jordan, Robert Greene, New York, 1915, pp. 45-50 and 80-83.

CHAPTER V.

The most prolific of Elizabethan story-tellers was Robert Greene, who produced, in addition to several plays and pamphlets, over twenty full-length works of fiction, either in the form of sustained narratives or of collections of short stories.¹ It can also be claimed that he wrote in more modes and styles of fiction than any other contemporary writer, and that his work thus illustrates almost the whole range of different types of story written during the period. Not only does his work exemplify practically all that had been current, but it also initiates much that was to become important; it is particularly valuable because it illustrates the turn towards realism that took place at the end of Elizabeth's reign.

The contrast between Greene the libertine in private life and Greene the moralist in letters has often been commented upon. M. René Pruvost sees him as torn between the conflicting tendencies of the Reformation and the Renaissance,² and Dr. John Clark Jordan, among others, has drawn attention to Greene's subservience to literary fashion and custom.³ While it would be out of place here

1. For a full, classified list of Greene's fiction, see Appendix to Chapter V.

2. René Pruvost, Robert Greene et ses Romans, Paris, 1938, pp. 40 and 557-558.

3. J.C. Jordan, Robert Greene, New York, 1915, pp. 45-50 and 80-83.

to enter into a detailed analysis of Greene's character, it is impossible wholly to ignore the personality of the man himself, as certain traits and tendencies had a profound effect on his work as a writer, and, in particular, on his conception and presentation of character.

Almost all Greene's work has a marked moral tone; in an age when most fiction-writers paid lip-service, at least, to the canons of morality, his care to make his stories point always to the right way of behaviour seems to spring from genuine conviction, rather than mere conformity to pattern. In fact, this moral aim sometimes blends oddly with the desire to achieve popular success by writing in the mode of the moment; as M. Pruvost puts it:

"L'histoire de sa carrière littéraire est de ce point de vue celle d'une série d'oscillations entre le souci d'enseigner et de moraliser et le détachement artistique qui est la marque propre de l'esprit de la Renaissance."¹

The general trend of Greene's work, in order of composition, is away from the conventional and romantic towards the natural and realistic, and it is possible to trace the development of his portrayal of character along the same line. Many character-types found in the early romances reappear in later works; they are essentially the same, but are presented with greater naturalness.

1. Pruvost, op. cit., p. 457.

Even at the beginning of his career, he shows more concern to establish the characteristics of the figures in his tales than did the average contemporary romancer, although at this time the only means it occurred to him to use were the conventional rhetorical devices. His experience of writing stories, and his tendency to concern himself more and more with the stuff of life, gradually affected Greene's methods of character-presentation, and in his late works he achieved some convincing portraits of life-like characters.

In his early romances, however, the characterisation is largely superficial. He makes copious use of the familiar stock-in-trade of the fashionable story-teller, but nevertheless he does at times strive to use these conventions as a means of revealing character. In his first works he was feeling his way forward, but even here there are signs of a genuine insight beneath the spate of rhetoric.¹ As he gained confidence in the handling of his medium, Greene breathed new life into the "passions", discourses and dialogues, and, as Dr. Jordan points out,² these monologues and meditations, artificial though they were in expression, were yet signs of an interest in human personality and of an effort to express it. He later

1. e.g., in Castania's "passion" in prison, Gwydonius, Works of Robert Greene, ed. A.B.Grosart, London, 1881 - 1886, Vol. IV, pp. 169-170. All references to Greene's works are to this edition.

2. Jordan, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

learnt to combine these self-confessions with revelation through speech and action, and thus to develop the means of presenting more natural-seeming characters.

It is interesting and valuable, therefore, to trace the development of Greene's characterisation of types which recur from his earliest story, Mamillia, to his last, Greenes Groats-Worth of witte. Two of his favourite figures are the constant, loving and long-suffering heroine and the weak and faulty, but finally repentant, hero. These types are found together in Mamillia and Pharicles, Castania and Gwydonius, and Isabel and Francesco in Neuer too late and Francescos Fortunes. The hero alone is exemplified by Philador in Greenes Mourning Garment and Roberto in Greenes Groats-Worth of witte, and the heroine by Susannah in The Myrroure of Modestie, Myrania in Arbasto, the virtuous women portrayed in Penelopes Web, - particularly by Barmenissa - Bellaria in Pandosto, Melissa in Perimedes' second tale, Theodora in Gower's Tale in Greenes Vision and Philomela in the late romance of that name.

The figure of the loyal, self-effacing and patient woman is one that can be traced far back in literature. The type, not unknown in real life, doubtless reflects by its frequent recurrence in fiction much wishful thinking on the subject of the perfect wife. Many of Greene's heroines bear more than a superficial resemblance to the Patient

Griselda of mediaeval story,¹ and there is an even older variation of the same type in the Biblical story of Susannah and the Elders, re-told by Greene in his Myrroure of Modestie. In Greene's two earliest romances, Mamillia and Gwydonius, the type is modified by the influence of Heliodorus, and the heroines inherit some of the resource and initiative of Chariclea.

M. Pruvost notes the interesting fact that the early heroines of this type are all maidens, whereas the later figures are almost invariably married.² He also works out a plausible theory of the effects of Greene's marriage on his portrayal of feminine character;³ he believes that the maiden-heroines (Mamillia, Publia, Castania) are Greene's youthful idealisations of woman, that the vain and heartless figures like Rhodope, Lyndana and many others are the result of his disillusionment by marriage, and that the later series of gentle, obedient wives are his pictures of what woman should be, drawn in the light of his distaste for what his own wife actually was. This interpretation, if it is correct, would help to explain the frequent recurrence of the type, and the singular fact that almost all the later examples are married.

1. Especially Barmenissa, Bellaria and Philomela.

2. Pruvost, op. cit., p. 271.

3. Ibid., pp. 244 - 247.

Many other writers have commented upon the charm of Greene's heroines, which Dr. Jordan believes to result more from Greene's process of idealisation than from any "depth of portraiture".¹ It is true that the early heroines are drawn in mainly conventional lines, but even they are given some definite characteristics and are made more consistent than most romantic heroines of the period. Later figures, such as Sephestia (Samela), Fawnia, Isabel and Philomela, have similar distinctive traits, and are portrayed with greater penetration and in more life-like terms. It is the charm of this succession of girls and women that calls forth the reader's admiration, and this charm would not be felt if the characters were not convincingly portrayed.

In Greene's first romance, the courtship of Mamillia and Pharicles is recounted entirely by means of a series of rhetorical discourses, monologues and letters, which do little to reveal the essential character of either the hero or the heroine; the same process is repeated when Pharicles woos Publia. The real nature of Mamillia is shown by her journey to Sicily in search of her lover, her rescue and forgiveness of him. Publia's character is shown by her renunciation of any claim to Pharicles'

1. Jordan, op. cit., p. 51.

1. Noted above, p. 111.

love, and subsequent withdrawal to a convent. The "passions" succeed in expressing something of what the speaker is thinking and feeling at a particular moment, but Greene has not yet learnt to reveal the salient traits of character demonstrated by such reactions. Castania's monologue¹ expressing her doubts and fears in prison, although it is couched in similarly artificial language, yet allows more of the essential features of the character to show through the rhetoric.

The most human and sympathetic of Greene's loving and suffering heroines is Isabel in Neuer too late and Francescos Fortunes. This story is not a romance; the romantic beginning (the courtship and elopement in face of parental opposition) soon gives way to a picture of humble, if idyllic, married life, to be followed by an account of Francesco's temptation and fall. Isabel's character is shown in all her actions, - for instance, in her marriage to Francesco and her attitude to their resultant poverty, when he taught in a school and she "fell to her needle".

In sharp contrast to these early episodes, which show Isabel happy in her love, willing to work and suffer hardship for Francesco's sake, the latter pages of Neuer too late and the bulk of Francescos Fortunes reveal her

1. Noted above, p. 111.

reactions to more serious trials. Throughout the period of Francesco's unfaithfulness in Troynovant, Isabel remains loyal and steadfast in devotion to him; she sends loving, anxious, but never reproachful letters, which speak her magnanimity; under the solicitations of a powerful man she remains firm, and suffers for her constancy; when the miserable sinner finally returns, repentant, she forgives and welcomes him whole-heartedly.

Isabel is more than a type-figure of the loyal wife, because her actions and feelings are presented as arising naturally out of her character. The early pages, with their picture of her as a happy wife, play an important part in giving the character solidity, and show that her subsequent behaviour would be motivated by a desire to win back the happiness she had once known with her husband. The character is also more life-like than most Patient Griseldas because the trials she undergoes are such as are only too common in life, and because the character of Francesco is much more convincing than the unreasonable husbands who persecute their wives for the flimsiest of reasons. Isabel is an example of skilful and economical characterisation, for very little space is devoted to her; the main concern of the book is Francesco's career.

2. Although Greene's heroines have attracted admiration, and are certainly worthy of study, it is in the delineation

Supplies. See J. Dover Wilson, "Supplies and the Troynovant Case," in The Library, October, 1903.

of his favourite type of hero that his powers of character-portrayal are most fully displayed. In the presentation of this figure it is sometimes personal feeling, sometimes literary influence that predominates; in other words, the hero of some tales is largely based on the person of Robert Greene, and in others is modelled on the character of the Prodigal Son, as it emerges from St. Luke's Gospel or from later versions of the parable, the best-known of which is the Acolastus of Gnaphaeus.¹

Dr. Jordan places far more emphasis on the literary provenance of this character in the late works which are sometimes referred to as Greene's "Repentant Pamphlets".² There is no doubt that the popularity of the Prodigal Son story,³ and also of the theme of sinning and repentance (the latter often illustrated in the poetical works of the period) affected the shaping of this character-type in Greene's stories, but it cannot be denied that many features were taken from his own life and character. The truth is that whereas Pharicles, Gwydonius and Philador are mainly literary in inspiration, the stories of Francesco and Roberto carry the signs of autobiography.

1. Published in Antwerp in 1529, and in an English translation by John Palsgrave in 1540.

2. See Jordan, op. cit., Ch. 3, for full treatment of this.

3. Lyly was also influenced by the Prodigal Son story in his Euphues. See J. Dover Wilson, "Euphues and the Prodigal Son", in The Library, October, 1909.

The heroes of the two early works, Mamillia and Gwydonius, have much in common. The sinning and repenting theme is much more superficially handled than in the later versions, and occupies only a small part of the story. Both heroes exhibit certain traits of the Prodigal, but their careers are by no means based on the parable. Pharicles is introduced by a typical Euphuistic descriptio:

"Nowe amongst all this courtly crew, which resorted to the house of Gonsaga, there was a Gentleman called Pharicles, a youth of wonderful witte, and no lesse wealth, whome both nature and experience had taught the old prouerbe, as perfect as his Pater noster, he that cannot dissemble, cannot lyue ... This Pharicles, I say, fayre enough: but not faythful enough, a disease in men, I will not say incurable, crauing altogether to croppe the buddes of her outward beawtie, and not the fruites of her inward bountie; forced rather by the lust of the body, then enticed by the loue of her vertue; thought by the glose of his painted shew, to win the substance of her perfect minde, vnder his side cloathes to couer his clawes, with the cloake of curtesie to conceale his curiositie."¹

This estimate of character is largely confirmed by Pharicles' subsequent actions, when he transfers his

1. Grosart, Vol. II, pp. 19 - 20.

affections from the wooed-and-won Mamillia to Publia, and then flees to Sicily to escape the complications. An inconsistency, probably due to Greene's moral bias, is that Pharicles leaves without having enjoyed either of his two maidens, although his chief vices are said to be lust, as well as inconstancy. His regeneration is as unconvincing as these romantic conversions usually are.

Gwydonius is initially described in very similar terms; his faults, however, are more serious, and bear a greater resemblance to those of the Prodigal Son:

"His personage in deede was so comely, his feature so well framed, each lim so perfectlie couched, his face so faire, and his countenance so amiable, as he seemed a heauenly creature in a mortall carcasse.

with detestable qualities, and so spotted
 "But his mind was so blemished, with the staine of voluptuousnesse, that he was not so much to be commended for the proportion of his bodie, as to be condempned for the imperfection of his minde. He was so endued with vanitie, and so imbrued with vice, so nursed vp in wantonness, & so nusled vp in wilfulnesse, so carelesse to obserue his Fathers commaund, and so retchlesse to regard his counsell, that neither the dread of Gods wrath, nor the feare of his fathers displeasure, could driue him to desist from his detestable kinde of liuing ... So immodest in his manners, so rude in his iestures, yea, and so prodigall in

"his expences, as mines of golde were not able to maintaine such witlesse prodigalitie."¹

Gwydonius, like Pharicles, lives up to this description before he reflects and repents; he lives as riotously in "Barutta" as the Prodigal himself, and incurs the suspicion of the magistrates. His conversion to virtue takes place in prison, and is convincingly motivated, although artificially expressed.² Once his wild oats have been sown, Gwydonius becomes a typical romantic hero, and pursues a chivalric career.

Even in the presentation of Gwydonius, however, Greene shows some insight into the workings of a certain type of mind, and reveals his knowledge of how regret and remorse affect a man. The Gwydonius of the first part of the romance is in fact, beneath the rhetoric, more natural than Philador in the late Mourning Garment. Philador, it is true, is not described in the unnatural antitheses which Greene delighted to use in his early works; this is a reminder that the advance towards comparative naturalness in later Elizabethan work may be as much due to change of medium as to growth of perception.

Philador is the one hero who is indisputably based on the character of the Prodigal Son; his career, as well

1. Grosart, Vol. IV, pp. 12 - 13.

2. See ibid., pp. 25-27, for Gwydonius' meditations on his folly.

as his personality, resembles that of the parable figure.¹ He is young, unmarried, and has a loving old father (called the "Rabbi Bilessi", a Hebrew touch unusual in Greene) and an envious elder brother. He is enabled to travel by an advance from his portion of the inheritance, and lives so wildly that he soon spends all, and is reduced, in time of famine, to become a swine-herd and eat husks. After reflecting that his father's servants fare better than he, Philador makes his way home, to be welcomed with open arms by his father and jealous grumbling by Sophonos, his brother.

Greene has obviously followed St. Luke's Gospel very closely in his story of Philador; in fact, the Mourning Garment is merely a lifeless and unoriginal amplification of the parable, and the hero himself little more than a re-creation of the Prodigal. There are only one or two slight touches or incidents which give him a few distinguishing features. One such is the account of his politic and calculating behaviour during the brief period of his prosperity:

"... he still obeyed his fathers precepts, and those **axiomes** and Economicall principles that old Rabbi Bilessi deliuered to him, he obserued with such diligence, that all men sayd, as he was witty, so was he politicke, and

1. Pruvost, op. cit., pp. 395-396, notes that Greene is even closer to the Scriptural story than Acolastus is.

"though he was sometimes wanton, yet hee was alwaies chary, lest he might ouerslip to be found faulty: being amongst the Magistrates of any towne, why young Philador talked of grauity, as though he did only Catonis lucernam olere: hauing the lawes of countries for the subject of his chatt, somewhere he commended Aristocracie, amongst popular men Democracie, amongst other Oligarchia: Thus he fitted his humour to euery estate."¹

This calculated circumspection is much more likely to alienate the reader's sympathies than the reckless rioting that leads to Gwydonius' imprisonment. The same can be said of the complacency and vain-glory which lead Philador to go straight to the ill-famed house of the Unicorn in "Saragunta" after he has expressly been warned against the courtesans who keep it. He is, all in all, the least sympathetic of Greene's weak and sinful heroes.

The most complete and sustained, as well as the most sympathetic portrayal of this type of character is that of Francesco in Neuer too late and Francescos Fortunes. In this case, Greene, instead of creating his hero largely from literary material, has drawn much more upon his first-hand experience, and has given Francesco many of his own attributes. Many incidents in Francesco's career correspond

1. Grosart, Vol. IX, pp. 139 - 140.

with the facts that are known about Greene's life: the early marriage to a gentlewoman, the poverty, the forsaking of wife for mistress, the destitution relieved by successful play-writing and the final repentance. The main difference is that Francesco's repentance led to reconciliation with his wife and a return to happiness, whereas Greene's took place at the end of his life, and, though he expressed a desire for his wife's forgiveness, he died without seeing her again. In spite of this one difference, the plot of Neuer too late and Francescos Fortunes is based much more upon autobiographical material than upon the parable of the Prodigal Son.¹

It is when Greene places Francesco in situations similar to those of his own experience that the character takes on flesh and blood, and becomes a wholly convincing portrait of an individual, who reacts to events as his character dictates. The early part of the story (setting aside the framework of the moralising Palmer and his Host, which obtrudes at the beginning and end of each part) is little above the average level of Greene's work. The account of the elopement, marriage and reconciliation with Isabel's father is but a preparation for the crucial

1. See, however, Pruvost, op. cit., p. 385, for a discussion of the relation of autobiography and literary parallels in Neuer too late and Francescos Fortunes.

experiences of Francesco in "Troynovant". These first episodes serve to establish the general characteristics of the hero and heroine, their love for each other, and their happiness together; this furnishes an effective contrast to Francesco's fall from virtue later.

