A STUDY OF THE WORKS OF WILLIAM BALDWIN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS CONNECTION WITH " THE MIRROR FOR MAGISTRATES".

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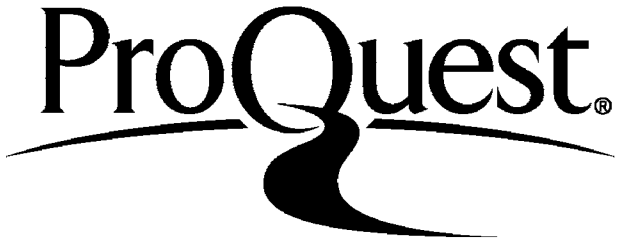

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Introduction. (1)

Many causes have been suggested to account for the poverty of the literary output between 1450 and 1550_ Among these the chief are _ the Civil war and the evils, political and social, consequent thereon; the resultant exhaustion of the nation; the lack of interest displayed by the leisured and moneyed classes in literary work; and the gradual decay of the monastic system. But had these causes been non-existent, had literary tradition been carried on in an unbroken line from Chaucer to Shakespeare should we have had the " Elizabethan Age" of poetry? Probably not, for during those years of stagnation, literary tradition was lost, and with it the lingering remnants of mediævalism, and the mind of the nation was, as it were, swept and prepared for the new attempts in matter and metre which ushered in the greatest age of English poetry. The writers themselves turned for inspiration, not to the antiquated and limping lines of the successors of Chaucer, but to the works of Italy, the plays of Rome, and the philosophies of Greece.

General interest was aroused in study, and Ascham writes " Aristotle and Plato are being read even by the boys, Sophocles and Euripides are more familiar authors than Plautus was in your time: Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon are more conned and discussed than Livy was then, Demosthenes is as familiar an author as Cicero used to be; and there are more copies of Isocrates in use than there used to be of Terence. Nor do we disregard the Latin Authors, but study with the greatest zeal the choicest authors of the best period."

Besides this interest, of which this evidence of wide classical reading is a proof, a patriotic feeling was slowly but surely growing up amongst the people; England had so long been divided against herself, and had been drained of her best blood, that when the chance of reconcitement came in the person of Henry VII. the wearied nation grasped eagerly at it, and little by little became re-united, finding its outlet in an admiration for the king, who, in spite of his many faults, had the Tudor knack of managing the English in the way they liked. This admiration grew and increased with Henry VIII., turned to reverence for Edward VI., was crushed by the Marian persecutions, and burst out again into wild enthusiasm for Elizabeth; and its rise and fall may be easily traced in the literature of the period.

Into this age was William Baldwin born: of his life we know, definitely, very little, and though we can piece together a fairly satisfactory history aided by our imagination, we can be no more certain of its accuracy than of the legends ascribed to Shakespeare.

Athenae Oxonienses

According to Wood, a ' William Baldwin' supplicated the congregation of Regents for a master's degree in the year 1532:-(though we do not know if his supplication was successful). Seeing that a man went up to College at about fourteen, and spent from four to seven years there, Baldwin was probably born between 1511. and 1514.

As to his birth-place, we have only the evidence of his own words in the fore-link to the tragedy of Owen Glendower

in the 1555 edition of the "Mirror for Magistrates"_

" Because he is a man of that country whence (as the Welshman bear me in hand) my pedigree is descended----"; between the years 1532and 1547 we know nothing of him but can imagine him busy over his books preparing the "Treatise of Moral Philosophy" published on Jahuary 20th,1547.Two years later he is a "Servaunte with Edward Whitchurche" as we learn from the edition of "The Canticles of Ballades of Solomon"printed by Baldwin himself in 1549, and from the theological learning embodied in the paraphrase we should presume that if he had not already become a minister, he was studying with that end in view. When Whitchurch retired from the "Signe of the Sun", Baldwin stayed on as hack to John Wayland, and under his instigation edited the "Mirror for Magistrates". He aided George Ferrers in the production of interludes and masques at court in the winter of 1552-3 and some where about this time_ before the contribution of Churchyard's legend of Jane Shore to the "Mirror for Magistrates"- he became a clergyman, for Jane Shore says "and making more haste than good speed, I appeared first to one Baldwine, a minister and preacher;whose function etc."

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errers.

Since it is considered by some that the lines in "Twelfth Night spoken be Duke Orsino to Viola"Let still the woman take
An elder than herself" are sufficient proof that Shakspeare was unhappy with his wife, it may be said that Baldwin's constant references to the evils which arise from women are due to the fact that he too was unhappily married,

but not one personal reference of this kind is to be found

The date of his death is quite uncertain_.

The last edition of the M. for M. with which hewas certainly connected was issued in 1563; there is an entry in the Stationer's Register of the printing of " Beware the Cat" in 1568-9 and a further edition of the M. for M. was published in 1571, with which Baldwin had, apparently, nothing to do; therefore we may conjecture that he died between 1569 and 1571.

Collier's Extract of Stationers Rg; Vol.1. p 200.