The character of the hero gains in depth from the early scenes, even though by themselves they are not particularly revealing. Greene makes skilful use of the romantic idyll of love and marriage as a means of giving credibility to Francesco's over-confidence in his faithfulness to Isabel when he first reaches Troynovant:

"... he solde his horse and hired him a chamber, earnestlie endeauouring to make speedie dispatch of his affaires, that he might the sooner enioy the sight of his desired Isabel: for did he see any woman beautiful, hee viewed her with a sigh, thinking how farre his wife did surpasse her in excellence: were the modesty of any woman well noted by her qualities it greeued him, hee was not at home with his Isabel, who did excel them all in vertues."¹

It is this confidence in himself that leads him foolishly to flirt with Infida, believing his love and constancy to Isabel to be inviolable:

"Francesco hauing thus in a poetically humour pleased

1. Grosart, Vol. VIII, pp. 66 - 67.

"his fancie, when his leisure serued him, woulde to make prooffe of his constancie interchange amorous glaunces with this faire curtisan, whose name was Infida, thinking his inward affections were so surely grounded on the vertues of an Isabel, that no exterior proportion could effect any passion to the contrary: but at last he found by experience, that the fairest blossomes, are soonest nipt with frost, the best fruite soonest touched with Caterpillers, and the ripest wittes most apt to be ouerthrowen by loue ... for shee so snared him in the fauours of her face, that his eie beganne to censure partially of her perfection, insomuch, that he thought her second to Isabel, if not superiour."¹

Francesco's first fatal weakness is thus well explained, as it is grounded in the life and character already presented in the earlier pages. His deeper and deeper entanglement is only too human and likely; once he has begun to be unfaithful to his wife, the only choices before him are to go on, or to make a complete break with the courtesan. Francesco, being weak-willed and infatuated, chooses the former way, and in a very revealing "passion"² argues with himself, and seeks to still the pangs of conscience by casuistical reasoning. When he is completely

1. Grosart, Vol. VIII, p. 71.

2. Ibid., pp. 81 - 82. pp. 99 - 100.

enslaved by Infida, a sorrowful letter from Isabel touches his conscience, but by now he is too infatuated to act on its promptings:

" ... perceiuing by the contents that Isabell had an inckling of his vnkinde loues, which driue him into a great quandarie, that deeply entring into the insight of his lasciuious life, hee beganne to feele a remorse in his conscience, howe grieuously hee hath offended hir, that had so faithfullie loued him ... No, shake off these follies and say, both in mouth and in hart; None like Isabell. This he saide by himselfe, but when he went foorth of his Chamber, and spied out his Mistresse looking out of her windowe, all this geare chaungde, and the case was altered: shee calde, and in hee must, and there is a iest scofft at his Wiues letters, taking his Infida in his armes, and saying, I will not leaue this Troy for the chastest Penelope in the world."¹

The closing lines offer the very picture of weakness and irresolution; all the time he is sinning, Francesco's conscience is never wholly silent. It is, however, only when he discovers Infida's baseness and treachery that he heeds the voice of conscience. When passion has been killed by disillusionment, the full realisation of his

1. Grosart, Vol. VIII, pp. 99 - 100.

shameful behaviour overwhelms him, and it is his weakness again that prevents him from at once returning home. It is to this chastened and repentant Francesco, still struggling with his conscience, that the reader is introduced in Francescos Fortunes:

"To goe home to his wife to faire Isabel, that was as hard a censure as the sentence of death; for shame of his follies made him ashamed to shew his face to a woman of so high desarts."¹

His previous experiences have had their effect, however, and when Infida renews her blandishments on finding he has become wealthy through play-writing, he is able to withstand temptation and repulse her advances. His regeneration is completed when he hears of Isabel's loyalty and courage under severe trial; this brings him to a full realisation of his shortcomings and the duty which he has selfishly been shirking, and he resolves to return.²

Francesco is a character in the round, portrayed against the environment which helped to make him what he was. He is shown reacting to various experiences, and learning from his mistakes and failures. He develops, through sinning and repenting, from a good-natured, self-confident but essentially weak young man to a stronger,

1. Grosart, Vol. VIII, p. 127.

2. Ibid., p. 164.

less superficial character with more self-knowledge. His regeneration, unlike the changes of heart of Pharicles, Gwydonius and Philador, is wholly convincing. This is because Greene has traced the causes of Francesco's fall, the motives which inspired his repentance, and the effects of these experiences on a weak, but not essentially vicious, character.¹

Francesco's complex states of mind, when tempted, or when struggling with his conscience, are delineated in reflective or passionate monologues, in which genuine observation and insight break through the artifices of the literary convention, and give it new life. Greene's handling of this character shows, as M. Pruvost claims, that:

"Greene avait en lui l'étoffe d'un vrai romancier, capable à l'occasion d'observer exactement et de reproduire fidèlement les mouvements du cœur humain."²

In Neuer too late and Francesco's Fortunes Greene successfully drew on his own experience, without identifying himself with the character of Francesco and so forfeiting the necessary artistic detachment. This detachment is lacking in his last work of this type, Greenes Groats-Worth of witte, for in the midst of recounting the story of Roberto, Greene's personal feelings become too much

1. It should also be noted that this conversion, unlike the others, occurs at the end of the story.

2. Pruvost, op. cit., p. 387.

involved in this re-telling of his own unhappy experiences, and he breaks off to address the reader:

"Heere (Gentlemen) breake I off Robertos speech; whose life in most parts agreeing with mine, found one selfe punishment as I haue done. Heereafter suppose me the said Roberto, and I will goe on with that hee promised: Greene will send you now his groatsworth of wit, that neuer shewed a mitesworth in his life ... "¹

The beginning of the story is once more akin to the Prodigal Son parable; it is, however, Roberto's younger brother who momentarily plays the Prodigal's part when he inherits his father's wealth, whereas Roberto himself undergoes an unconvincing transformation from a scholar who scorns his father's ill-gotten money to a dissolute adventurer.

It is after these initial and rather confused episodes that the career of Roberto coincides with that of his creator, for he makes a living by writing plays, haunts low company, and leads a dissipated life until:

" ... his immeasurable drinking had made him the perfect Image of the dropsie, and the bathsome scourge of Lust, tyrannized in his loues: liuing in extreame pouerty, and hauing nothing to pay but chalke, which now his Host accepted not for currant ... "²

1. Grosart, Vol. XII, p. 137.

2. Ibid., p. 136.

It is at this point that Greene breaks off the narrative to speak in his own person. The character of Roberto is thus never allowed to develop consistently; first there is the change from scholar to rake, and then the account of his life becomes more and more autobiographical until Greene finally throws off the thin disguise altogether.

The long-suffering heroine and the sinning and repenting hero are Greene's favourite character-types, but other figures also recur with varying degrees of frequency: the flirt, the courtesan, the loving and the stern old fathers, the Cupid-scorner who is metamorphosed into an ardent lover, as well as more conventional types of heroes and heroines. The unsympathetic feminine character, either flirtatious and hard to win, or else an outright courtesan, occurs more often than any of the others. The first example is to be found in Greene's first romance, Mamillia, in the person of the courtesan Clarynda, who repays Pharicles' rebuffs by spiteful accusations which almost result in his execution.

This type of utterly vicious and heartless woman is repeated with very little variation in the many specimens of the genus courtesan which appear in Greene's pages: Rhodope in Saturn's Tragedy in Planetomachia, Olynda in the first tale of Penelopes Web, Infida in Neuer too late and Francescos Fortunes, the three sisters of the Unicorn in Greenes Mourning Garment and the whores and drabs who

figure in the "Conny-catching Pamphlets".¹ These women are all portrayed as selfish and worthless, without feeling or compunction, and motivated by greed, self-interest and vanity. This ^{is} admirable from the moral point of view, but, it means that there is little, if any, variety in the type as Greene presents it, - no shading from the more to the less human.

A different, not wholly unsympathetic type is represented by the series of flirtatious and vain women, who are rather hard-hearted, but have some redeeming feature, most commonly loyalty to the lover of their own choice. This type first appears in the sketch of Castania's treatment of her suitor Valericus, before she meets and falls in love with Gwydonius. The full exemplification is to be found in such figures as Doralicia (Arbasto), Moedina (Euphues his censure to Philautus), Eriphila (Alcida) and Terentia (Ciceronis Amor); the last-named is by far the most fully developed and individualised.

The heroines of Greene's two pastoral romances, Menaphon and Pandosto, cannot be classified either with the gentle, obedient women or with the flirts. Indeed, the majority of the characters in these two works have little in common with those who figure in Greene's other

1. Exception must be made of such figures as Nan, the "Shee Conny-catcher", and the "English Courtizan", who have too much warmth and humanity to be included in this category.

stories, and it is therefore more useful to consider them separately. Menaphon, slightly the later of the two, is less rich in characterisation than the longer and more complex Pandosto. A feature common to both is the conscious attempt, in accordance with the dictates of decorum, to differentiate between the genuine rustics and the disguised nobles. This has its effect in the down-to-earth and slightly humorous presentation of the shepherds and shepherdesses.¹ Greene's sketches of these low-born people are a decided advance on the artificial swains and shepherdesses found in most pastoral romances, and are also more natural than Sidney's comic rustics in the Arcadia.

Greene's characters behave like English country-dwellers rather than inhabitants of imaginary Arcadias. They illustrate his more successful handling of low- or middle-class characters as compared with high-born personages. The reason for this is two-fold: rhetorical decorum dictated that such characters should be described in "low" and simple language, and his personal acquaintance with people in the lower walks of life enabled him to use his own observation and experience.

Maximus (Melicertus) and Sephestia (Samela), the hero and heroine of Menaphon, are rather lifeless figures whom

1. See, e.g., reactions of Porrus and Mopsa to foundling child in Pandosto, Grosart, Vol. IV, pp. 264 -268.

the exigencies of the romantic plot render unnatural and inconsistent. It is, for instance, incomprehensible that they should not recognise each other again after their journeys and ship-wrecks. In the same way, it is difficult to accept that Pleusidippus would not recognise his mother, nor Democles his daughter, in Samela, and that son and father, among many other men, should fall in love with her. Menaphon is in most respects too conventional to offer any noteworthy characterisation.

Pandosto, which has often been claimed as Greene's most successful and homogeneous work,¹ is much less conventionally romantic in its character-drawing. The main figures, Pandosto, Bellaria, Egistus, Dorastus and Fawnia, are all more than mere types. Pandosto and Fawnia, in particular, emerge as definite personalities with distinctive traits. The shepherds and shepherdesses, as noted before, are vividly suggested in earthy, concrete terms, and provide an effective foil to the more sophisticated figures.

The character of Bellaria, who occupies an important place in the opening pages of the romance, has already been mentioned as an example of the loyal, patient and forgiving wife. Like Hermione in The Winter's Tale, Bellaria suffers for her innocence; she is too free from impure thoughts herself to imagine that her husband could misinterpret

1. e.g., by Dr. E.A. Baker, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 110.

her conduct. She is always gentle, never reproachful, and to the end is more concerned for her child than for herself.

Dorastus and Fawnia, who play the chief rôles in the story after the early episodes which tell of Pandosto's jealousy and its effects, are less idyllically innocent than Shakespeare's Florizel and Perdita, and so in many ways are more life-like, though not more alive. The infant Fawnia is shown learning to call her rustic foster-parents "Dad" and "Mam", and at the age of seven she is already watching the flocks:

"... and she with such diligence performed her charge as the sheepe prospered marveilously."¹

By the time she reaches sixteen, she is a peerlessly beautiful shepherdess of the lineage of Chloe, but with more character. Fawnia, unlike Perdita, knows Dorastus as the prince, and herself indirectly suggests the disguise as a shepherd which he adopts. She shows more good sense in handling her **royal** lover than is usually displayed by romantic heroines. At his first advances she indulges in the suitable hesitations, modest withdrawals and complaints at her unhappy case, but when Dorastus reaches the point of proposing marriage, she "could no longer withstand the

1. Grosart, Vol. IV, p. 269.

2. Grosart, Vol. IV, p. 270.

3. Ibid., pp. 271-272.

"assault, but yeelded vp the forte in these friendly tearmes ..."¹ This somewhat "bourgeois" or prudential outlook is reiterated in her approval of the planned elopement:

"This devise was greatly prayesd of Fawnia, for she feared if the King his father should but heare of the contract, that his furie would be such as no lesse then death would stand for payment ... Fawnia, poore soule, was no less loyful, that being a shepheard, fortune had fauoured her so, as to reward her with the loue of a Prince, hoping in time to be aduanced from the daughter of a poore farmer to be the wife of a riche King."²

Her attachment to Dorastus himself is proved to be genuine enough, however, to withstand the alternate solicitations and threatenings of Pandosto. Fawnia is not as sympathetic a character as Perdita or as Greene's gentle, obedient heroines; she is more human in her motives and reactions, and shows some traces of her homely upbringing among practical people.

The "anatomy" of jealousy, followed by the introduction of Pandosto as an example of the jealous man, exemplifies Greene's use of a literary convention as a means of depicting character, and his triumph over the self-imposed limitations to achieve a convincing character-

1. Grosart, Vol. IV, p. 290.

2. Ibid., pp. 291 - 292.

study. After the initial exposition, Pandosto's jealousy, its causes and development, are effectively revealed by his actions, monologues and speeches to others. The first suspicion takes root for no other reason than Pandosto's jealous temperament:

"He considered with himselfe that Egistus was a man, and must needs loue: that his wife was a woman, and therefore subiect vnto loue, and that where fancy forced, friendship was of no force. These and such like doubtfull thoughtes a long time smothering in his stomacke, beganne at last to kindle in his minde a secret mistrust, which increased by suspition, grewe at last to a flaming Jealousie, that so tormented him as he could take no rest."¹

There is no doubt that there are people like this, and once it has been granted that Pandosto's disposition accounts for his first suspicions, the growth and development of his jealousy are made credible by Bellaria's innocent friendship with Egistus.² Pandosto's thoughts, as is the way with one of his temperament, gradually dwell more and more on the idea of his wife's infidelity with his friend:

"In the meane time Pandostoes minde was so farre charged with Jealousy that he did no longer doubt, his Friend Egistus had entered a wrong pointe in his tables, and so had played him false play: wherevp^o desirous to

1. Grosart, Vol. IV, p. 238.

2. Ibid., p. 237.

"revenge so great an injurye, he thought best to dissemble the grudge with a faire and friendly countenance ... Deuising with himself a long time how he might best put away Egistus without suspition of treacherous murder, hee concluded at last to poyson him: which opinion pleasing his humour, he became resolute in his determination."¹

In this way Greene makes Pandosto's jealousy develop under the reader's eyes, and so explains and motivates the cruel plot against Egistus and Bellaria. His delineation of the growth of the passion is neither so subtle nor so artistic as Shakespeare's,² but it is nevertheless a considerable achievement. By portraying Leontes' jealousy as first aroused by Hermione's obedience to his own instructions, to persuade Polixenes to stay,³ Shakespeare adds a barb of irony. Greene, however, makes Pandosto's jealousy more excusable by laying greater stress on Bellaria's friendship for Egistus, which, although frank and open, is given more warmth than Hermione's for Polixenes.

There are some other figures which exemplify the same method of "Character" -drawing; they are Philippo in Philomela, another example of the jealous temperament, Don Antonio of Auspurg in the Farewell to Folly, a personification

1. Grosart, Vol. IV, p. 239.

2. The Winter's Tale, I, ii, ll.108 - 350.

3. Ibid., I, ii, ll.27 et seq.

of gluttony, the proud man, King Vadislaus, in the same work, the miser Gradosso in Perimedes' second tale and the revenger Valdracko in Venus' Tragedy in Planetomachia. None of these figures is developed as fully or as convincingly as Pandosto; only Valdracko and Philippo are more than mere "Humours" or personifications of a particular trait. The link between this method of characterisation and the old theory of the four Humours is particularly clear in the case of Valdracko, for the framework of Planetomachia is a discussion between the planets, who tell stories in rivalry, and Valdracko is presented as an example of the "saturnine" or melancholy man.¹

M. Pruvost sees in the thumbnail portraits in the "Conny-catching Pamphlets" what he describes as "une première ébauche anglaise de 'Caractère',"² but it is surely in these descriptions of the glutton, the miser, the jealous and vengeful man, and in the sketches in A Quip for an Upstart Courtier, that the emergence of a kind of Character in Greene's writings is to be sought. These "Characters" testify to the growing interest, affecting Greene and other writers, in the depiction of personality and of different types of people. A few years later this resulted in the composition of "Characters" on the Theophrastian model as a separate literary genre.

1. Grosart, Vol. V, pp. 51 - 52.

2. Pruvost, op. cit., p. 45.

In Greene's case, these sketches of Pandosto, Gradosso, Valdracko and the others are a natural development from his interest in portraying different types of people, and from his habitual use of descriptive sketches to introduce his main characters. This method of characterisation, like other conventional methods and devices, is more superficially and mechanically applied in the early than in the later works. The set descriptions of Pharicles and Gwydonius in the two earliest romances, for example, are unnatural in their sharp contrasts, reminiscent of Euphues, between charm of exterior and viciousness of character. The descriptions of Clerophontes and Lewsippa (Gwydonius' father and sister), Gradosso, Don Antonio, the three sisters in Alcida and many others are also artificial in their clear-cut labelling of dominant traits. The method, as Greene uses it in these early works, belongs to conventional technique; in later works he is sometimes able to achieve more life-like effects with it, by using personal observation and avoiding the artificialities of rigid pigeon-holing.

Descriptions such as those of Perimedes and his wife Delia are half-way between convention and naturalness; they are, at least, more convincing than the sketches of Don Antonio and King Vadislaus in the inset tales. This again is probably due to Greene's greater familiarity with people in the lower and middle strata of society, and con-

sequent ability to draw upon his own observation. Again, he is freed by the rules of decorum from the extravagances of his usual style in the depiction of humble characters.¹ These advantages appear to even greater effect in the "Conny-catching Pamphlets", and in the admirable tale of Tomkins the Wheelwright in Greenes Vision.

Greene himself, who made a great parade of his moral purpose in warning honest citizens of villainous practices when he wrote his "Conny-catching Pamphlets", would not have classified them with his other tales and romances. As, however, they all contain many illustrative anecdotes, and the later ones consist almost entirely of narrative, they may well be considered as fiction. There is in these pamphlets, in contrast to the great bulk of Greene's other work, an air of reality, the reality of a reporter's accounts of crimes and trials, with thumbnail sketches of the criminals and verbatim reports of their words. Greene, the crime reporter, had a keen eye for characteristic behaviour and a keen ear for typical dialogue.² This gives body and immediacy to the collection of nips, foists, cross-biters and conies, although none is particularly individualised in the short anecdotes, which are told

1. See discussion of this subject above, p. 132.

2. See, for example, the account of the "Curber" who cozens a maid, Second Part, Grosart, Vol. X, p. 127, the conversation of the false cousin, Thirde Part, ibid., pp. 149-150, and of the cutpurse, drab and lawyer in the "Who am I?" story, Thirde Part, ibid., pp. 158-160.

primarily for the sake of the trick they illustrate.

In the Disputation, Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher, and a Shee Conny-catcher, after a lively debate between Nan, the whore, and Laurence Pickering, a "notable Foist", comes an excellently told, rather longer tale of "the conuersion of an English Courtizan". In this narrative the main figure is most convincingly portrayed, from the time of her spoilt childhood, when her parents "cockered (her) vp in (her) wantonnes",¹ through her flirtatious girlhood, elopement and degeneration into a courtesan to her ultimate regeneration through the love of a good man. The autobiographical form is here particularly effective, as it enables the reformed woman (like Defoe's Moll Flanders) to look back over her life and trace the causes and development of her failings, and, in particular, the influence of unwise upbringing on her character. This tale, slight though it is, contains one of Greene's best character-studies; the life-story of Ned Browne, told in The Blacke Bookes Messenger, is not in the same class, and is broken up by many anecdotes, which are not always as apposite to the theme of the main story as was the inset tale in the history of the "English Courtizan".

In spite of Greene's loudly proclaimed moral aims in writing these pamphlets, the inspiration and much of the

1. Grosart, Vol. X, p. 238.

material came from earlier, more genuinely serious, works on similar subjects, such as Gilbert Walker's Manifest detection of the moste vyle and detestable use of Diceplay (1562) and Thomas Harman's Caueat or Warening for Commen Cursetors (1567). Greene in his turn made a popular success of this type of writing on crime and criminals. The "Conny-catching Pamphlets" called forth The Defense of Conny-catching (1592), written under the pseudonym of "Cutbert Conny-catcher", probably by one of Greene's friends, and also Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell (1593).¹

Other writers who published very similar works in the next few years were Samuel Rowlands,² and Thomas Dekker,³ but none of Greene's imitators excelled, or even equalled, him in the art of character-drawing. There is only one book, John Dickenson's Greene in Concept (1598), which comes at all near to reproducing Greene's more successful methods of portraiture. The general lines of "the faire Valeria's" character are, indeed, very like those of Greene's "English Courtizan." Valeria's subsequent

1. For discussion of sources of Greene's pamphlets, and also authorship of the Defense, see Jordan, op. cit., Ch. 4.

2. S. Rowlands, Greenes Ghost haunting Conie-Catchers (1602), and Martin Mark-All, Beadle of Bridewell (1610).

3. T. Dekker, The Bel-man of London (1608), and Lanthorne and Candle-Light (1608).

4. See especially Prose and Verse of John Dickenson, ed. A.B.Grosart, p. 103.

career, as the discontented young wife of an old husband, is different from the Courtizan's, but is grounded in character, and consistent. Apprenticeship to the later, more realistic, works of Greene has resulted in more life-like characterisation than was to be found in Dickenson's earlier prose tale, the Euphuistic Arisbas.

Greene's dramatic works reveal similar virtues and weaknesses to those noticed in his prose fiction, and do not throw much new light on his methods of characterisation. He was not at home with purely dramatic methods, and one feels the want of the explanation and amplification of traits and motives which he is able to give in his narratives. On the other hand, his experience of writing for the stage must have suggested to Greene the effects that could be gained by the use of more dramatic methods in his fiction, and this probably played an important part in his development as a creator of character. This development is undeniable when one compares the stiff, conventional figures of the early romances, who expressed themselves in rhetorical clichés, with the convincing portraits of such human people as Pandosto, Fawnia, Francesco, Isabel and the "English Courtizan". The presentation of these latter characters shows real insight into the workings of the hearts and minds of men and women. Greene's advance along these lines epitomises the development taking place in English

fiction, - a movement towards the "Character" and more conscious interest in depicting recognisable human types, in the setting of the larger movement towards greater realism.

Writings in French

1) La Princesse de Cleves (1677), an Italianate, realistic romance.

Gaydonius (1678), a realistic romance with

Italianate

Les Amours de M. de Cleves (1678), an Italianate

romance, influenced by Italian writers and Sidney.

2) Planctus (1678), tales of violent, Italianate type, in framework of allegories among planets.

Genevieve (1678), Greene's "Legend of Good Women", in framework of French and her maid unrolling the tapestry.

Epique (1678), a collection of various early virtues, against background of French and

Pericles (1678), a single romantic tale in framework of Greek life.

Alcide (1678), set against an Italianate background in 1588), conventional stories of three tales, each with their appropriate transformations.

Orpheus (1678), set against an Italianate background in 1590), conventional story of Orpheus and

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

Classified list of the fictional works of Robert Greene.

Greene's earlier works can be divided into

1) various types of romance, and 2) collections of short stories in frameworks.

1) Mamillia (Part I, 1583, Part 2 not published until 1593), an Italianate, Euphuistic romance.

Gwydonius (1584), Prodigal Son theme blended with chivalric romance.

Arbasto (1584), another Euphuistic romance.

Menaphon (1589) and Pandosto (1589), both pastoral romances, influenced by Byzantine writers and Sidney.

2) Planetomachia (1585), tales of violent, Italianate type, in framework of discussion among planets.

Penelopes Web (1587), Greene's "Legend of Good Women", in framework of Penelope and her maids undoing the tapestry.

Euphuus his Censure to Philautus (1587), exempla of various manly virtues, against background of Trojan War.

Perimedes the Blacke-Smith (1588), highly romantic tales in framework of humble life.

Alcida (1617, but entered on Stationers' Register in 1588), conventional stories of three faulty women and their appropriate transformations.

Orpharion (1599, but entered on Stationers' Register in 1590), conventional love-stories, told by Orpheus and

Arion.

Early works which fall slightly outside these two categories are:

Morando. The Tritameron of Loue (Part I, 1584; Part II, 1587), discussions on love, modelled on courtesy-books.

Ciceronis Amor (1589), a pseudo-historical romance of ancient Rome.

Greene's later fictional works may also be classified under two heads: 1) the group of tales on theme of folly and repentance, and 2) the "Conny-catching Pamphlets".

1) Greenes Neuer too late and Francescos Fortunes (both 1590).

Greenes Mourning Garment (1590), modelled closely on parable of Prodigal Son.

Greenes Groats-Worth of witte (1592), largely autobiographical.

2) A Notable Discouery of Coosnage (1591).

The Second Part of Conny-catching (1591).

The Thirde and last Part of Conny-catching (1592).

A Disputation, Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher, and a Shee Conny-catcher (1592), containing the excellent inset story of the "English Courtizan".

The Blacke Bookes Messenger (1592).

Late works which do not fit into this classification are:

Greenes Farewell to Folly (1591), a set of very didactic short stories.

Philomela. The Lady Fitzwaters Nightingale (1592),
a charming late romance, in much chastened style.

Greenes Vision (1592), short stories in framework,
one of which (apparently original) is realistic, amoral and
excellently told.

A Quip for an Upstart Courtier (1592), moral
allegory based on poem by one "F.T."

The Repentance of Robert Greene, M.A. (1592),
autobiographical and very possibly spurious pamphlet.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTION OF
THOMAS NASHE.

... I looked upon an
 all-street ... casements, edged
 with ... a pair of trunk-steps, sagging down like
 a Snocakers' wall; ... a shrid-bare gown on his
 cacke, fac't with weatheaten baize; vpon his head he wore
 a filthy, coarse bignin, and next it a garnish of night-
 caps, which a sage button-cap, of the forme of a cow-sheard,
 ouer spread very orderly; a fat chuffe it was, I remember,
 with a gray beard cut short to the stumps, as though it
 were grinde, and a huge weorne-eaten nose, like a cluster
 of grapes hanging downewards."¹

1. Works of Thomas Nashe, ed. R. B. McKerrow, London, 1904, Vol. I, pp. 102-103. All references to the works of Nashe are to this edition.

CHAPTER VI.

In the case of Thomas Nashe, there is only one work which is relevant, for he was the author of but a single fictional narrative, The Vnfortunate Traueller. Or, The life of Iacke Wilton (1594). This story is, however, in many ways similar to his non-fictional pamphlets, and the sketches of such figures as the cider-merchant and Dr. Zacharie in The Vnfortunate Traueller have much in common, both in method and effect, with such passages as the following "Character" of a Usurer from Pierce Penillesse his Supplication to the Diuell (1592):

"At length (as Fortune serued) I lighted vpon an old straddling Vsurer, clad in a damaske cassocke, edged with Fox fur, a paire of trunke slops, sagging down like a Shoemakers wallet, and a shorte thrid-bare gown on his backe, fac't with moatheaten budge; vpon his head he wore a filthy, course biggin, and next it a garnish of night-caps, which a sage batten-cap, of the forme of a cow-sheard, ouer spread very orderly: a fat chuffe it was, I remember, with a gray beard cut short to the stumps, as though it were grimde, and a huge woorme-eaten nose, like a cluster of grapes hanging downewardes."¹

1. Works of Thomas Nashe, ed. R.B. McKerrow, London, 1904, Vol. I, pp. 162-163. All references to the works of Nashe are to this edition.

He uses very similar methods in his descriptions of real men and women in his pamphlets.¹

Nashe was first and foremost a satirist, and all his work, both fictional and non-fictional, reveals the effects of his bias. His method of satiric portraiture was vigorous, often witty exaggeration of foolishness or vice. Dr. Baker notes that he "paints realistic vignettes of foolishness, vice and extravagance which, with allowance for satirical animus and for the intentional coarseness, would take an advantageous place on the walls of that gallery of characters which was now beginning to be hung."²

This satirical method, so successful in ridiculing romance and romancers in The Anatomie of Absurditie (1589), is used to much the same effect in the account of the Earl of Surrey jousting in honour of Fair Geraldine.³ Nashe's description of John of Leiden and his followers at the battle of Munster⁴ is caricature of the same order as his attacks on some of the "Martinists", although more compassionate. Nashe, in fact, seems unable to approach many of his characters from any but a satirical viewpoint,

1. See, e.g., the sketch of Greene, with his "iolly long red peake, like the spire of a steeple", Strange Newes, McKerrow, Vol. I, p. 287.

2. E.A. Baker, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 157.

3. McKerrow, Vol. II, pp. 271 -273.

4. Ibid., pp. 232 - 234.

or to maintain any other approach consistently for any length of time.

One result of this is that the tale of Jack Wilton has a unity of tone and intention, whatever it may lack in unity of structure. A result of Nashe's method of satirical caricature is that the minor characters, instead of being lifeless and shadowy figures, as in so many contemporary narratives, are clearly and vividly presented. There are many occasions throughout the story when an unimportant character is introduced by a brief but telling pen-portrait, with satirically exaggerated details, which is far more effective than the formal descriptio beloved by early Elizabethan story-tellers. One good example is the description of the cider-merchant upon whom Jack perpetrates his first practical joke;¹ other examples are the sketches of the pandar Petro de campo Frego,² John of Leiden and his followers,³ the scholars and disputants⁴ and particularly Vanderhulke:

"A bursten belly inkhorne orator called Vanderhulke, they pickt out to present him with an oration, one that had a sulpherous big swolne face, like a Saracen, eyes lyke two kentish oysters, a mouth that opened as wide

1. McKerrow, Vol. II, pp. 210-211.

2. Ibid., p. 255. 3. Ibid., pp. 232-234.

4. Ibid., pp. 247-250.

"euery time he spake, as one of those old knit trap doores, a beard as though it had ben made of a birds neast pluckt in peeces, which consisteth of strawe, haire, and durt mixt together. He was apparelled in blacke leather new licourd, & a short gown without anie gathering in the backe, faced before and behinde with a boistrous beare skin, and a red night-cap on his head."¹

It is difficult to imagine satirical portraiture being carried much further and still remaining effective; just a little more extravagance would turn ridicule upon itself. Nashe, however, almost invariably knows when to stop.

Another caricature in very similar style, although with less attention paid to details of outward appearance, is that of Dr. Zacharie,² which holds the doctor's miserly practices, not his person, up to ridicule. This may be of special significance as one sign of the influence of the Spanish picaresque novel on The Vnfortunate Traueller,³ as such miserliness in the matter of diet is a marked trait of Lazarillo's masters. On the other hand, the sketch of Dr. Zacharie is very much in Nashe's characteristic style, and it could be mere coincidence that on this

1. McKerrow, Vol. II, pp. 247-248.

2. Ibid., pp. 305 - 306.

3. See discussion of possibility of this influence above, pp. 51 - 52.

occasion he chose to ridicule this particular form of meanness. Most probably he had read a version of Lazarillo de Tormes, and an impression of a lively and effective treatment of miserliness of this sort may have remained in his mind, without any conscious attempt on his part to model his own story on the Spanish tale.

Almost all the minor figures in The Unfortunate Traueller are delineated by this method of caricature, and in some cases Nashe amplifies the initial sketch by allowing the character to speak and reveal himself further in exaggerated but vivid language.¹ Most of them are ridiculous or unpleasant, but the real villains of the piece are the criminals Esdras and Bartol, who take advantage of the plague to loot, rape and murder, and Bartol's brother Cutwolfe. These figures, too, are exaggerated; they are unbelievably inhuman and wicked. Esdras and Bartol are merely particularly evil types of cut-throats and desperadoes, and though such characters were relatively new to fiction, they are not particularly interesting in themselves; Cutwolfe, however, is worthy of closer attention.

Cutwolfe's long speech before his death² reveals his feelings and the motives for his actions, and, although

1. See, e.g., the cider-merchant's speeches, McKerrow, Vol. II, pp. 211 - 213.

2. Ibid., pp. 321 - 327.

the outlines of his character are exaggerated, as in a caricature, the effect here is terrible, not ridiculous. Cutwolfe has marked affinities with certain dramatic types - with Faustus and Tamburlaine, and, most of all, with the later crop of revengers in plays that followed up the success of the revival of Kyd's Spanish Tragedy. The climax of Cutwolfe's story, the killing of Esdras after forcing him to blaspheme and promise his soul to the devil, has the same tone and almost the same power as the final scenes of Marlowe's Dr. Faustus:

"These fearefull ceremonies brought to an end, I bad him ope his mouth and gape wide. He did so, (as what will not slaues do for feare?); therewith made I no more ado, but shot him full into the throat with my pistoll: no more he spake after; so did I shoot him that he might neuer speake after, or repent him. His bodie being dead lookt as blackeas a toad: the deuill presently branded it for his owne. This is the falt that hath called me hether; no true Italian but will honor me for it. Reuenge is the glorie of armes, & the highest performance of valure: reuenge is whatsoeuer we call law or iustice ... All true Italians imitate me in reuenging constantly and dying valiantly. Hangman, to thy taske, for I am readie for the vtmost of thy rigor."¹

1. McKerrow, Vol. II, pp. 326 - 327.

This Machiavellian murderer finds, however, that ordinary men and women, albeit Italians, do not share these views, and his audience's moral indignation restores a sane and healthy outlook. The character and the episode are, nevertheless, remarkably effective, and provide a rare example of fictional "strong meat" which is much more powerful and successful than Lodge's treatment of Arsadachus. The contrast between these two writers' styles in transposing dramatic character-types into fiction is one of method as well as of approach.

There are only three characters who appear more than momentarily in The Unfortunate Traveller; they are Jack, The Earl of Surrey and Diamante, and of the three Jack is the only wholly successful character-study. A satirist turned novelist is only too likely to have more taste and aptitude for drawing caricatures of ridiculous or unpleasant types than for depicting good, noble, or even ordinary people so as to make them appear life-like. Nashe realised he could not limit himself to presenting only worthless characters, but he was not well-equipped to portray any other kind. The most noble character in the tale is Surrey, and it is precisely here that Nashe's characterisation is most unsatisfactory. Surrey is first brought on to the scene with this introduction:

" ... I met with the right honorable Lord Henrie Howard, Earle of Surrey, my late master ... O, it was a

"right noble Lord, liberalitie it selfe (if in this yron age there were any such creature as liberalitie left on the earth), a Prince in content because a Poet without peere ...

"My Heroycall Master exceeded in this supernaturall kinde of wit; he entertained no grosse earthly spirite of auarice, nor weake womanly spirite of pusillanimitie and feare that are fained to bee of the water, but admirable, airie and firie spirites, full of freedome, magnanimitie, and bountihood. Let me not speake anie more of his accomplishments, for feare I spend all my spirits in praising him, and leaue my selfe no vigor of wit or effects of a soule to goe forward with my historie."¹

This sketch is undeniably tame and anaemic in comparison with the full-blooded vigour of Nashe's caricatures. He appears to have felt somewhat at a loss to know how to present such a figure in an interesting way, as Jack's last words in the above quotation seem to indicate.

The only occasion on which Surrey is revealed as a likeable, human character is when he shows his generosity, good-nature and sense of humour by his reaction to finding Jack posing as the Earl of Surrey.² This incident is of more value in establishing Surrey's real worth than pages

1. McKerrow, Vol. II, pp. 241 - 242.

2. Ibid., pp. 267 - 268.

of eulogy, and if only Nashe had shown him in other actions of this kind, the character would have come alive much more successfully. In this episode, Surrey is the superior man, in a position to laugh at, and make fun of Jack; later, however, he is to become the butt of Jack's (and Nashe's) satire, because of his romantic excesses.¹ Nashe takes the opportunity to indulge his usual strain of satirical caricature; the satire is effective, but the characterisation of Surrey is not advanced. He remains an unsatisfactory figure, first held up as a rather dull pattern of virtue, and later as a object of derision. Nashe is far more at home with the character as an object of ridicule; he cannot keep the note of mockery out of his writing, and so shifts his viewpoint to enable himself to indulge his bent, at the expense of consistency.

Diamante is unsatisfactory in a similar way. She is first described in vivid terms, and with the scant respect of the satirist with a keen eye for the ridiculous in conventional sentimentality:

"As glad were we almost as if they had giuen vs libertie, that fortune lent vs such a sweete pue-fellow. A pretie rounde faced wench was it, with blacke eie browes, a high forehead, a little mouth, and a sharpe nose, as

1. See especially McKerrow, Vol. II, pp. 270 - 273.

"fat and plum euerie part of her as a plouer, a skin as slike and soft as the backe of a swan, it doth me good when I remember her. Like a bird she tript on the grounde, and bare out her belly as maiesticall as an Estrich. With a licorous rouling eie fixt piercing on the earth, and sometimes scornfully darted on the tone side, she figured forth a high discontented disdaine ... If in anie thing shee were culpable, it was in beeing as couetous of her beautie as hir husband was of his bags. Many are honest because they know not howe to bee dishonest: shee thought there was no pleasure in stolne bread, because there was no pleasure in an olde mans bed."¹

Theresis life and naturalness in this preliminary sketch of the wrongly-accused young wife, and also in the account of how Jack won her:

"This magnificos wife was a good louing soule that had mettall inough in her to make a good wit of, but being neuer remoued from vnder her mothers and her husbands wing, it was not molded and fashioned as it ought. Causeles distrust is able to driue deceit into a simple womans head. I durst pawne the credite of a page, which is worth ams ace at all times, that she was immaculate honest till she met with vs in prison ... Hir husband had abused her, and it was verie necessarie she should be reuenged.

1. McKerrow, Vol. II, p. 261.

"Seldome doe they prooue patient martyrs who are punisht vniustly: one waie or other they will crie quittance whatsoeuer it cost them. No other apt meanes had this poore shee captiued Cicely, to worke her hoddie peake husband a proportionable plague for his iealousie, but to giue his head his full loading of infamie. Shee thought shee would make him complaine for some thing, that now was so harde bound with an hereticall opinion."¹

Here are the first outlines of a portrait of a life-like woman, but they are never developed any further. Nashe does not reveal any more of Diamante's character - whether she was really in love with Jack, why she eventually married him, what her reactions to various events were - and the reader is as unprepared as Jack to find her "kissing very louingly with a prentise."² Nashe does not bother to fill in the details after this initial sketch, nor does he appear to have taken the trouble to remember how he had first presented her. He can create a vivid first impression (on the same scale as his thumbnail sketches of minor figures), but when it is a question of a developed and sustained character-study, the revealing of character in action, he had not the suitable technique to achieve success.

1. McKerrow, Vol. II, pp. 261 - 263.

2. Ibid., p. 304.

Surrey and Diamante are the two characters next in importance to Jack Wilton himself, and it is unfortunate that they should be types in the delineation of which Nashe's satirical writings would have afforded him little practice. He thus starts at a disadvantage, which he never wholly overcomes. The result is that, although both have a touch of nature or vividness here and there, neither is consistently developed or sustained.

In the portrayal of his central character, Jack Wilton, Nashe was more successful. Here he could not give a vivid initial sketch and let it suffice for the rest of the story, for Jack, the narrator, cannot be made to describe himself. The character of Jack has to be revealed and developed throughout the tale, as he is the all-important connecting thread, on which all else is hung. The autobiographical form helps to give reality to Jack, and allows Nashe to speak through the mouth of the jesting page, thus lending him much of his own personality. Sometimes, indeed, Nashe runs the risk of inconsistency by putting his personal opinions on weighty subjects into Jack's mouth; Jack is a scoffer and a mocker at sundry men and customs; it is therefore unexpected to find him so decided in his religious beliefs and sympathies as Nashe makes him appear.

On the whole, however, Jack is a convincing and consistent figure. He is first presented as a practical

joker, in his exploits with the cider-merchant and the captain at "Turwin", and then as a scoffer at religious fanaticism, at pedantry and at sentimental romanticism. His role as jester and scoffer provides the unity of attitude which marks the book, and, as Jack's attitude was one which came very naturally to Nashe, he did not, in this case, find it difficult to maintain. There is a vein of self-mockery in Wilton's character, which is not out of place in the page, but which, one suspects, is there because Nashe could not help letting his satiric laughter play over everything and everyone.

There is more reason for Jack's resolve to reform his way of life² than there is for most conversions in Elizabethan fiction. The atmosphere of the story has continuously darkened since Jack's first light-hearted jests, and the episodes of the rape and murder of Heraclide and the confession of Cutwolfe have paved the way for the emergence of a more serious attitude to life. Neither does Nashe, so much wiser in this respect than the majority of Elizabethan story-tellers, attempt to portray the reformed

1. See especially Jack's account of his vanity in costume after his first travels, McKerrow, Vol. II, p. 227.

2. Ibid., p. 327. *See, following to read the vigorous pages of Nashe's story after the artificialities and*

character in action; the conversion comes at the end, not in the middle of the story.

Nashe's mastery of the satiric mode accounts for many of both good and weak points in the characterisation of The Unfortunate Traveller. He is adept at sketching in brief, vivid and telling detail any ridiculous, unpleasant or peculiar people, and is particularly skilful in the selection and presentation of external features which give life and individuality to a figure. On the other hand, he was not trained by his satiric writing to paint good or ordinary characters which do not call for exaggeration or ridicule, nor was he accustomed to sustaining and developing a character after he had once sketched it. Finally, his satiric bent leads him to turn his irony and scorn on all and sundry, often regardless of the fact that this may make a character incongruous or ambiguous.

F.O.Mann draws attention to an important point when he remarks that: "His use of 'biting portraits' ... while the full merit of his 'biting portraits' must be allowed, it may be doubted whether the method of the satirist was that best adapted to the legitimate development of the novel."¹

It is, however, refreshing to read the vigorous pages of Nashe's story after the artificialities and

1. F.O.Mann, Works of Thomas Deloney, Oxford, 1912, Introduction, xxv.

empty rhetoric of the average romancer; there are no conventional descriptions, "passions" or discourses here. Nashe was influenced by the great popularity of romance, not to imitate it, but to ridicule it. His whole approach is far more concrete and less stylised than that of any of the romantic story-tellers, and his great attention to actual details of appearance when introducing a character is a significant example of this. His style was too individual to be varied much, however, and there is little attempt, such as is made by Deloney, to distinguish characters by their speech.