Of his character we may speak with great certainty, for, unlike Shakespeare, he reveals himself in his works, and we find him to have been pious, learned, zealous for reform of religious and social evils, and charitable to most crimes save the one of being a Roman Catholic priest. His life presumably had stretched through four reigns, and he had certainly, as a thinking man, followed the evils of religious strife from his boyhood and had become imbued with a hatred for the persecutions of the Marian age, and for the religion which instigated them.

If an author of the present day plagiarised as freely as did Baldwin from Caxton, we should condemn him as dishonest, but the literary moral code of the Elizabethan age was entirely different, and Baldwin merely did to others what others certainly did to him and thought no harm.

The actual value of his work, per se, is not great_ its value as an indication of the political, religious and social aspects of the day is considerable, and as a store-house of metrical attempts, is enormous. The " Moral

Philosophy" published in 1547, the " Canticles of Solomon" in'49, the"Funeralles of EdwardVI. written in '53, and " Beware the Cat" about the same date, and last but not least, the collection of poems published as the " Mirror for Magistrates" in 1555, all antedate the famous "Tottell's Miscellany" which is considered a treasure trove of English poetry. Baldwin by himself, produced verse anterior to the date of the publication of the Miscellany, that quite equals it in bulk, and very nearly may be said to surpass it in qualitative value.

Though he is comparatively unread at the present day and has remained in practical oblivion for over two hundred years, save for the infrequent publications of such societies as the Roxburghe Club, the influence he exerted on his contemporaries and immediate successors was enormous, quotations of and from the Mirror are to be found in such widely differing people as Marlowe, Sidney, Raleigh, Marston and Hall, and garners of English verse, such as " " Belvedere" and " England's Parnassus" have many proverbs and sententious sayings that first came from the pen of William Baldwin.

The Editions of " A Treatise of Moral Philosophy"

1547 1. " A Treatise of Moral Philosophy containing the sayings of the wise"
Gathered and Englished by W. Baldwin
Printed by E. Whitchurch.

1550. 11. Ditto.

1555. 111. " A Treatise of M.P.
" Newly perused and augmented by William Baldwin, first auctoure thereof."
Printed by John Waylande.

1564 1V. Ditto.
" First gathered and Englished by William Baldwin, after that twise augmented by Thomas Palfreyman, one of the gentlemen of the Queen's Majesties Chaple and now once again enlarged by the first author.
Printed by Tottel.

1567. V. Ditto.
Again enlarged by T. Palfreyman
Printed by Tottel.

1584. V1. Ditto.
The fourth time enlarged by T. Palfreyman.
Printed by T. Este.

V11.-X1V. Issued in years- 1587,'91,'96, 1600,'10,'20,'30,'51.

Chapter I. The Editions- dedications- Palfreymans additions.

The Treatise of Moral Philosophy was first pubilshed in 1547 printed by"E.W.R."Whitchurche at the " Sign of the Sun, over against the Conduit"; again published by the same printer in 1550; between 1550 and 1555, Thomas Palfreyman, or Paulfreyman,issued an edition of this book,no record of which can be found,we can only be certain of the fact of this plagiarism from the dedication of the 1555 edition, by Baldwin and by the imprint on the title page "Newly perused and augmented by William Baldwyn, first auctoure thereof. Cum privilegio per Septennium- printed by John Waylande". The last publication of any authority as far as Baldwin was concerned was issued in 1564, printed by Tottel."First gathered and Englished by William Baldwyn, after that twise augmented by Thomas Palfreyman one of the gentlemen of the Queen's Majesties Chaple, and now once again enlarged by the first author".

Further editions were issued - one in 1567,"Again enlarged by Thomas Palfreyman",printed by Tottel,and another in 1584" "the fourth time enlarged by Thomas Palfreyman",and printed by T.Este."

Variations. Between the editions of '47 and '50 the differences are slight and comparatively unimportant- the dedication to Lord Edward Beauchamp,Earl of Hartford, containning the chief of the variations.

In the edition of 1550, the word " boldness " is

is substituted for "audacity", and the phrase "your father whom God for his excellent and manifold virtues joyned with very gentleness hath called to the high office of protector of this realm under our sovereign lord the King's royal Majesty- but shall also cause etc."is changed to "your parents in the path of their manifold virtues joyned with very gentleness, but shall also cause etc."

The reason for this being that in1550 the Duke of Somerset had been deposed from his office as protector of the realm.

Another slight change occurs in Chapter I. Book 1. where'47 has."which they by their grand father Abraham" and the subsequent editions read"Adam". In the prologue some mere verbal alterations are noticeable - '47 has"when his navy was ready rigged" and " and blynded herewith", while '50 has "having his navy ready rigged"and "and blyndfolded herewith".

Much more important changes are found between the editions of 1550 and 1555,for Baldwin therein desires to set right much that Master Palfreyman has written in error.

The dedication to Beauchamp contains the information that the printers have requested Baldwin to"peruse, pick and augment" his treatise of eight years back; and this he is the more willing to do, seeing that Master Palfreyman " in his book bearing the same title, wherein he hath couched the most part thereof,though in another order,hath left out that which many most desire; as that which only answereth to the name and title of the volume"-from which we gather that Palfreyman omitted a definition of philosophy, and that Baldwin was annoyed at the half plagiarism.