Nashe's best character-drawing lies in his vivid, impressionistic caricatures, which are not strictly true to life, but are artistically exaggerated and heightened. Such vigorous portraiture was extremely rare in contemporary fiction, and it was in this direction that Nashe made his greatest and most original contribution to the development of character-presentation. His use of historical material also shows a considerable advance on Lodge's innovations in this direction; Nashe creates a wholly fictitious central figure and successfully blends him with portraits of historical characters, against a background of real and imaginary events.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THOMAS DELONEY.

... has a realistic
 than the great majority of Elizabethan fictional figures.
 His character-studies, although not particularly deep or
 subtle, are vivid and convincing. He may not have possessed
 the insight of Gascoigne or of Greene at his best, but
 in compensation he had the gift of making his figures real
 and living, possessed of some of the warmth of humanity.
 If he did not look very deeply into men's minds, he certainly
 looked at them keenly, and listened intently to their
 speech.

1. Oxford English Dictionary, under "Novel, 3-b."

CHAPTER VII.

Part I. Provenance and general characteristics of the novels.

It is with the stories of Thomas Deloney that Elizabethan fiction for the first time reaches a point at which it can be called "the novel". More fully than any previous works, two of Deloney's tales, Lack of Newbery and Thomas of Reading, correspond to the dictionary's definition of the novel as a:

"fictitious prose narrative or tale of considerable length,... in which characters and actions representative of the real life of past or present are portrayed in a plot of more or less complexity."¹

Deloney's characters are more life-like and realistic than the great majority of Elizabethan fictional figures. His character-studies, although not particularly deep or subtle, are vivid and convincing. He may not have possessed the insight of Gascoigne or of Greene at his best, but in compensation he had the gift of making his figures real and living, possessed of some of the warmth of humanity. If he did not look very deeply into men's minds, he certainly looked at them keenly, and listened intently to their speech.

1. Oxford English Dictionary, under "Novel, 3.b."

The three novels by Deloney that are extant¹ are, in the most probable order of composition, Jack of Newbery (1597), The Gentle Craft (Part I, 1597?, Part II, 1598?) and Thomas of Reading (1600?). The disappearance of the first editions and the large number of editions the novels quickly ran into are alike convincing proofs of their popularity. Deloney had earned his living as a silk-weaver before he turned to writing ballads, and, later, novels as a means of livelihood. He thus came from a very different background from most Elizabethan romancers and story-tellers, and it was to this different world of his that he introduced his readers, who clearly found the innovation to their taste.

Uncertain chronology makes it impossible to be certain of the order in which Deloney's novels appeared, and, although Jack of Newbery was entered on the Stationers' Register in March, 1597, and the First Part of The Gentle Craft was not entered until October of the same year, it is quite possible that the stories of the shoe-makers were Deloney's first essays in fiction. The lack of early editions which might aid solution of the questions of dating and order of publication also makes it more difficult to

1. It appears that there was at least one further novel, the Book for the Silk Weavers (See F.O.Mann, Works of Thomas Deloney, Oxford, 1912, Introduction, ix), and possibly a third part of The Gentle Craft (See Dedication to The Gentle Craft, II, Mann, op. cit., p. 139).

solve another problem, namely, whether or not any of Deloney's novels were actually commissioned by the appropriate craft Company.¹ These problems bear upon one another, for it seems not unlikely that Deloney was commissioned by the Cordwainers to write The Gentle Craft, and then went on, perhaps of his own accord, to write of the famous men of his own trade.

The terms of the dedication of Part II of The Gentle Craft to the "Master and Wardens of the worshipfull company of the Cordwaynors"² make it appear very probable that the whole of The Gentle Craft at least was written to order. The probability that the other two novels, dealing with the clothing trade, were also commissioned, has not the weight of such suggestive dedications to support it, although it is conceivable, if not likely, that they appeared in the first editions and were subsequently left out. The possibility remains that all were commissioned works, and this must be taken into account when analysing Deloney's portrayal of character.

The only cases in which it seems that his commission may have conflicted with his inclinations, and so had an

1. See E.A. Baker, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 172-173, for discussion of possibility of commissioning.

2. Mann, op. cit., p. 139. All references to the works of Deloney are to Mann's edition.

adverse effect, are the first two stories in The Gentle Craft I. It would be very natural for the Cordwainers, if they were commissioning a work of this kind, to wish the legendary patrons of their Company to have first place in the narratives. Deloney was not very successful in portraying these romantic, high-born figures, so different from the craftsmen and servants he drew with such skill and sympathy. It is, therefore, possible that a commission is responsible for the relatively weak character-drawing in in these two stories. Deloney himself, however, may have chosen to write of romantic figures, as he did in some episodes of Thomas of Reading. If so, it is a striking testimony to the pressure exerted by the popularity of the romance, even upon such a writer as Deloney.

In the same way, the recurrent praise of typically bourgeois virtues of thrift, honesty, a capacity for hard work and good fellowship, as well as the craftsman's pride in his handiwork, could equally well be natural or an indirect effect of commissioning. It seems obvious that this type of story-telling was very congenial to Deloney, and that if he were, in fact, commissioned, his patrons' desires coincided almost exactly with his own bent, and may, indeed, have acted as liberating agents of his dormant talents for story-telling in prose.

Deloney indubitably created a precedent in English fiction by writing almost exclusively of the craftsman

class which earned its living at those two "most necessary" trades of cloth-weaving and shoe-making. Whereas previous authors had set their tales in imaginary "Arcadias", "Bohemias" or "Thessalies", and peopled them with kings, princes and nobles, Deloney told homely tales of the cloth-workers of Newbery in Berkshire or the shoe-makers of Fleet Street. He paints a picture of a real, familiar world, and his characters gain in solidity because they are shown in their natural environment. Deloney's characters, for the first time in English fiction, are shown at work at their particular trades, as well as at play. It is also noteworthy that he depicts his men and women in the ordinary day-to-day relations of married life, as well as in the more romantic relations of courtship. In all, he presents life in the round, and people as he knew them, in the best of his stories. *Although Deloney*

This drawing upon the actual stuff of life as material for his novels is one of Deloney's greatest virtues, and one of the factors which make his stories and his characters more natural and convincing than those of his predecessors. There are two other important factors which also contribute to this success. One is his habit of basing many of his main figures on the characters of real men and women as they were kept alive in popular memory. The other is his method of presenting characters almost entirely by

dramatic means. These three features of Deloney's work will be dealt with so as to show their effects on his characterisation. The second part of this chapter will be devoted to a consideration of the last of the three points, and to a detailed analysis of Deloney's characterisation.

The first two of these three points are inextricably linked, and both involve a consideration of the sources of Deloney's tales. Three main types of material can be discerned in his stories: 1) historical material, gathered from chronicles, ballads, local and craft legends, etc., 2) every-day life, drawn from his personal experience and that of his fellow-workers, 3) comic incidents drawn from jest-books, novelle and current jokes and proverbs. The bulk of his work is woven from these three strands, although there are subsidiary sources. Although Deloney was far from unlettered,¹ he did not often turn to fashionable literary models for inspiration, as so many of his contemporaries did. When he did draw upon books for material, it was mainly to such evergreen favourites as The Golden Legend, chronicles and jest-books, the ordinary reading-matter of ordinary people, that he turned, rather than the latest translations from Spain or Italy.

1. See Mann, op. cit., Introduction, xiii-xiv, for a discussion of Deloney's reading.

These three main sources of material all have their effect on Deloney's characterisation: history, jest-book and personal experience contribute almost everything to the formation of the majority of his characters. History plays its part not only in the obvious inspiration of the kings, queens and prominent figures such as Cardinal Wolsey, but also in the representation of such people of more local fame as John Winchcombe, Simon Eyer, Richard Casteler and Thomas Cole. It was, indeed, this more living form of history, the history that was vivid in the minds and on the lips of ordinary people, that was the more valuable. Here history and personal experience came close together, for Deloney probably gathered many of the stories and legends he used in his novels from the people he met on his travels as silk-weaver and ballad-monger. It was, therefore, not so much a case of transmuting the facts of history into the stuff of fiction, as of taking over the still-vivid memories of well-known men and their doings from the minds of people like himself. In this way, many of his characters have the double advantage of being based on the remembered personality of an actual man, and of coming from the class of which Deloney had intimate knowledge.

It seems most likely that Deloney drew mainly on orally disseminated stories rather than written sources,

even in such cases as the stories of Simon Eyer and Richard Casteler, where material is to be found in the chronicles.¹ The chronicle entries are very brief, and in the case of Eyer, do not even give an outline of his life, but concentrate almost exclusively on his building of the Leaden Hall. Grafton does provide a little more information about Casteler's life, and gives a sketch of his character, as:

"... a man of great trauaille and labour in his faculty with his awne hands, and such a one as was named the Cock of Westminster, for that both Winter & Summer he was at his worke before foure of the clocke in the morning."²

It is obvious, however, that these brief paragraphs could not provide all the material for Deloney's stories, and that he either drew on fuller versions of these men's life-stories, or invented much himself. He seems to indicate that he knew of both chronicle entries and popular versions, as he begins his story of Simon Eyer by saying:

"Our English Chronicles do make mention that sometime there was in the honorable City of London a worthy Maior, known by the name of Sir Simon Eyer, whose fame liueth in the mouths of many men to this day ..."³

1. Information about Simon Eyer is to be found in John Stow, A Suruay of London, 1598, pp. 80 and 117-118, and in Richard Grafton, A Chronicle at large, 1569, p. 595; about Richard Casteler in Grafton, op. cit., p. 1323.

2. Grafton, op. cit., p. 1323.

3. Mann, op. cit., p. 109.

It is even more apparent that Deloney must have relied largely on stories current among the people in the case of John Winchcombe, for there is no information about him in the chronicles, although there is definite evidence that such a man existed. Fuller, in his History of the Worthies of England, devotes a paragraph to extolling Winchcombe as "the most considerable clothier ... England ever beheld."¹ Although much of this passage is suspiciously reminiscent of Deloney's own words, the information (not found in Iack of Newbery) that Winchcombe:

"... built the Church of Newberry from the Pulpit westward to the Tower inclusively, and died about the year 1520, some of his name and kindred of great wealth still remaining in this county."²

seems to point to an independent source of knowledge, and to indicate that memories of John Winchcombe were still alive at least half a century after Deloney revived him in the pages of his novel. Mann points out³ that Deloney appears to have been well-acquainted with Newbury, and he doubtless gathered the story of Winchcombe from local inhabitants. In much the same way, he probably

1. Thomas Fuller, History of the Worthies of England, 1662, p. 97.

2. Ibid., p. 98.

3. Mann, op. cit., Introduction, xi-xii.

heard the legends about Thomas Cole's murder from the people around Colnbrook,¹ although he based the historical background of the clothing trade and the attempted rising of Duke Robert on Holinshed's account of the reign of Henry I.

These pointers to the copious use made by Deloney of current popular stories are confirmed by his fondness for making use of, and attempting to explain, familiar proverbs and customs, such as "From Hell, Hull and Halifax, Good Lord deliver us",² "Tom Drum's entertainment"³ or the custom of feasting London apprentices on Shrove Tuesday.⁴ There is, all in all, sufficient evidence that he drew most frequently upon popular lore, and tales actually found "in the mouths of many men", and based his main characters on well-remembered people. His use of material from jest-books, the notable example of which is his introduction of Meg, the heroine of The Life and Pranks of Long Meg of Westminster, into his story of Richard Casteler, is further corroboration, if it is needed, of his predilection for the popular.

A great part of Deloney's strength as a novelist and creator of vital, life-like characters lay in this reliance

1. See note on sources of Thomas of Reading, Mann, op. cit., p. 549.

2. See account of introduction of gibbet for cloth-thieves at Halifax, Thomas of Reading, ibid., pp. 246 - 247.

3. The Gentle Craft I, ibid., pp. 188 - 190.

4. The Gentle Craft II, ibid., pp. 131 - 133.

on stories current among ordinary people, which were kept alive and vivid by the corporate mind, in much the same way as earlier folk-tales were created and disseminated. The sources of Deloney's novels were thus much closer to life and the people than were those of the more fashionable writers who imitated foreign romances and novelle. Deloney, in the best of his stories, wrote of life and men and women as he knew them, and his work has the immediacy that George Gascoigne's "The Adventures of Master F.J.", a work also written out of the author's own experience, likewise possesses. Like Gascoigne's gentlemen and gentlewomen, many of Deloney's craftsmen were based on real people; it was impossible for him to stray far from truth to human nature when he had labelled his characters as Simon Eyer, the shoe-maker who became Lord Mayor, Richard Casteler, the "Cock of Westminster" or John Winchcombe, the rich clothier of Newbury, and had drawn upon the vivid and robust creations of the popular mind.

Part II. Analysis of methods of characterisation.

The third important factor which contributes to Deloney's success in portraying convincing characters is to be found, not in his material, but in his methods. Deloney relies to a very great extent on the dramatic method of allowing characters to reveal themselves by

their speech and actions. There is very little set description in the three books, and where it does occur it is not usually of the conventional kind so often encountered in earlier fiction, but describes concrete details of appearance and clothing. Setting aside the uncharacteristic incidents of the two first stories of The Gentle Craft I and the romance of Duke Robert and the Fair Margaret in Thomas of Reading, there is a complete absence of rhetorical monologues or "passions", and also of conventional discourses, courting speeches and love-letters.

Deloney shows himself to be a master of dialogue in his stories; hereproduces with wonderful fidelity the characteristic talk of work-shop, street and domestic hearth, and also succeeds in differentiating characters by the peculiarities of their speech. The strength of his dialogue lies in its closeness to real life and to the speech of people such as he might have met every day. He must, however, be given every credit for the artistic handling of such material, and in particular for the efforts he made in the direction of creating characteristic idioms for different figures, - efforts which had hardly been thought of, and certainly not put into practice successfully by earlier writers of fiction. Deloney may have learnt much about the use of dialogue from contemporary drama, and may have taken over the idea of

reproducing foreign accents¹ or English dialects² from that source.³

Deloney does not often lose much time in presenting his main characters in action. His introductions are usually very brief, and deal mainly with the essentials of character and past life, as in the opening of Iack of Newbery:

"In the daies of King Henrie the eight, that most noble and victorious Prince, in the beginning of his reigne, Iohn Winchcomb, a broad cloth Weauer, dwelt in Newberie, a towne in Barkshire: who for that he was a man of ^a merry disposition, & honest conuersation, was wondrous wel-beloued of Rich and Poore, specially, because in euery place where hee came, hee would spend his money with the best, and was not at any time found a churle of his purse."⁴

This opening leads easily and naturally into a sketch of Jack in action, when he is given the opportunity of demonstrating the traits that have been attributed to him. Even less descriptive writing is bestowed on his Dame, who is merely called "a very comely ancient woman, and

1. i.e., of Master Bennedick the Italian in Iack of Newbery, and John the Frenchman in The Gentle Craft I.

2. i.e., of young bride's parents in Iack of Newbery, and Hogekins of Halifax in Thomas of Reading.

3. The anonymous play The Weakest Goeth to the Wall (printed 1600, but probably acted before that date) contains one example of dramatic treatment of foreign accent, in the comic broken English of "Yacob".

4. Mann, op. cit., p. 3.

"of reasonable wealth."¹

There is virtually no descriptive introduction of Simon Eyer and his wife, nor of the nine clothiers in Thomas of Reading. Richard Casteler, however, is introduced by a brief, but telling, description of his life and habits:

"The louely Maidens of the Citty of Westminster, noting what a good husband Richard Casteler was and seeing how diligently hee followed his businesse, iudged in the end he would proue a rich man ..."²

Here the description is in the form of a report of the opinions of other characters, not of the author himself, and leads the way for the introduction of two of the "louely Maidens", Margaret and Gillian.

The long description of Margaret is exceptional in Deloney's work, and a departure from his usual methods. This paragraph is much more reminiscent of the conventional descriptio than any of his introductory sketches of other figures:

"Margaret was a maiden, borne in Lancashire, in height and proportion of body passing the ordinary stature of women, but there-withall very comely, and of amiable countenance, her strength was agreeable to her stature

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 3.

2. Ibid., p. 141.

"and her courage as great as them both: she was of a quicke capacitie, and pleasant disposition, of a liberall heart, and such a one as would be sodainely angry, and soone pleased, being readier to reuenge her wrongs by weapons, **then** by words: and therein did shee differ from the nature of other women, because shee could not abide much brabbling: and so heedfull was shee of her behauiour in her yonger yeeres, that, her good properties far exceed^e_king her portion, she was wooed by diuers, but would be won by none, for the man whom shee most loued least thought vpon her."¹

Another unusual feature of this description is that, although effective and consistent enough as a character-sketch in itself, it does not by any means tally satisfactorily with the personality of Meg as it is revealed in the course of the story. It is possible that Deloney based his introductory sketch on the character of the maid as current in popular stories, but, in the course of the narrative, endowed her with qualities that somewhat changed her from the mannish tomboy to the merry, independent, but still feminine, girl.

Apart from brief introductory comments, and the exceptionally long description of Meg, there are one or two other striking descriptive passages which have an effective part to play in Deloney's presentation of

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 142.

character. Another exception to his usual methods is the vivid thumbnail sketch of "Old Bosome", which is very similar to the caricatures of minor figures in Nashe's The Vnfortunate Traueller:

"... they got into Bosomes Inne; which was so called of his name that kept it, who being a foule slouen, went alwaies with his nose in his bosome, and one hand in his pocket, the other on his staffe, figuring forth a description of cold winter, for he alwaies wore two coates, two caps, two or three paire of stockings, and a high paire of shoes, ouer the which he drew on a great paire of lined slippers, and yet would oft complaine of cold, wherfore of all men generally he was called Old Bosome, and his house Bosomes Inne."¹

There are several occasions on which Deloney paints a detailed pen-picture of the person, and more especially of the apparel, of a character at some important function or event in his or her life. Examples of this are the sketch of Jack of Newbery's Dame at the supper-party for her three suitors,² and of his young bride on her wedding-day,³ the account of Round Robin and his fellows when they went to sing before the King,⁴ and the description of fair Margaret taking the veil.⁵ In such passages, Deloney

1. Mann, op. cit., pp. 218 - 219.

2. Ibid., p. 12.

3. Ibid., p. 22.

4. Ibid., p. 167.

5. Ibid., pp. 271 - 272.

notes the particulars of dress with the experienced eye of the cloth-worker. There are many characters, however, whose appearance is never so much as suggested, but of whose personality the reader gains intimate knowledge.

Speech and action are the most important means of character-revelation in Deloney's novels. The account of people's doings and sayings forms the staple of his work, and it is not only the central figures of a story whose characters emerge vividly by these means, but also quite minor figures, who only appear momentarily and are of slight importance. In this respect, Deloney may be compared with Nashe, and contrasted with the many romancers and story-tellers who paid little attention to depicting the relatively unimportant characters in their narratives.

Deloney's mastery of dialogue and successful efforts at the differentiation of characters by their speech have already been mentioned,¹ and may now be illustrated by a few examples. The character of John Winchcombe, after the brief introduction quoted above,² really begins to take on life and substance in conversation with his fellow-craftsmen; he reveals himself in his speech as the "man of merry disposition" Deloney had described:

"Nay (quoth another) Ile lay my life, that as the

1. See above, pp. 174 - 175.

2. Above, p. 175.

"Salamander cannot liue without the fire, so Iack cannot liue without the smel of his Dames smock.

"And I maruell (quoth Iacke) that you being of the nature of a Herring (which so soon as he is taken out of the Sea, presently dyes) can liue so long with your nose out of the pot.

"Nay Iacke, leaue thy iesting (quoth another) and goe along with vs, thou shalt not stay a iot.

"And because I will not stay; nor make you a lyer (quoth Iacke) Ile keepe me here still; and so farewell."¹

In conversation with his Dame, Jack shows the good sense and circumspection of his character, in a more respectful style of speech:

"I thanke you for your kindenesse and good will, good Dame (quoth hee) but it is not wis^edome for a yongue man that can scantly keepe himselfe, to take a wife: therefore I hold it the best way to leade a single life: for I haue heard say, that many sorrowes follow marriage, especially where want remains ..."²

The development of Jack's character from merry youth to successful and responsible maturity is reflected in his changing manner of speech. The quips and sallies of the early dialogue give way to a weightier style, such as

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 4.

2. Ibid., p. 6.

3. Ibid., p. 38.

is exemplified by his excellent speech to the knight who has seduced one of his maidservants:

"Why (quoth M. Winchcombe) what needs all this? Came you to my table to make my maide your strumpet? had you no mans house to dishonour but mine? Sir, I would you should well know, that I account the poorest wench in my house too good to bee your whore, were you ten knights: and seeing you tooke **pleasure** to make her your wanton, take it no scorne to make her your wife: and vse her well too, or you shall heare of it. And hold thee Ioane (quoth hee) there is a hundred pounds for thee: And let him not say thou camest to him a beggar."¹

John Winchcombe's pride in his work and success, his independence and his good sense are all illustrated in his speech refusing the knighthood offered him by the King.²

There are many other excellent examples of lively and characteristic dialogue in Jack of Newbery. The speech of the second wife's parents shows the effective use Deloney made of an attempted reproduction of idiomatic dialect:

"Sir (quoth the old man) I wis che zee you bee bominable rich and cham content you shall haue my daughter, and Gods blessing and mine light on you both.

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 67.

2. Ibid., p. 38.

"But Father (quoth Iacke of Newberie) what will you bestow with her?

"Marry heare you (quoth the old man) I vaith cham but a poore man, but I thong God, cham of good exclamation among my neighbours, and they will as zoone take my vice for any thing as a richer mans: thicke I will bestow, you shall haue with a good will, because che heare very good condemnation of you euery place, therefore chil giue you twenty Nobles and a weaning Calfe, and when I dye and my wife, you shall haue the reuelation of all my goods."¹

The comic effect of the old man's mistakes is one of the first examples, outside the drama, of the humorous use of the malapropism. It calls to mind the very similar effects produced by Shakespeare in the speeches of Dogberry in Much Ado about Nothing.² Deloney makes use of almost the same device to similar comic effect later in the novel, in the scenes concerning Bennedick, the Italian; in this case, it is the attempted representation of an Italian accent and the foreigner's misuse of English that produce the comedy.

There is one further example of superb characterisation by dialogue in Iack of Newbery. Young Mistress Winchcombe's

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 21.

2. Much Ado about Nothing was probably performed for the first time in 1598 or 1599, that is, about a year after the publication of Iack of Newbery. Shakespeare had already used the malapropism to similar effect in the speeches of Costard in Love's Labours Lost (c. 1593).

Gossip is not introduced by a single word of description; Chapter VIII plunges right into a most exquisitely contrived conversation between the young wife and the old woman, Mistress Frank. One of the most revealing passages in this dialogue concerns Mistress Winchcombe's rise in the world, and her husband's desire that she should dress in a manner befitting their improved station in life:

"Mary Gods blessing on his hart (quoth her Gossip) it is a good hearing: but I pray you tell me, I heard say, your husband is chosen for our Burgesse in the Parliament house, is it true?

"Yes verily (quoth his wife): I wis it is against his will: for it will be no small charges vnto him.

"Tush woman, what talke you of that? thankes be to God, there is neuer a Gentleman in all Barkshire that is better able to beare it. But heare you, gossip, shall I bee so bold as to aske you one question more?

"Yes, with all my heart, (quoth she).

"I heard say that your husband would now put you in your hood and silke gowne, I pray you, is it true?

"Yes in truth (quoth mistresse Winchcombe) but far against my minde Gossip: my french-hood is bought already, and my silke gowne is a making: likewise the Goldsmith hath brought ^{ho}me my chaine and bracelets: but I assure you gossip, if you will beleeeue me, I had rather goe an hundred

"miles, than weare them: for I shall bee so ashamed that I shall not looke vpon any of my neighbours for blushing.

"And why, I pray you?(quoth her Gossip) I tell you deare woman, you neede not bee any thing abashed or blush at the matter, especially seeing your husbands estate is able to maintaine it: now trust mee truly, I am of opinion you will become it singular well."¹

The flattery and hypocrisy which here conceal her envy and malice are later revealed in convivial conversation with Winchcombe's servants, and her real nature is allowed to show itself:

"But heare you my masters, though mistresse Winchcombe goe in her Hood, I am as good as shee, I care not who tell it her: I spend not my husbands money in Cherries and Codlings, go too, go too, I know what I say well enough: I thanke God I am not drunke: Mistresse Winchcomb, mistresse? No, Nan Winchcombe, I will call her name, plaine Nan: what, I was a woman when she was sirreuerence a paltry girle, though now shee goes in her Hood and Chaine of Gold ..."²

In the same way, a new light is thrown upon her advice to Mistress Winchcombe to cut the diet of the household,³ by her later sympathy with the servants

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 54.

2. Ibid., p. 62.

3. Ibid., pp. 54 - 55.

when they complain of the economies.¹ These speeches and the fact of her drunkenness are the only information the reader is given upon which to form his estimate of Mistress Frank's character, but when the dialogue is so idiosyncratic and revealing, it is quite sufficient.

The Euphuistic and romantic dialogue of St. Hugh and St. Winifred, and of Ursula and Crispin, in the first two stories in The Gentle Craft I is unlike Deloney's usual style. Even here, however, the speech is not so far removed from that of real men and women as is generally the case in romantic tales of this kind. There is one instance of Deloney indulging in a species of "passion", but there is much less stylisation and more feeling expressed in it than one finds in the "passions" of most Elizabethan romancers:

"O Vrsula, take heed what thou dost, stain not thy royalty with such indignity. O that Crispines birth were agreeable to his person! for in mine eye, there is no Prince in the world comparable to him: if then while he is clothed with these ragges of seruitude, he appear so excellent, what would he be were he in Princely attire! O Crispine, either thou art not as thou seemest, or else Nature, in disgrace of Kings, hath made thee a shoemaker."²

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 61.

2. Ibid., p. 94.

It is only with the third story in The Gentle Craft I, however, that Deloney returns to his native element and shows skill in characterisation and dialogue comparable to that which he revealed in Jack of Newbery. The tale of Simon Eyer is very rich in individual styles of speech; the characters of Eyer and his wife are contrasted in their different turns of speech, and among the servants there is John the Frenchman, who expresses himself in a very effective kind of broken English. The contrast between the chatter of the maids and the talk of Eyer with his wife or the City dignitaries is also well brought out.

It is interesting to compare and contrast the characters of Simon Eyer and John Winchcombe. They are in some ways very similar: both are hard-working and conscientious, both have sound common-sense and a good head for business, and both are generous and good-natured. On the other hand, Eyer is not the same sturdily independent man that Jack of Newbery is, either in his relations with his wife or in his social outlook. Eyer has also a marked strain of piety in his nature, which is quite absent from Jack's.

Eyer's rise to success, unlike Jack's, is due more to his wife's ambition and initiative than his own; he is ambitious, but it is she who contrives ways and means to achieve those ambitions; in this, their relationship has

some likeness to that of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth.¹
 Mistress Eyer is, in fact, the dominant partner in the marriage. There are many more domestic scenes showing husband and wife together than there were in Lack of Newbery, and the tone of conversation on these occasions reveals much of the two characters involved:

"At last his wife came to him, saying, Husband, what mean you that you do not come to supper? why speak you not man? Hear you? good husband; come away, your meat will be cold: but for all her words he stayed walking vp and down still, like a man that had sent his wits a woll-gathering, which his wife seeing, puled him by the sleeue, saying, why, husband in the name of God, why come you not? wil you not come to supper to night? I called you a good while ago.

"Body of me, wife (said he) I promise thee I did not hear thee.

"No faith, it seemeth so (quoth she) I maruel where-upon your mind runneth.

"Beleeue me wife (quoth he) I was studying how to make **my** selfe Lord Maior and thee a Lady.

"Now God help you (quoth she) I pray God make vs able to pay euery man his own, that we may liue out of

1. See especially Mann, op. cit., pp. 113 - 115.

"debt and danger, and driue the Woolf from the doore, and I desire no more."¹

Mistress Eyer soon changes her tune when she realises the possibilities of the situation, however, for she is very anxious to rise in the world. She is not made to appear an unsympathetic character, however, for when she and her husband go to the Lord Mayor's supper, she is not puffed up with pride, nor does she push herself forward, but quietly enjoys herself and treasures up all the remarks she hears about her husband to repeat to him later.²

The strain of piety in Eyer's character and speech may probably be attributed to the facts known about his career and works. Stow recounts his building of the Leaden Hall "among other his works of pietie",³ and also refers to the adjoining Chapel, over the door of which Eyer caused the inscription "Dextra Domini exaltauit me"⁴ to be written. There is also the testimony of the various charitable and pious bequests in Eyer's will.⁵ Deloney incorporated these indications of piety into his portrait of Eyer, and characterises his speech by the use of such phrases as "And how greatly hath the Lord blessed vs since

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 112.

2. See Mistress Eyer's account of the supper, ibid., pp. 116 - 117.

3. Stow, op. cit., p. 117.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., pp. 117 - 118.

"that? blessed be his Name for it,"¹ or expressions of godly sentiment like the following:

"The last day I did cast vp my accounts, and I finde that Almighty God of his goodnesse hath lent me thirteen thousand pounds to maintain vs in our old age, for which his gracious goodnesse towards vs, let vs with our whole hearts giue his glorious Maiesty eternall praise, and therewithall pray vnto him, that we may so dispose thereof, as may be to his honour, and the comfort of his poore members on earth ..."²

The maids and men whose doings form the comic subplot to the story of Eyer are also characterised almost exclusively by means of their own speech and actions. John is definitely revealed as a Frenchman, and not just as a foreigner, by his use of French idioms translated into English and of occasional French words:³

"The fellow, being a Frenchman that had not long been in England, turning about, said, Hea? what you sea? Will you speak wed me? Hea? What you haue? tell me, what you haue, Hea? And with that coming to the stall, the good-man askt him if he lackt work, We par ma foy (quoth the French-man)."⁴

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 131.

2. Ibid., p. 121

3. Mann, ibid., Introduction, viii, cites "the French-English of John" as part of his evidence that Deloney knew French.

4. Ibid., pp. 110 - 111.

The French accent and peculiar use of English are maintained consistently throughout the story, unlike the quasi-Italian accent of Bennedick in Iack of Newbery, which on one occasion gave place to highly formal and correct English.¹ The contrast of French and Dutch accents in one tale was apparently too much for even Deloney to attempt, and Haunce the Dutchman speaks as good English as Nick, the English journeyman. There is much comedy in the misunderstandings that arise out of John's misuse of language, as well as in the lively schemes and tricks practised by the three journeymen in their wooing of the maid Florence.

The spirited conversation of the maids in the garden scene is particularly well sustained:

"It is Renish Wine (quoth Besse) and that is neuer strong.

"It may be made of rain ~~water~~ well enough (quoth Ioane).

"At which words Florence entred with a glas: and powring it out into the glasse, she extolled the colour, saying, see what a braue colour it hath, it is as cleer, I do assure you, as rock water: and therewithall drinking it off, she said, it drinks very dead: Of a troth (quoth

1. See Mann, op. cit., p. 52, Bennedick's speech beginning "O my loue and my delight ..."

"she) this is but bad Wine, it is euen as dead as a doore naile: and so filling the glasse again, she gaue it vnto Besse.

"She tasting thereof, said: Passion of me, this is plain water.

"Water (said Ioane?) Is it water? Let me taste of it once again: by my Maiden-Head, it is water indeed (quoth she).

"Water (said Florence) you haue played the drabs in drinking out the Wine, and filling the bottle again with water."¹

This is very similar in tone to the dialogue between Long Meg and Gillian of the George in the tale of Richard Casteler. It has already been noted² that the Meg of Deloney's initial description is not the same character as the girl who is revealed in the course of the story. There is no hint of the unusual woman who "could not abide much brabbling" in the following exchange between her and Gillian:

"... but so soone as Margaret spied her, she smiled, saying: Gillian now in good sadnes, wel met, (if thou beest met a maid.)

"And ill met (quoth shee) not meeting so good a maid as my selfe.

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 128.

2. See above, p. 177.

"Tush (said Margaret) it is good for vs to thinke well of our selues, for there is enough that think ill of vs.

"Mary I defie them (quoth Gillian) that thinks ill of me, and I respect as little their speech, as they do my profit ..."¹

Meg's speeches are as lively in conversation with Richard, and when she gives orders for her shoes, she reveals her sturdy independence and self-sufficiency.² The railing repartee between the two maids in Tuttle Fields³ is one of Deloney's most effective pieces of dialogue. Meg reveals a merry heart and cheerful disposition throughout the story, and never more than when she learns that Richard is to marry another. This speech of hers on the subject of the uselessness of grief is often quoted⁴ as an imitation of Falstaff's famous speech on honour,⁵ as it very probably may be; it should be remembered, however, that this kind of mock-catechism was a common rhetorical device, and the likeness to Falstaff's speech may be coin-

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 142.

2. Ibid., pp. 146 - 147.

3. Ibid., pp. 160 - 161.

4. e.g., by J.W.H. Atkins, in The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. IV, p. 371, and by E.A. Baker, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 182.

5. I Henry IV, V, 1, ll.127 et seq.

cidental:

"Meg being merily inclined, shooke off sorrow in this sort, and gently taking the willow Garland, said: wherefore is grieffe good? can it recall folly past? no: can it helpe a matter remediless? no: can it restore losses, or draw vs out of danger? no; what then? can grieffe make vnkind men curteous? no: can it bring long life? no: for it doth rather hasten our death, what then can it do: can it call our friends out of their graues? no: can it restore virginity if we chance to lose our maidenhead? no: **T**hen wherefore should I grieue? except I went to kill myselfe: Nay seeing it is so, hang sorrow, I will neuer care for them that care not for me, and therefore a Figge for the Cocke of Westminster."¹

This reaction to Richard's betrothal, and Meg's later determination not to remain a virgin any longer, are in great contrast to Gillian's tearful retirement to her bed and eventual marriage and quiet respectability as a "very good house-keeper". All through the tale Meg's witty and outspoken manner of speech is well differentiated from that of the less merry and forthright Gillian. Meg is the more engaging of the two, and shares many of the qualities of Deloney's favourite heroes: generosity, good fellowship, honesty and proficiency at her work.

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 162.

The hero of this tale is not, however, one of Deloney's generous, merry-hearted characters. Richard Casteler is the most cautious and least lively of his craftsmen-heroes. He works so hard he has no time for play, and although, in accordance with the historical facts,¹ Deloney details the generosity of his bequests to the poor in his testament, during his life-time Richard shows little tendency towards charity or generosity. He is introduced to the readers by a report of the praises of the "louely Maidens of Westminster", who see in his sparing habits auguries of future wealth:

"Now verily, there goes a proper ciuill young man, wise & thrifty: yea such a one as in time will proue wondrous wealthy ..."²

Meg, although not in earnest, paints the reverse side of this picture when trying to dissuade Gillian from her affection for him:

"I confesse that Richard is a gentle young man, spent curteous and kind, diligent about his businesse, and wary in his dealings, which argues good husbandry. Notwithstanding, I like not these ouer-couetous fellowes, of such greedy mindes, such penny fathers and pinch-fistes ..."³

1. Grafton, op. cit., p. 1323.

2. Mann, op. cit., p. 141.

3. Ibid., p. 145.

3. Ibid., p. 145.

The reader is thus furnished with suggestive hints of Richard's parsimonious habits through the reports of other people's opinions, before Richard himself is introduced to substantiate them. He shows his careful and economical tendencies in many ways, - in his objection that he will have to make specially large lasts for Meg's shoes:

"Notwithstanding (quoth Richard) a paire of Lasts to fit thy foot will cost as much as a hundred of fagots which will not be bought vnder ten groats...."¹

in his well-known habit of working late in the summer, which is one of the reasons why he does not wish to accept Meg's invitation,² and in his annoyance at having lost much work-time during the maids' visits, in spite of the presents they brought him:

"I mary (quoth Richard) but what I get one way I spend another way, while I passe the time in trifling about nothing: you see (quoth he) here is a forenone spent to no purpose, and all by the means of a couple of giglets, that haue greater desire to be playing with a man then to be mindfull to follow their ~~own~~ busines."³

It is not only in questions of money that Richard is careful and sparing; the above quotation shows how

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 146.

2. Ibid., p. 149.

3. Ibid., p. 152.

little he relished the society of the lively maidens, and he has apparently little taste for any kind of mirth or entertainment, and dislikes going out in the evening. The care for his "reputation"¹ which he shows in not wishing to be seen out late suggests an almost womanish caution. Richard is thus a great contrast to Jack of Newbery or Simon Eyer, who both knew how to enjoy themselves on the proper occasion.

Richard is human enough to be drawn away from his work by love of the Dutch girl he eventually marries, but even his choice of a wife is tinged with characteristic shrewdness, for she is described as:

"... a young Dutch maiden dwelling in London, who besides that, was of proper personage, and comely countenance, and could doe diuers pretty feates to get her owne liuing."²

The reader cannot help suspecting that those "pretty feates" weighed heavy in her favour with the prudent Richard.

Richard Casteler does not play a man's part even in marriage, and is teased by his household for not getting his wife with child.³ All Deloney's heroes, in fact, appear to have been childless, but it is unusual for the

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 149.

2. Ibid., p. 155.

3. Ibid., p. 170.

fact to be commented upon so pointedly. It seems strange that in all Deloney's pictures of ordinary domestic life he has nowhere depicted family life with children. The nearest approach to it is in the brief appearance of the mother of Crispin and Crispianus with her sons at the beginning of the second story in The Gentle Craft I. The mention of Thomas Cole's daughter in his premonitions before his murder¹ hardly counts in this respect, for it is merely a device to heighten the pathos, and the child is never mentioned or introduced into the story at any other time.

Richard Casteler is altogether a poorer specimen of manhood than Deloney's usual hearty, full-blooded type of successful craftsman, but is nonetheless a very interesting portrait of an individual. He is more a butt for gentle irony than a pattern or example, and Deloney makes more use than he normally does of other people's comments on Richard as a means of revealing his character.

An example of highly individualised speech, which is an unmistakable distinguishing-mark of a particular character is the rhyming speech of Round Robin, Richard's merry jester of a journeyman. Tom Drum, in the second tale of The Gentle Craft II, also reveals himself in

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 257.

his characteristically braggardly speech:

"Thou saist true (said Tom). I durst lay a good wager I haue made more shooes in one day then all the iorneymen here haue done in a month:

"With that one of the iorneymen began to chafe, saying, how many a paire of shooes hast thou made in a day?

"I made, quoth Tom, when the daies were at ~~their~~ longest, eight score paire of shooes in one day ...

"I deny that (quoth Tom) for I haue been where I haue seene men headed like Dogs, and women of the same shape, where if thou hadst offered them a kisse, they would haue beene ready to haue snapt off thy nose; othersome I haue seen, that one of their legs hath been as good as a penthouse to couer their whole bodies, and yet I haue made them shooes to serue their feet, which I am sure thou couldest neuer do: nay, if thou wilt go with me, if thou seest me not make an hundred paire of shooes from sunrising to sunsetting; count me worse then a stinking Mackrell."¹

The last two stories of The Gentle Craft II are not so rich in character-portrayal as the tales of Eyer and Casteler, nor are any of the clothiers in Thomas of Reading drawn as fully as Eyer, Casteler or Winchcombe. There are not in Deloney's last novel one or two outstanding characters that can be selected for study and analysis.

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 179.

The plan of composition of this novel is different from that of either of the other two; it is not a collection of short stories like The Gentle Craft, nor a sustained biographical narrative. It is concerned with many men, and deals with each in turn. This gives little opportunity for detailed characterisation, although a few of the more important figures, like Thomas Cole, the Bosomes and Cutbert, Fair Margaret and Simon and his wife, do appear fairly frequently in the story, and emerge as individuals by the cumulative effect of their repeated appearances.

It seems that Deloney was more interested, in Thomas of Reading, in working up the various scenes, rather than building and developing the characters throughout the story. For this reason there are not so many instances of characters revealing themselves gradually by their speech as there are of more or less isolated conversation, which shed a vivid, if momentary, light on the characters of the speakers, who may or may not appear again in the narrative. One such highly effective and revealing conversation-piece is the discussion between the husbands and wives of "Colebroke" on the subject of Tom Dove,¹ but, alas, none of these admirable characters is heard of again. The type of corporate conversation exemplified by this passage is often found in Deloney's work, and is used

1. Mann, op. cit., pp. 216 - 217.

to reveal the common characteristics of a group of people.¹ Once the convention has been accepted, the dialogue is as natural and convincing as that between single characters.

Another isolated but illuminating dialogue is that between Gray and his wife on the hiring of Margaret:

"Now, so soone as the goodman saw her, hee asked his wife where she had that Maiden. She said, at the Faire.

"Why then (quoth he) thou hast brought al the Faire away, and I doubt it were better for vs, to send the Faire to another Towne, then to keepe the Faire here.

"Why man (quoth she) what meane you by that?

"Woman, I meane this, that she will proue a Loadstone, to draw the hearts of all my men after her, and so we shal haue wise seruice done of all sides.

"Then said his wife, I hope, husband, Margaret will haue a better care both to her owne credit, and our commodity then so, and so let her alone to looke to such matters.

"Is thy name Margaret (quoth her Master)? proper is thy name to thy person, for thou art a pearle indeed, orient, and rich in beautie.

"His wife, hearing him say so, began to change her opinion: What husband (quoth she) is the winde at that

1. Other examples are the dialogues between Tom Drum and the journeymen, Mann, op. cit., pp. 179-181, between Will Summers and the maids, ibid., pp. 39-40, and between Mistress Frank and the servants, ibid., pp. 61-62.

"doore? Begin you to like your maid so well? I doubt I had most need to looke to your selfe..."¹

The speech of Margaret as the servant of Gray is well differentiated from the far more elevated style of her monologues and speeches to her lover in her own character.² Similarly effective is the contrast between the loving words of Cutbert and Bosome's wife when they are, or think themselves to be, alone,³ and their pre-arranged back-biting in public.⁴ Some of the most lively and entertaining dialogue in the novel is provided by this pretended railing:

"Ywis, my hoast, (quoth he) you haue a wise huswife to your wife, heere is meate drest of a new fashion: God sends meate, and the diuell sends cookes.

"Why what ails the meate (quoth she) serues it not your turne? better men then your selfe are content withall, but a paultrie companion is euer worst to please.

"Away, you sluttish thing (qd. Cutb.) your husband hath a sweet iewell of you: I maruell such a graue ancient man would match himselfe with such a young giglot, that hath as much handsomenes in her, as good huswifery, which

1. Mann, op. cit., pp. 224 - 225.

2. For examples of the latter, see ibid., pp. 222 and 249-251.

3. Ibid., pp. 219 - 220 and 229 - 230.

4. Ibid., pp. 221 and 230 - 231.

"is iust nothing at all."¹

The characters of the amorous Cutbert, who loved "mutton, such as was laced in a red petticoate", the discontented young wife and the shrewd old husband are all admirably suggested in dialogue, and are among the most vivid figures in the story. The domestic relations of Simon of Southampton and his wife, who is very desirous of visiting London and dressing like London ladies, are also well presented in two or three effective dialogues in which Simon's wife always ends by getting her own way.²

Deloney's treatment of old Cole's murder is masterly in its building-up of suspense and pathos by means of the old man's expressions of his forebodings³ and tender thoughts of his wife and daughter:

"No cause of these feares I know: but it comes now into my minde (said Cole) when I set ~~forward~~ toward this my last iourney to London, how my daughter tooke on, what a coyle she kept to haue me stay: and I could not be rid of the little baggage a long time, she did so hang about me, when her mother by violence tooke her away, she cryed **out** most mainly, O my father, my father, I shall neuer see him againe."⁴

1. Mann, op. cit., p. 221

2. See, e.g., ibid., pp. 233 - 234 and 238 - 240.

3. Ibid., pp. 256 - 258.

4. Ibid., p. 257.

The skilfully suggested Northern dialect of Hogeckins has already been mentioned;¹ it is as accurate and life-like as Deloney's reproduction of a French accent in The Gentle Craft I, and suggests that if Deloney had never travelled north, he must at least have come into close contact with one or more Northerners, and observantly noted the idiosyncracies of their speech.

Deloney, indeed, must have had a remarkably keen ear and retentive memory for the speech of various types of people. Many of his dialogues ring so true to life that one might almost imagine they were verbatim reports of conversations the author had overheard, but for the skilful artistry by which they are made to reveal character. This truth to nature in dialogue, together with his humanity and sympathy, make Deloney the most genial, as well as the most successful, creator of character among Elizabethan fiction-writers.

1. See above, p. 175.

CONCLUSION.

Elizabethan fiction reached its highest point of development in the works of Thomas Deloney. There were later authors, some of whom, such as Robartes and Winstanley, attempted to write in Deloney's manner, but it was not until the re-emergence of the English novel in the eighteenth century that any advance was made upon the achievements of Deloney. His tales may not seem very impressive specimens of the novelist's art to a twentieth-century reader, but considered, as they must be, as products of their age, and as the culmination of the Elizabethan development of fiction, they assume their proper importance. It was Deloney's successful presentation of character that played the largest part in making him the foremost novelist of the sixteenth century.

It is a far cry indeed from the early attempts at fiction of such men as Painter, Fenton, Munday or Johnson to the entertaining narratives of Deloney, from their conventional lay-figures to his full-blooded, warm-hearted and lively-voiced craftsmen and serving-wenches. The intervening period saw many experiments, developments, imitations and innovations, some fruitful and others doomed to sterility. The Elizabethan era as a whole saw a general advance in the techniques of character presentation and also a great growth of interest in character. One pointer to this increasing interest is the rise of the

Theophrastian "Character" as a literary form; earlier literature afforded nothing comparable, apart from the allegorical thumbnail sketch.

This gradual but steady development of the art of characterisation in fiction took place at the common level, but the outstanding advances were made by a few exceptional writers, who, although they profited by the experience of others, were chiefly remarkable for original innovations in entirely new directions. They did not always win acclaim from their contemporaries, or exert any great influence on later writers, but it is to their works that one must turn to find the most valuable developments in the portrayal of character.

John Lyly was one such writer; his *Euphues* was an original character, consistently conceived and developed, and one which exemplified a welcome and much-needed turn towards contemporary life and people as the material of fiction. This aspect of Lyly's novel was, however, largely ignored by his numerous imitators. Almost all, with the exception of Barnaby Riche, in his *Don Simonides*, seized upon the ornate style of *Euphues* as their model, and failed to realise the significance of the treatment of the theme and central figure. There were others, however, such as Gascoigne and Whetstone, who contributed in their own ways to the development of the contemporary courtier as a fictional character.

Gascoigne also played a unique rôle as the initiator of the "psychological novel." His one slight tale, "The Adventures of Master F.J.", did not have, and perhaps could not be expected to have, an extensive influence on other writers, for it was too original to appeal to them as a model. There were at least two authors, Whetstone and Grange, who were to a certain degree influenced by Gascoigne's work, as C.T.Prouty notes¹. Here again, however, as in the case of Euphues, they missed the most important aspect of the story, in this case, the dominating interest in "psychology." "The Adventures of Master F.J." stands out as a highly original achievement and a minor masterpiece of its time.

Riche, Lodge and Greene were not innovators to the same extent: Riche and Greene played important parts in bringing the novella-type story closer to contemporary English life, and Lodge and Greene performed much the same office for the romance. Lodge must also be credited with the first attempts to build up a fictitious narrative around historical figures and events, in his William Long beard and, to a lesser extent, Robert second Duke of

1. In his Chapter entitled "Elizabethan Fiction: Whetstone's Rinaldo and Giletta and Grange's The Golden Aphroditis," in Studies in Honor of A.H.R. Fairchild, ed. C.T.Prouty, Columbia, 1946, pp. 133 - 150.

Normandy. He was not wholly successful in these attempts, but he had the merit of breaking new ground, and preparing the way for the more effective use of historical characters made by both Nashe and Deloney.

Greene's main claim to originality, if such a claim can be made for such a writer, lies in his fictitious presentation of realistic material of the low life of London. In his best character-studies, Francesco and the "English Courtizan," he reveals unsuspected psychological insight and understanding. Greene's undeniable talents were largely wasted or misused in the numerous romantic tales he produced for the fashionable market, and are only to be appreciated fully in his more naturalistic stories, and in the "Conny-catching Pamphlets."

Nashe was another writer whose contribution to fiction was ignored to a great extent in his own day. In The Unfortunate Traueller, as well as in many of his satirical pamphlets, he drew some of the most vivid character-sketches in contemporary fiction. He excelled in vigorous and lively, if not strictly life-like, caricatures, and succeeded in imparting something of his own gusto to his characterisation. Together with this went his eye for external appearances, which enabled him to give what was so often lacking in Elizabethan character-drawing, detailed descriptions of persons and dress.

In this observation and portrayal of the actual appearance of people, Nashe was the predecessor of Deloney. Deloney, however, did not indulge in Nashe's bent for satirical comment, but let his characters reveal themselves. No characters in sixteenth-century fiction can rival his for solidity and naturalness, although Gascoigne's and the best of Greene's surpassed them in depth and complexity. Deloney kept mainly to dramatic methods of presentation, which, while allowing direct and vivid revelation of the characters of ordinary men and women, did not offer a great opportunity for exploring more complicated personalities, or of offering comment, judgment or explanation concerning the internal workings of a person's heart and mind.

It is interesting to remark that, with the notable exception of Gascoigne, almost all the most successful creators of character had certain connections with the popular stage. Deloney, in particular, seems to have been influenced by the plays he must have seen and enjoyed. Apart from the generally dramatic method of character presentation, there is the speech of Long Meg's, referred to in the last Chapter,¹ which seems to argue some acquaintance with Shakespeare's Henry IV, Part I, and

1. See above, pp. 192 - 193.

also Jack of Newbery's song about women,¹ which bears some suggestive resemblances to several speeches in Much Ado about Nothing.² Certain devices, such as the use of the malapropism or of an English dialect or foreign accent, which Deloney uses as effective vehicles of characterisation, can also be traced to the theatre.

Since such good use could have been made of dramatic material and methods, and since drama was the dominant form of literature at that time, it seems strange that there was so little borrowing from dramatic works by the writers of fiction. The borrowing in the reverse direction that took place during Elizabeth's reign is such a commonplace of literary history that one tends to accept this state of affairs as natural, and not to stop and wonder why the traffic should only be in the one, unexpected, direction.

Drama, after all, is not so well fitted to be a vehicle for sustained characterisation as the novel, yet, being the most popular form, it drew to itself writers whose talents might, in other circumstances, have come to fruition in the field of prose fiction. It would have

1. The Works of Thomas Deloney, ed. F.O.Mann, pp. 7 - 8.

2. See especially Much Ado, Act I, Scene i, ll. 146 - 149, Act II, Scene iii, ll. 21 - 31, and Act III, Scene i, ll. 59 - 70.

needed a prophetic soul to foresee at that time the relative positions of drama and the novel to-day, when it is the novel that is the dominant form of literature, and the accepted medium for the exploration and portrayal of character. The seeds of this situation were, however, present in the sixteenth century, for although Renaissance drama and fiction emerged at about the same time, the drama, perhaps due to its great degree of popular support, developed much the more rapidly. At the end of the period the drama, therefore, was a highly developed form, and fiction was still relatively undeveloped, and consequently possessed a much greater potential capacity for growth.

This potentiality has now been realised, and to-day the novel seems, in its turn, to have reached its highest point of development; one can only wonder what new form will grow up and supplant it. The Elizabethan narrative writers began the process from which the modern novel, as distinct from the romance, has evolved, and they must be given due credit for building up from such small beginnings what, by the end of the century, was a young but thriving form. The bear cub, although it had not yet reached its full stature, had made considerable progress towards maturity, and by the time of the Queen's death was at least a recognisable specimen of its breed.

CONCLUSION.

In this edition, the date of publication of the works mentioned in the text is given in brackets under the original date of publication. A small number of works, mentioned in the text, but which were not accessible to me in any edition, are marked with an asterisk.

Arden, John. The Works of William Shakespeare. 1561

Arden, John. The Works of William Shakespeare. 1561

LIST OF BOOKS CONSULTED.

Full titles of all Elizabethan works consulted are given in this list. Where no copy of the first edition was available, the date of the edition used has been shown in brackets under the original date of publication. A small number of works, mentioned in the text, but which were not accessible to me in any edition, are marked with an asterisk.

Burton, Richard. The Anatomy of Melancholy. 1599.

Chettle, Henry. Kind-Hearted Dives. 1592.
Piers Plaimes seaven yeres Prentiship. 1595.

Day, Angel. (tr.) Daphnia and Chloea. Excellently describing the weight of affection, the simplicitie of love, the purport of honest meaning, the resurrection of men, and disposition of fate. Finished in a Pastorall, and interlaced with the praises of a most peerlesse Princess, wonderful in Malastie, and rare in perfection, celebrated within the same Pastorall, and therefore termed by the name of the Shepherds Hollin. 1597.

Dekker, Thomas. The Wonderful Year. 1603. therein

LIST OF BOOKS CONSULTED.(A). Elizabethan Texts.

- Adlington, William. (tr.) The xi. Bookes of the Golden Asse, Conteing the Metamorphosie of Lucius Apuleius, enterlaced with sondrie pleasaunt and delectable Tales, with an excellent Narration of the Marriage of Cupido and Psiches, set out in the iij. v. and vi. Bookes. Translated out of Latine into Englishe by William Adlington. 1566.
- Awdeley, John. The Fraternitie of Vacabondes. 1560 or 1561
- Bourchier, John. (tr.)
(Lord Berners) The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius Emperour and Eloquent Oratour. 1535?
(1539)
- Breton, Nicholas. The Miseries of Mauillia. The most vnfortunate Ladie, that euer liued. First found by the said Author N. Breton Gentleman. 1599.
- Burton, William. (tr.) The most delectable and plesant Historye of Clitophon and Leucippe from the Greek of Achilles Tatius. 1597.
- Chettle, Henry. Kind-Hartes Dreame. 1592.
- " " Piers Plainnes seauen yeres Prentiship. 1595.
- Day, Angel. (tr.) Daphnis and Chloe. Excellently describing the weight of affection, the simplicitie of loue, the purport of honest meaning, the resolution of men, and disposition of Fate, finished in a Pastorall, and interlaced with the praises of a most peerlesse Princesse, wonderfull in Maiestie, and rare in perfection, celebrated within the same Pastorall, and therefore termed by the name of the Shepherds Holidiaie. 1587.
- Dekker, Thomas. The wonderfull Yeare. 1603. Wherein

Dekker, Thomas.
(contd.)

is shewed the picture of London,
lying sicke of the Plague. At the
end of all (like a mery Epilogue
to a dull Play) certaine Tales are
cut out in sundry fashions.

1603.

" "

The seven deadly sinnes of London:
drawne in seven severall coaches,
through the citie.

1606.

" "

The Belman of London: bringing to
light the most notorious villanies.

1608.

" "

Lanthorne and Candle-light, or the
second part of the Belman.

1608.

(1609)

" "

The guls horne-booke.

1609.

" "

O per se O, or a new cryer of
lanthorne and candlelight.

1612.

Deloney, Thomas.

The Pleasant Historie of Iohn
Winchcomb, In his yonger yeares
called Iack of Newbery, The famous
and worthy Clothier of England;
declaring his life and loue, together
with his charitable deeds and great
Hospitalitie. And how hee set con-
tinually five hundred poore people
at worke, to the great benefite of
the Common-wealth.

1597.

(1633)

" "

The Gentle Craft. A most merry and
pleasant Historie, not altogether
vnpfitable, nor any way hurtfull:
very fit to passe away the tediousnes
of the long winters euenings.

1598?

(1637)

" "

The Gentle Craft. The second Part.
Being a most merrie and pleasant
Historie, not altogether vnpfitable
nor any way hurtfull: verie fit to
passe away the tediousnesse of the
long winter euenings.

1599?

(1639)

Deloney, Thomas.

Thomas of Reading. Or, The sixe
worthy yeomen of the West.1600?
(1612)

Dickenson, John.

Arisbas, Euphues amidst his slumbers:
Or cupids Iourney to Hell. Decypher-
ing a Myrror of Constancie, a Touch-
stone of tried affection, begun in
chaste desires, ended in choise
delights: And emblasoning Beauties
glorie, adorned by Natures bountie.
With the Triumph of True Loue, in
the foyle of false Fortune.

1594.

" "

Greene in Concept. New raised
from his graue to write the Tragique
Historie of faire Valeria of London
Wherein is truly discovered the rare
and lamentable issue of a Husbands
dotage, a wiues leudnesse, & child-
rens disobedience. Receiued and
reported by I. D.

1598.

Fenton, Geoffrey.

Certaine Tragicall Discourses
written oute of Frenche and Latin,
by Geffraie Fenton, no lesse
profitable then pleasaunt, and of
like necessitye to al degrees that
take pleasure in antiquities or
forreine reapportes.

1567.

Forde, Emanuel.

Parismus, The Renowned Prince of
Bohemia. His most famous, delect-
able, and pleasant Historie.
Containing His Noble Battailles
fought against the Persians, His
Loue to Laurana, the Kings Daughter
of Thessalie, And his strange
Aduentures in the Desolate Iland.

1598.

" "

The Second Part of the most famous,
delectable, and pleasant Hystorie
of Parismus the renowned Prince of
Bohemia. The aduenturous trauels,
and Noble Chiuallrie of Parismenos,
the Knight of Fame, in diuers
Countreyes.

1599.

" "

The Most Pleasant History of

Forde, Emanuel.
(contd.)

Ornatus and Artesia. Wherein is
contayned the vniust Raigne of
Thæ on King of Phrygia. Who with
his sonne Lenon intending Ornatus
Death, right heyre to the Crowne,
was afterwards slaine by his owne
Servants; and Ornatus after many
extreame miseries, Crowned King.

1595?
(1634)

" "

The Famous Historie of Montelyon,
Knight of the Oracle, and Sonne
to the renowned Persicles King of
Assyria.

1633.
(1663)

Gascoigne, George.

A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres bounde
vp in one small Poesie. 1572

" "

The Posies of George Gascoigne
Esquire. Corrected, perfected,
and augmented by the Authour.

1575.

Gesta Romanorum.

1557?
(1648)

Grafton, Richard.

A Chronicle at large and meere
History of the affayres of Englande
and Kinges of the same, deduced
from the Creation of the worlde,
vnto the first habitation of thys
Islande: and so by contynuançe
vnto the first yere of the reigne
of our most deere and souereigne
Lady Queene Elizabeth. 1569.

Greene, Robert.

Mamillia. A Mirrour or looking-
glasse for the Ladies of Englande.
Wherein is deciphered, howe Gentle-
men vnder the perfect substaunce
of pure loue, are oft inueigled
with the shadowe of lewde luste:
and their firme faith, brought
asleepe by fading fancie: vntil
wit ioyned with wisdom, doth awake
it by the helpe of reason.

1583.

Greene, Robert.

Mamillia: The second part of the triumph of Pallas: wherein with perpetual fame the constancie of Gentlewomen is canonised, and the vniust blasphemies of womens supposed ficklenesse (breathed out by diuerse iniurious persons) by manifest examples clearely infringed. 1593.

" "

The Myrroure of Modestie, wherein appeareth as in a perfect Glasse howe the Lorde deliuereth the innocent from all imminent perils, and plagueth the bloudthirstie hypocrites with deserued punishments. Shewing that the graie heades of dooting adulterers shall not go with peace into the graue, neither shall the righteous be forsaken in the daie of trouble. 1584.

" "

Gwydonius. The Carde of Fancie. Wherein the Folly of those Carpet Knights is decyphered, which guyding their course by the compasse of Cupid, either dash their ship against most dangerous Rocks, or els attaine the ha~~ve~~n with paine and perill. Wherein also is described in the person of Gwydonius, a cruell Combat betweene Nature and necessitie. 1984.
(1608)

" "

Arbasto, The Anatomie of Fortune. Wherein is discovered by a pithie and pleasant Discourse, that the highest state of prosperitie, is oftimes the first step to mishap, and that to stay vpon Fortunes lotte, is to treade on brittle Glasse. Wherin also Gentlemen may finde pleasaunte conceytes to purge Melancholy, and perfite counsell to preuent misfortune. 1584.
(1626)

Greene, Robert.

Morando. The Tritameron of Loue:
Wherein certaine pleasaunt conceites,
vtttered by diuers woorthy personages,
are perfectly dyscoursed, and three
doubtfull ouestyons of Loue most
pithely and pleasauntly discussed:
Shewing to the wyse howe to vse
Loue, and to the fonde, howe to
eschew Lust: and yeelding to all
both pleasure and profitt. 1584.

"

"

Planetomachia: Or the first part
of the generall opposition of the
seuen Planets: wherein is Ast-
ronomically described their essence,
nature, and influence. Diuersly
discouering in their pleasaunt
and Tragicall histories, the inward
affections of the mindes, and
painting them out in such perfect
Colours, as youth may perceiue
what fond fancies their flourishing
yeares doe foster: and age clerely
see what doting desires their
withered heares doe affoorde.
Conteyning also a briefe Apologie
of the sacred and misticall Science
of Astronomie. 1585

"

"

Morando. The Tritameron of Loue:
The first and second parts. 1587.

"

"

The Second part of the Tritameron
of Loue: wherein is set forth a
delightfull discouerie of Fortune
and Friendship, newly adioyned.
1587.

"

"

Penelopes Web: Wherein a Christall
Myrror of faeminine perfection
represents to the viewe of euery
one those vertues and graces, which
more curiously beautifies the mynd
of women, then eyther sumptuous
Apparell, or Iewels of inestimable
ualew: the one buying fame with
honour, the other breeding a kynd
of delight, but with repentance.
In three seuerall discourses also
are three especiall vartues, necessary
to be incident in euery vertuous

Greene, Robert.
(contd.)

woman, pithely discussed: namely
Obedience, Chastitie, and Sylence:
Interlaced with three seuerall and
Comicall Histories. 1587.
(1601)

" "

Euphues his censure to Philautus.
Wherein is presented a philosophical
combat betweene Hector and Achylles,
discouering in foure discourses,
interlaced with diuerse delightfull
Tragedies, The Vertues necessary
to be incident in euery gentleman:
had in question at the siege of
Troy betwixt sondry Grecian and
Troian Lords: especially debated
to discouer the perfection of a
souldier. Containing mirth to purge
melancholy, holsome precepts to
profit maners, neither vnsauerie
to youth for delight, nor offensiuie
to age for scurrilitie. 1587.

" "

Perimedes The Blacke-Smith, A
golden methode, how to vse the
minde in pleasant and profitable
exercise. Wherein is contained
speciall principles fit for the
highest to imitate, and the meanest
to put in practise, how best to
spend the wearie winters nights,
or the longest summers Euenings,
in honest and delightfull recreation.
Wherein we may learne to auoide
idlenesse and wanton scurrilitie,
which diuers appoint as the end of
their pastimes. Heerein are inter-
three merrie and necessarie discourses
fit for our time: with certaine
pleasant Histories and tragicall
tales, which may breed delight to
all, and offence to none. 1588.

" "

Pandosto. The Triumph of Time.
Wherein is discouered by a pleasant
Historie, that although by the meanes
of sinister fortune Truth may be
concealed, yet by Time in spight of
fortune it is most manifestly
reuealed. Pleasant for age to
auoyde drowsie thoughtes, profitable
for youth to eschue other wanton

Greene, Robert.
(contd.)

pastimes, and bringing to both a
desired content. 1588.

" "

Alcida Greenes Metamorphosis,
Wherein is discovered, a pleasant
transformation of bodies into
sundrie shapes, shewing that as
vertues beautifie the mind, so
vanities giue greater staines,
than the perfection of any quality
can rase out: The Discourse con-
firmed with diuerse merry and
delightfull Histories; full of
graue principles to content Age,
and sawsed with pleasant parlees,
and witty answeres, to satisfie
youth: profitable for both, and
not offensive to any. 1617.
(Entered on Stationers' Register
in December, 1588.)

" "

Greenes Orpharion. Wherin is
discovered a musically concorde
of pleasant Histories, many sweet
moodes graced with such harmonious
discords, as agreeing in a delight-
full crosse, they sound both
pleasure and profit to the eare.
Heerein also as in a Diatheeron, the
branches of Vertue, ascending and
descending by degrees: are counited
in the glorious praise of women-
kind. With diuers Tragical and
Comical Histories presented by
Orpheus and Arion, beeing as full
of profit as of pleasure. 1599.
(Entered on Stationers' Register
in February, 1590.)

" "

Ciceronis Amor. Tullies Loue.
Wherein is discoursed the prime
of Ciceroes youth, setting out in
liuely portratures how young
Gentlemen that ayme at honour
should leuell the end of their
affections, holding the loue of
countrie and friends in more esteeme
then those fading blossomes of
beautie that onely feede the curious
suruey of the eye. A worke full
of pleasure/as following Ciceroes

Greene, Robert.
(contd.)

vaine, who was as conceipted in
his youth as graue in his age,
profitable as conteining precepts
worthie so famous an Orator.
1589.

" "

Menaphon. Camillas alarum to
slumbering Euphues, in his melan-
cholie Cell at Silexedra. Wherein
are deciphered the variable effects
of Fortune, the wonders of Loue,
the triumphes of inconstant Time.
Displaying in sundrie conceipted
passions (figured in a continuate
Historie) the Trophees that Vertue
carrieth triumphant, maugre the
wrath of Enuie, or the resolution
of Fortune. A worke worthie the
youngest eares for pleasure, or
the grauest censures for principles.
1589.

" "

Greenes Neuer too late. Or, A
Powder of Experience: Sent to all
youthfull Gentlemen; to roote out
the infectious follies, that ouer-
reaching conceits foster in the
spring time of their youth.
Decyphering in a true English
historie, those particular vanities
that with their frostie vapours
nip the blossoms of euerie ripe
braine, from atteining to his
intended perfection. As pleasant,
as profitable, being a right
pumice stone, apt to race out
idlenesse with delight, and follie
with admonition.
1590.

" "

Francescos Fortunes: Or, The second
part of Greenes Neuer too late.
Wherein is discoursed the fall of
Loue, the bitter fruites of Follies
pleasure, and the repentant sorrowes
of a reformed man.
1590.

Greene, Robert.

Greenes Mourning Garment, Given him by repentance at the funerals of Loue, which he presents for a fauour to all young Gentlemen that wish to weane themselves from wanton desires. 1590.

(1616)

Greenes Vision: Written at the instant of his death. Conteyning a penitent passion for the folly of his Pen. 1592.

Greenes Farewell to Folly: Sent to Courtiers and Schollers as a president to warne them from the Vaine delights that drawes youth on to repentance. 1591.

A Notable Discouery of Coosnage. Now daily practised by sundry lewd persons, called Connie-catchers, and Crosse-biters. Plainely laying open those pernicious sleights that hath brought many ignorant men to confusion. Written for the general benefit of all Gentlemen, Citizens, Aprentises, Countrey Farmers and yeomen, that may hap to fall into the company of such coosening companions. With a delightfull discourse of the coosnage of Colliers. 1591.

The Second part of Conny-catching. Contayning the discouery of certaine wondrous Coosenages, either superficialle past ouer, or vtterlie vntoucht in the first. As the nature of

The blacke Art, Picking of lockes.
The Vincents Law, Coosenage at Bowls.
The Frigging Law, Horse stealing.
The Courbing Law, Hooking at windows.
The Lifting Law, Stealing of Parcells.
The Foist, The pickpocket.
The Nippe, The cut purse.
With sundrie pithy and pleasant Tales worthy the reading of all estates, that are enemies to such base and dishonest practises.

1591.

Greene, Robert.

The Thirde and last Part of Conny-catching. With the new devised knauish Art of Foole-taking. The like Cosenages and Villenies neuer before discovered. 1592.

" "

A Disputation, Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher, and a Shee Conny-catcher, whether a Theefe or a Whoore, is most hurtfull in Cousonage, to the Common-wealth. Discovering The Secret villanies of alluring Strumpets. With the Conuersion of an English Courtizan, reformed this present yeare, 1592. Reade, laugh, and learne. 1592.

" "

Philomela. The Lady Fitzwaters Nightingale. 1592.
(1615)

" "

A Quip for an Vpstart Courtier: Or, A quaint dispute between Veluet breeches and Clothbreeches. Wherein is plainly set downe the disorders in all Estates and Trades. 1592.

" "

The Blacke Bookes Messenger. Laying open the Life and Death of Ned Browne one of the most notable Cutpurses, Crosbiters, and Conny-catchers, that euer liued in England. Heerein hee telleth verie pleasantly in his owne person such strange prancks and monstrous villanies by him and his Consorte performed, as the like was yet neuer heard of in any of the former bookes of Conny-catching. Read and be warnd, Laugh as you like, Iudge as you find. 1592.

" "

Greenes, Groats-Worth of witte, bought with a million of Repentance. Describing the follie of youth, the falshood of make-shifte flatterers, the miserie of the negligent, and mischiefes of deceiuing Courtezans. Written before his death and published at his dyeing request. 1592.
(1596)

- Greene, Robert. The Repentance of Robert Greene Maister of Artes. Wherein by himselfe is laid open his loose life, with the manner of his death. 1592.
- " " (Dramatic Works) A Looking-Glasse for London and England. Made by Thomas Lodge Gentleman, and Robert Greene. In Artibus Magister. 1594.
- " " The Honorable Historie of frier Bacon and frier Bongay. As it was plaid by her Maiesties seruants. 1594.
- " " The Scottish Historie of Iames the fourth, slaine at Flodden. Enter-mixed with a pleasant Comedie, presented by Oboram King of Fayeries: As it hath bene sundrie times publikey plaide. 1598.
- " " The Comicall Historie of Alphonsus King of Aragon. As it hath bene sundrie times Acted. 1599.
- Halle, Edward. The Vnion of the two noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre & Yorke, beeyng long in a continual discension for the croun of this noble realme, with all the actes done in bothe the tymes of the Princes, bothe of the one linage and of the other, beginnyng at the tyme of King Henry the fowerth, the first auctor of this deuisiion, and so successively proceadyng to the reigne of the high and prudent prince Kyng Henry the eight, the vndubitate flower and very heire of both the sayd linages. 1548.
- Harman, Thomas. A Caueat or Warening for Commen Cursetors vulgarely called Vagabones, set forth by Thomas Harman, Esquiere, for the vtilitie and proffyt of hys naturall Countrey. Augmented and inlarged by the fyrst author here of. 1567.

Hoby, Thomas
(tr.)

The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio. Divided into Foure Bookes. Very Necessary and Profitable for Yong Gentilmen and Gentilwomen abiding in Court, Palaice, or Place, done into Englyshe by Thomas Hoby. 1561.

Holinshed, Raphael.

The First and second volumes of Chronicles, comprising 1. The description and historie of England, 2. The description and historie of Irelande, 3. The description and historie of Scotland: First collected and published by Raphael Holinshed, William Harrison, and others: Now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of singular note and worthie memorie) to the yeare 1586 by Iohn Hooker alias Vowell Gent. and others. 1587.

Johnson, Richard.

The nine Worthies of London. Explayning the honourable exercise of Armes, the vertues of the valiant, and the memorable attempts of magnanimous minds. Pleasant for Gentle-men, not vnseemely for Magistrates, and most profitable for Prentises. 1592.

"

"

The Famous Historie of the Seauen Champions of Christendome. Saint George of England, Saint Denis of France, Saint Iames of Spaine, Saint Anthony of Italy, Saint Andrew of Scotland, Saint Patricke of Ireland, and Saint David of Wales. The first Part. Shewing their Honourable Battels by Sea and Land: their Tilts, Iusts, Turnaments for Ladies: their Combats with Giants, Monsters and Dragons: their aduentures in forraine Nations: their Inchantments in the Holy Land: their Knighthoods, Prowesse and Chivalry, in Europe, Africa, and Asia, with their victories against the enemies of Christ. Whereunto is added by the first Author, the

Johnson, Richard.
(contd.)

true manner of their deaths,
being seauen famous Tragedies:
and how they came to be called the
seauen Saints of Christendome..

1596.
(1616)

" "

The Famous Historie of the Seauen
Champions of Christendome. The
second Part. Likewise Shewing the
Princely prowesse of Saint Georges
three Sonnes, the liuely Sparkes
of Nobilitie. With many other
memoriall atchiuements worthy the
golden Spurres of Knighthood.

1597.
(1616)

" "

The most pleasant History of Tom
a Lincoln that ever renowned
souldier the Red-Rose Knight Who
for his Valour and Chivalry, was
Sirnamed The Boast of England.
Shewing his Honourable Victories
in Forrain Countries, with his
strange Fortunes in the Fayrie-Land:
and how he married the Faire
Anglitora, Daughter to Prester
John, that renowned Monark of the
World. Together with the Lives
and Deaths of his two famous Sons
the Black Knight, and the Fairy
Knight, with diuers other memorable
accidents, full of delight.

1599?
(1655)

" "

The Pleasant Conceites of Old
Hobson the merry Londoner, full
of humorous discourses, and witty
meriments. Whereat quickest wittes
may laugh, and the Wiser sort take
pleasure.

1607.

" "

*The History of Tom Thumbe, the Little,
for his small stature surnamed,
King Arthurs Dwarfe: Whose Life and
Aduentures containe many strange
and wonderfull accidents, published
for the delight of merry Time-
spenders.

1621.

- Kemp, William. Kemps nine Daies Wonder, performed in a Daunce from London to Norwich. 1600.
- Ieland, John. The laboryouse iourney & serche of I. Leylande for Englandes antiquities, geuen of hym as a newe yeares gyfte to Kyng Henry the viii, with declaracyons enlarged. 1549.
- Lodge, Thomas. An Alarum against Vsurers. Containyng tryed experiences against worldly abuses. Wherein Gentlemen may finde good counsells to confirme them, and pleasant Histories to delight them: and euery thing so interlaced with varietie: as the curious may be satisfied with rarenesse, and the curteous with pleasure. Heerevnto are annexed the delectable historie of Forbonius and Prisceria: with the lamentable Complaint of Truth ouer England. 1584.
- " " Rosalynde. Euphues golden legacie: found after his death in his Cell at Silexedra. Bequeathed to Philautus sonnes noursed vp with their father in England. Fetcht from the Canaries. By T.L.Gent. 1590.
(1592)
- " " The Famous, true and historicall Life of Robert second Duke of Normandy, surnamed for his monstrous birth and behaiour, Robin the Diuell. Wherein is contained his dissolute life in his youth, his deuout reconcilment and vertues in his age; Interlaced with many straunge and miraculous aduentures. Wherein are both causes of profite, and manie conceits of pleasure. 1591.

Lodge, Thomas.

Euphues Shadow, the Battaile of the Sences. Wherein youthfull folly is set downe in his right figure, and vaine fancies are prooued to produce many offences. Hereunto is annexed the Deafemans Dialogue, contayning Philamis Athanatos: fit for all sortes to peruse, and the better sorte to practice. 1592.

" "

The Life and Death of William Longbeard, the most famous and witty English Traitor, borne in the Citty of London. Accompanied with manye other most pleasant and pretie histories. 1593.

" "

A Margarite of America. 1596.

" "

Catharos. Diogenes in his Singularitie. Wherein is comprehended his merrie baighting fit for all mens benefits: Christened by him, A Nettle for Nice Noses. 1591.

" "

The Diuel coniured. 1596.

" "

Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse: Discovering the Devils Incarnat of this Age. 1596.

Lyly, John.

Euphues. The Anatomy of Wyt. Very pleasant for all Gentlemen to reade, and most necessary to remember: wherin are contained the delights that Wyt followeth in his youth by the pleasauntnesse of Loue, and the happynesse he reapeth in age, by the perfectnesse of Wisedome. 1578.

" 3. " 1st ed. of the first parts only of the work reissued (revised by Sunday etc. 1578-1)

Euphues and his England. Contain- ing his voyage and aduentures, myxed with sundry pretie discourses of honest Loue, the discription of the countrey, the Court, and the manners of that Isle. Delightful to be read, and nothing hurtfull to be regarded: wher-in there is small offence by lightnesse giuen

Lyly, John.
(contd.)

to the wise, and lesse occasion
of loosenes proffered to the
wanton. By John Lyly, Maister
of Arte. Commend it, or amend it.

1580
(1581)

Malory, Sir Thomas.

(colophon)
Thus endeth thys noble and Ioyous
book entytled le morte Darthur,
Notwythstondyng it treateth of
the byrth, lyf, and actes of the
round table, theyr meruayllous
enquestes and aduentures,
thacheuyng of the sangreal & in
thende the dolorous deth & departyng
out of thys world of them al, whiche
book was reduced into englysshe by
Syr Thomas Malory, knyght.

1485.
(1529)

"Meg "

The Life and Pranks of Long Meg
of Westminster. ?

(1582)

Middleton, Christopher.

The Famous Historie of Chinon of
England. With the worthy Atchieue-
ment of Sir Iancelot du Lake, and
Sir Tristram du Lions. 1597.

Munday, Anthony.

*Zelauto. The Fountaine of Fame:
Erected in an Orcharde of Amorous
Aduentures: Containing a Delicate
Disputation, gallantly discoursed
betweene two noble Gentlemen of
Italye: Giuen for a friendly enter-
tainment to Euphues, at his late
arrival into England. 1580.

Munday, Anthony.
(tr.)

(N.B. Titles of the
first parts only of
the many romances
translated by Munday
are listed.)

The First Part of the no lesse
rare, then excellent and stately
History, of the Famous and fortunate
Prince Palmerin of England. Declar-
ing The Birth of him, and Prince
Florian du Desart his Brother, in
the Forrest of Great Britaine: The
course of their Lives afterward in
pursuing Knightly Aduentures and
performing incomparable deeds of
Chivalry. Wherein Gentlemen may

Munday, Anthony. (tr.)
(contd.)

find choise of sweet Inventions
and Gentlewomen be satisfied in
Courtly expectations. 1581?
(1639)

" "

Palmerin D'Oliua. The Mirrour
of nobilitie, Mapped of honor,
Anotomie of rare fortunes, Heroy-
call president of Loue: Wonder
for Chiualrie, and most accomplished
Knight in all perfections. Present-
ing to noble mindes, theyr Courtlie
desires, to Gentles, theyr choise
expectations, and to the inferiour
sorte, howe to imitate theyr vertues:
handled with modestie, to shun offence,
yet all delightfull, for recreation.
Written in the Spanish, Italian and
French, and from them, turned into
English by A. M. one of the Messengers
of her Maiesties Chamber.
1588.

" "

The first Book of Amadis of Gaule.
Discoursing the Aduentures and Loue
of many Knightes and Ladies, as well
of the Realme of great Brittainne,
as sundry other Countries.
1588?
(1590?)

Nashe, Thomas.

The Anatomie of Absurditie: Con-
tayning a breefe confutation of the
slender imputed prayses to feminine
perfection, with a short description
of the seuerall practises of youth,
and sundry follies of our licentious
times. No lesse pleasant to be read,
then profitable to be remembered,
especially of those, who liue more
licentiously, or addicted to a more
nyce stoycall austeritie.
1589.
(1590)

" "

Pierce penillesse his Supplication
to the Diuell. Describing the ouer-
spreading of Vice, and suppression
of Vertue, Pleasantly interlac'd

Nashe, Thomas.
(contd.)

with variable delights: and
pathetically intermixt with
conceipted reproofes. 1592.

" " Strange Newes, Of the intercepting
of certaine Letters, and a Conuoy
of Verses, as they were going
Priuilie to victuall the Low
Countries. 1592.

" " The Terrors of the night Or, A
Discourse of Apparitions.
1594.

" " The Vnfortunate Traueller. Or,
The life of Iacke Wilton.
1594.

" " Haue with you to Saffron-Walden.
Or, Gabriell Harueys Hunt is vp.
Containing a full Answere to the
eldest sonne of the Halter-maker.
Or, Nashe his Confutation of the
sinfull Doctor. The Mott or Posie,
instead of Omne tulit punctum:
Pacis fiducia nunquam. As much as
to say, as I sayd I would speake
with him. 1596.

" " Nashes Lenten Stuffe, Containing
The Description and first Procreation
and Increase of the towne of Great
Yarmouth in Norffolke: With a new
Play neuer played before, of the
praise of the RED HERRING. Fitte
for all Clearkes of Noblemens
Kitchins to be read: and not
vnnecessary by all Seruing men
that haue short boord-wages, to
be remembred. 1599.

" " A Pleasant Comedie, called Summers
last will and Testament.
1600.

- North, Sir Thomas. (tr.) The Diall of Princes. Compiled by the reuerende father in God, Don Anthony of Gueuara, Bysshop of Guadix. Preacher and Cronicler, to Charles the fyft Emperour of Rome. Englysshed oute of the Frenche, by Thomas North, second sonne of the Lord North. Ryght necessary and pleasaunt, to all gentylmen and others whiche are louers of vertue. 1557.
- Painter, William. (tr.) The Palace of Pleasure Beautified, adorned and well furnished, with Pleasaunt Histories and excellent Nouelles, selected out of diuers good and commendable authors. 2 Parts. 1566-67.
- Peterson, Robert. (tr.) Galateo of Maister Iohn Della Casa. A treatise of maners. Done into English by R. Peterson. 1576.
- Pettie, George. (tr.) A Petite Pallace of Pettie his pleasure: Contayning many pretie Hystories, by him set foorth in comely colours and most delightfully discoursed. 1576.
- " " The Ciuile Conuersation of M. Steeuē Guazzo. 1581.
(First 3 books translated by Pettie.)
- Riche, Barnaby. Riche his Farewelle to Militarie profession: conteinyng verie pleasaunt discourses fit for a peaceable tyme. 1581.
- " " *The straunge and wonderfull aduentures of Dō Simonides, a gentilman Spaniarde: Conteinyng verie pleasaunte discourse: Gathered for the recreation aswell of our noble yong gentilmen, as our honourable courtly ladies. 1581.

Riche, Barnaby.

The Second Tome of the Trauailes and adventures of Don Simonides, enterlaced with varietie of Historie, wherein the curteous and not curious Reader, maie finde matters so leueled, as maie suffice to please all humours. 1584.

" "

The Aduentures of Brusanus Prince of Hungaria, Pleasant for all to read, and profitable for some to follow. Written by Barnaby Riche, seauen or eight yeares sithence, and now published by the great intreaty of diuers of his freendes. 15921

Robartes, Henry.

Pheander, The Mayden Knight: Describing his honourable Trauailes and hautie attempts in Armes, with his successe in loue. Enterlaced with many pleasant discourses, wherein the grauer may take delight, and the valiant youthfull, be encouraged by honourable and worthie aduenturing, to gaine Fame. 1595.

" "

*Haigh for Deuonshire. A pleasant Discourse of sixe gallant Marchants of Deuonshire. Their liues, Aduentures and Trauailes: With sundrie their rare showes and pastimes shewed before the King in Exeter. 1600.

Rouland, David. (tr.)

The pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes a Spaniarde, wherein is contained his maruellous deedes and life. With the straunge aduentures happened to him in the seruice of sundrie Masters, drawen out of Spanish by David Rouland of Anglesey. 1586.

Rowlands, Samuel.

Greenes Ghost haunting Conie-catchers. 1602.

" "

Martin Mark-all, beadle of Bride-well: his defence. 1610

- Sidney, Sir Philip. The Countesse of Pembrokes
Arcadia. 1590.
- Smyth, Robert.(tr.) Straunge, Lamentable, and Tragicall
Hystories. Translated out of
French into English by R. S.
1577.
- Stow, John. The Annales of England, faithfully
collected out of the most autentically
Authors, Records, and other Monu-
ments of Antiquitie, from the first
inhabitation vntill this present
yeere 1592. By Iohn Stow citizen
of London. 1592.
- " " A Suruay of London. Contayning
the Originall, Antiquity, Increase,
Moderne estate, and description of
that Citie, written in the yeare
1598 by Iohn Stow, Citizen of London.
1598.
- Turberville, George.(tr.) Tragical Tales, translated by
Turberville. In time of his troubles,
out of sundrie Italians, with the
Argument and Lenuoye to eche Tale.
1576.
(1587)
- Underdowne, Thomas.(tr.) An Aethiopian Historie written in
Greeke by Heliodorus: very wittie
and pleasaunt, Englished by Thomas
Vnderdoune. 1569.
- Walker, Gilbert. A Manifest Detection of the most
vyle and detestable use of Diceplay,
and other practises like the same.
1562.
- Warner, William. Pan his Syrinx, or Pipe, compact
of seuen Reedes. 1584.
- Whetstone, George. The Rocke of Regard, diuided into
foure parts. The first, the Castle
of delight: Wherin is reported, the
wretched end of wanton and dissolute
liuing. The second, the Garden
of Vnthriftnesse: Wherein are many
sweete flowers, (or rather fancies)

Whetstone, George.
(contd.)

of honest loue. The thirde, the
Arbour of Vertue: Wherein slaunder
is highly punished, and vertuous
Ladies and Gentlewomen, worthily
commended. The fourth, the Orchard
of Repentance: Wherein are discoursed
the miseries that followe dicing,
the mischiefes of quareling, the fall
of prodigalitie: and the souden
ouerthrowe of foure notable cousners,
with diuers other morall, natural,
& tragicall discourses: documents
and admonitions: being all the
inuention, collection and translation
of Whetstons Gent. 1576.

" "

The Right excellent and famous
Historye of Promos and Cassandra:
Diuided into two Comical Discourses.
1578.

" "

An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses.
Containing: The Christmasse Exercise
of sundriewell Courted Gentlemen
and Gentlewomen. In whose behauours,
the better sort, may see, a represēta-
tion of their own Vertues: and the
Inferiour, may learne such rules of
Ciuil Gouvernmēt, as wil rase out
the Blemish of their basenesse:
Wherein, is Renowned, the Vertues,
of a most Honourable and braue
mynded Gentleman. And herein, also,
(as it were in a Mirrour) the
Vnmarried may see the Defectes
whiche eclipse the Glorie of MARIAGE:
And the wel Married, as in a Table
of Housholde Lawes, may cull out
needefull Preceptes to establysh
their good Fortune. A Worke,
intercoursed with Ciuyll Pleasure,
to reauē tediousnesse from the
Reader: and garnished with Morall
Noates to make it profitable, to
the Regarder. The Reporte, of
George Whetstone, Gent. 1582.

Wilkins, George.

The Painfull Aduentures of Pericles
Prince of Tyre. Being the true
History of the Play of Pericles,
as it was lately presented by the
worthy and ancient Poet Iohn Gower.
1608.

Deioney, Thomas.

Works, ed. F.C. Hood,
London, 1912.

Dickenson, John.

The Prose and Verse of John
Dickenson, ed. A.S. Dickson,
London, 1912.

Dodgson's Select Collection of
Old Plays, Vols. IV, V and VI.

1922.

(B) Modern Editions of Elizabethan Works.

- Arden of Feversham, 1592.
Malone Society Reprints,
London, 1947.
- Banks, Mary Macleod.
(ed.) An Alphabet of Tales, Parts I and II.
Early English Texts Society,
1904-1905.
- Breton, Nicholas. Works, ed. A.B.Grosart, 2 Vols.
London, 1879.
- " " A Mad World My Masters and other
prose works, ed. Ursula Kentish-
Wright, 2 Vols.
London, 1929.
- Burton, William. (tr.) The Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe,
ed. J.Gaselee and H.F.Brett-Smith,
London, 1923.
- Chettle, Henry. Kind-Hartes Dreame, ed. G.B.
Harrison, Bodley Head Quartos, No.IV,
London, 1923.
- Day Angel. (tr.) Daphnis and Chloe, ed. J.J.Jacobs,
London, 1890.
- Dekker, Thomas. The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas
Dekker, ed. F.P.Wilson,
Oxford, 1925.
- " " The Seven deadly Sinnes of London,
ed. H.F.Brett-Smith, Percy Reprints.
London, 1922.
- " " The Best Plays of Thomas Dekker,
London, Mermaid Series.
- Deloney, Thomas. Works, ed. F.O.Mann,
London, 1912.
- Dickenson, John. The Prose and Verse of John
Dickenson, ed. A.B.Grosart,
London, 1878.
- Dodsley's Select Collection of
Old Plays, Vols. IV, V and VI.
1825.

- A Pleasant Commodie, of faire Em
the Millers daughter of Manchester:
With the loue of William the
Conqueror, 1589?
Malone Society Reprints,
London, 1927.
- Fenton, Geoffrey. (tr.) Certaine Tragical Discourses,
ed. R.L.Douglas, 2 Vols. Tudor
Translations, XIX - XX.
London, 1898.
- Gascoigne, George, George Gascoigne's A Hundreth Sundrie
Flowres, ed. C.T.Prouty, University
of Missouri Studies, Vol.17, No.2.
Columbia, 1942.
- " " The Complete Works of George
Gascoigne, ed. J.W.Cunliffe, 2 Vols.
Cambridge, 1907.
- George a Green, the Pinner of
Wakefield, 1599.
Malone Society Reprints,
London, 1911.
- Greene, Robert. The Life and Complete Works, in
prose and verse, of Robert Greene,
ed. A.B.Grosart, Huth Library, 15 Vols.
1881-1886.
- " " Menaphon, ed. G.B.Harrison (with
Lodge's A Margarite of America).
Oxford, 1927.
- " " Greenes Groats-Worth of Witte; The
Repentance of Robert Greene, 1592.
Ed. G.B.Harrison, Bodley Head
Quartos, No. VI.
London, 1923.
- " " A Notable Discovery of Coosnage,
1591; The Second Part of Conny-
Catching, 1592.
Ed. G.B.Harrison, Bodley Head
Quartos, No. I
London, 1923.
- " " The Thirde and Last Part of Conny-
Catching; with a Disputation betweene
a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee
Conny-catcher, 1592.

- Greene, Robert.
(contd.)
- Ed. G.B.Harrison, Bodley Head
Quartos, No. VI.
London, 1923.
- " "
- Robert Greene, The Blacke Bookes
Messenger; Cuthbert Cunay-Catcher,
A Defence of Conny catching.
Ed. G.B.Harrison, Bodley Head
Quartos, No.X.
London, 1923.
- " "
- The Complete Plays of Robert
Greene,
London, Mermaid Series.
- Harman, Thomas.
- A Caveat or Warening for Common
Cursetors, ed. E.Viles and F.J.
Furnivall, The Rogues and Vagabonds
of Shakespeare's Youth.
London, 1907.
- Hazlitt, W.Carew. (ed.)
- Old-English Jest-Books, 3 Vols.
London, 1864.
- Heywood, Thomas.
- The Best Plays of Thomas Heywood.
London, Mermaid Series.
- Hoby, Thomas. (tr.)
- The Courtyer, ed. with Introduction
by Walter Raleigh, Tudor Trans-
lations, No. XXIII.
London, 1900.
- Judges, A.V. (ed.)
- The Elizabethan Underworld.
London, 1930.
- Kemp, William.
- Nine Daies Wonder, ed. G.B.Harrison,
(with Chettle's Kind-Hartes Dreame)
Bodley Head Quartos, No. IV.
London, 1923.
- Leland, John.
- The Itinerary of John Leland, in
or about the years 1535-1543,
ed. Lucy Toulmin-Smith, 5 Vols.
London, 1907-1910.
- Lodge, Thomas.
- The Complete Works of Thomas
Lodge, ed. E.Gosse, Hunterian
Club, 4 Vols.
Glasgow, 1877-1883.
- " "
- A Margarite of America, ed. G.B.
Harrison, (with Greene's Menaphon)
Oxford, 1927

- Lodge, Thomas. The Life and Death of William Long beard, the most famous and witty English Traitor, borne in the Citty of London, ed. J.P. Collier, Illustrations of Old English Literature, Vol. 2. London, 1866.
- Lyly, John. Complete Works, ed. R.W. Bond, 3 Vols. Oxford, 1902.
- Mabbe, James. (tr.) Celestina or the Tragi-Comedy of Calisto and Melibea, ed. H. W. Allen, Broadway Translations. London. n.d.
- Malory, Sir Thomas. Works, ed. Eugene Vinaver, 3 Vols. London, 1947.
- Massinger, Philip. The Plays of Philip Massinger, ed. F. Cunningham. London, 1868.
- Middleton, Christopher. The Famous Historie of Chinon of England, ed. W.E. Mead, Early English Texts Society, Original Series, No. 165. London, 1925.
- Middleton, Thomas. The Best Plays of Thomas Middleton, 2 Vols. London, Mermaid Series.
- Nashe, Thomas. Works, ed. R.B. McKerrow, 5 Vols. London, 1904-1910.
- Painter, William. (tr.) The Palace of Pleasure, ed. J.J. Jacobs. London, 1890.
- Pettie, George. (tr.) A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure, ed. H. Hartman. New York, 1938.
- Riche, Barnaby. Riche his Farewell to Militarie Profession, ed. J.P. Collier, in Eight Novels employed by English Dramatic Poets of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Shakespeare Society. London, 1846.

- Rouland, David. (tr.) The pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes, ed. J.E.V.Crofts. Oxford, 1924.
- Rowlands, Samuel. Complete Works, ed. E. Gosse, 3 Vols, Hunterian Club. 1880.
- Shakespeare, William. Complete Works, ed. Peter Alexander, The Tudor Shakespeare. London, 1951.
- Sidney, Sir Philip. Complete Works, ed. A. Feuillerat, 4 Vols. Cambridge, 1912-1926.
- Underdowne, Thomas.(tr.) An Aethiopian Historie, ed. C. Whibley, Tudor Translations No. V. London, 1895.
- Walker, Gilbert. A Manifest detection of the most vyle and detestable use of Dice-play, ed. J.O.Halliwel, Percy Society, Early English Poetry, etc., Vol. 29. London, 1842.
- Whetstone, George. The Rocke of Regard, ed. J.P.Collier. London, 1870.
- Wright, J.C. The Weakest Goeth to the Wall, 1600. Malone Society Reprints. London, 1912.
- Wright, J.C. Selected Essays. Third Edition, with additions. London, 1892.
- Wright, J.C. A List of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740. London, 1812.
- Wright, Thomas G. George Whetstone: His Manners and Gentleman of Letters, Columbia Studies in English and Comparative Literature, No. 158. New York, 1940.

- Jenkins, H. The Life and Work of Henry Chettle.
London, 1934.
- Jordan, John Clark. Robert Greene,
New York, 1915.
- " " "Greene and Gascoigne" in Modern
Language Notes, XXX (1913), 61.
- Jusserand, J.J. Le Roman au Temps de Shakespeare.
Paris, 1887.
- Leavis, Q.D. Fiction and the Reading Public.
London, 1932.
- Owst, G.R. Literature and the Pulpit in
mediaeval England.
Cambridge, 1933.
- Paradise, N.Burton. Thomas Lodge. The History of an
Elizabethan.
New Haven, 1931.
- Patchell, Mary. The Palmerin Romances in Elizabethan
Prose Fiction. Columbia University
Studies in English and Comparative
Literature, No. 166.
New York, 1947.
- Pollard, A.W. and
Redgrave, G.R. A Short-title Catalogue of Books
printed in England, Scotland and
Ireland, and of English Books
printed abroad, 1475-1640.
London, 1926.
- Prothero, R.E.
(Lord Ernle) The Light Reading of our Ancestors:
Chapters in the Growth of the
English Novel.
London, 1927
- Prouty, C.T. George Gascoigne; Elizabethan
Courtier, Soldier, and Poet.
New York, 1942.
- " " (ed.) Studies in Honor of A.H.R. Fairchild,
University of Missouri Studies,
Vol. XXI, No. 1.
Columbia, 1946.
- Pruvost, René. Robert Greene et ses Romans (1558 -
1592). Contribution à l'Histoire

- Pruvost, René.
(contd.)
- " "
- Raleigh, Walter.
- Saintsbury, George.
- " "
- Scott, Mary Augusta.
- Stephen, Leslie and
Lee, Sidney. (Eds.)
- Tannenbaum, Samuel A.
- Tieje, A.J.
- Turner, Celeste.
- Ward, A.W., and
Waller, A.R. (Eds.)
- Warren, F.M.
- Wellek, René, and
Warren, Austin.
- de la Renaissance en Angleterre.
Paris, 1938.
- Matteo Bandello and Elizabethan
Fiction.
Paris, 1937.
- The English Novel.
(First published 1894.)
London, 1911.
- A History of Elizabethan Literature.
London, 1887.
- The English Novel. 1913.
- Elizabethan Translations from the
Italian. Vassar Semi-Centennial
Series.
Boston, 1916.
- Dictionary of National Biography,
22 Vols.
London, (Second Edition) 1908-09.
- Thomas Lodge. (A Concise Biblio-
graphy.) Elizabethan Biblio-
ographies, No. 11.
New York, 1940.
- The Theory of Characterization
in Prose Fiction prior to 1740,
University of Minnesota Studies
in Language and Literature, No. 5.
Minneapolis, 1916.
- Anthony Mundy: An Elizabethan
Man of Letters, University of
California Publications in
English, Vol. II, No. 1.
Berkeley, 1928.
- The Cambridge History of English
Literature, Vols. III and IV.
Cambridge, 1909.
- A History of the Novel previous
to the seventeenth Century.
(First published 1895.)
New York, 1908.
- Theory of Literature.
(First published in U.S.A., 1949.)
London, 1953

- Wolff, Samuel Lee. The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction.
New York, 1912.
- (ii) Historical.
- Byrne, Muriel St. Clare. Elizabethan Life in Town and Country. (First published 1925.)
Sixth edition (revised).
London, 1950.
- King, Cooper. A History of Berkshire, Popular County Histories.
London, 1887.
- "Newbury"
The History and Antiquities of Newbury and its Environs, including twenty-eight Parishes, situate in the County of Berks: also A Catalogue of Plants, found in the Neighbourhood.
Speenhamland, 1839.
- Rowse, A.L. The England of Elizabeth: The Structure of Society.
London, 1950.
- Shakespeare's England, being an account of the life and manners of his age, 2 Vols.
Oxford, 1916.
- Tawney, R.H. The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century.
London, 1912.
- Tillyard, E.M.W. The Elizabethan World Picture.
London, 1943.
- " " The English Renaissance: Fact or Fiction?
London, 1952.
- Wright, Louis B. Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England.
Chapel Hill, 1935.