" Yet meaned I not neither to have my work altered; but to have had it remain still, as it was, a Blunt Whetstone". His intention had ostensibly been for other men to study the Rabbis or" the Sages of our own country" and to gather sentences from them to add to his own, but" I thought nothing less than to have any man plow with my oxen; or to alter; or augm augment, my doings; which, perchance, if I had thought meet, I could, and would, have done as well as any other". Baldwin explains his dedication of the work to Beauchamp by stating that since Palfreyman dedicated his edition to the Earl of Huntingdon, he, (Baldwin) did not choose that Beauchamp should lose the renown, for thought" neither envy I master Palfreyman's benefit(which he apparently received for writing the Moral Philosophy) for I desire every man's preferment and chiefly theirs which would further honest studies. But yet would not have your Lordship to lose your own! although I know your natural gentleness to be such as can be therewith right contented."

The" Prologue to the Reader" remains unaltered until Palfreyman's own edition was published in 1567, when he embodied Baldwin's prologue in his own, and prayed for those who maligned him (meaning Baldwin).

Book 1. Chapter1 " of the Beginning of Philosophy" is amplified in the editions of 1555 and 1564 by a definition of philosophy as a " desire of wisdom and knowledge in things divine, natural and moral , naturally graffed in the heart of man- or else certain observations, rules and instructions teaching man the knowledge of all manner of things: which definition serveth best for our purpose."

The next three chapters are the same in all editions but chapter V. " of the order of the book" varies. In the edition of 1564, Baldwin states that he has divided the matter into ten sundry books, in the second of which he inserts Master Palfreyman's preface and the " lives of such princes, poets, orators and divines as he took the sentences out of, which are by him added in the rest of the books which I have entitled" The lives of Princes, Poets, and Oratours" and sundered from my first book because they should not let the order thereof, wherein the placing of a man according to his dignitie and anciency giveth a clereness and light both to their times and stories. And I would have used the same order in his, save that I think he esteemeth more (as many others do) the litteral order, in which form as he himself placed them, I have left them."

The names of the ensuing books are altered, but the substance of the whole volume remains materially unchanged, save for the addition of Palfreymans lives and sentences of the philosophers.

To the list of twenty three names of Philosophers and Sages are added in his edition of '64 five more- Pittarchus Zeno, Theophurastus, Crates, Antisthenes; and additional information is given with regard to the death of Hermes, and to the meaning of the term" Tyrant" as applied to Periander.

Book II. contains, as has been said, Palfreyman's " Prologue to the reader" which explains his attitude towards Baldwin, whose work he read, admired and desired to improve - consequently he omitted the definition of Philosophy etc, and added sundry sentences from other philosophers, without

having any intention of spoiling the book, but indeed fearing lest all should be included, the volume would be too unhandsome of the exact reader to be carried".

In conclusion of his address, Palfreyman expresses his distress at the lack of charity displayed by those whose work had been augmented and improved, and disowns his connection with them, reiterating his own intention of pleasing Baldwin, and praying "For a more sure and perfect guide--a grace to be more thankful better to use his benefits", for those who disparage him, or maliciously misinterpret his virtuous intentions.

The lives of twenty-six kings, poets, orators, and philosophers follow this prologue, arranged in alphabetical, or as Baldwin has it "Litteral"order, and the book is concluded with a verse rather worse than the ordinary run,where - "conversation" rhymes with " exception"and"condition" and "móre true"with "vírtue".

Though the number of chapters in this edition exceeds that of '47 and '55 by about twenty, the bulk of the volume is not materially increased since in the later publication the the material is divided in more detail, for instance in the 1555 edition,Book III. Chapter V.is concerned with "Liberality patience, use and diligence" which appear in the '64 edition in Book VI.

ChapterV." Of liberality" BookIV.Chapter VI."of pacience and meekness"; Book VII.ChapterIX." of diligence".

The greatest number ~~of xxxxxxxx~~ of important additions were made to the books dealing with Proverbs and Adages.Edition 1555 has 49 Proverbs and '64 has 84. The majority of these are ascribed to Socrates and Plato, in accordance with Baldwin's remark that " Doubtful things ought to be interpreted to the best".

nclusion bookII.

Editions of the "Moral Philosophy" were issued fairly frequently till 1651,(1587,1591,1596, 1610, 1620,1630,and 1651) at which date its popularity apparently waned, probably because interest in mere collections of proverbs was dying out, and the philosophy was not sufficiently scientific and accurate to be of value to the students of the seventeenth century. From 1630 till 1908 the book remained unpublished ,-at the latter date Professor Arber reissued it in "The Christian Library" under the title of "Sayings for the Wise,or Food for Thought" with the purpose of "implanting and cherishing in the hearts of all its Readers a perfect detestation and execration of compulsion in Religion;and of Persecutions for Religious Opinions."

Chap: II. The Contents.

Baldwin dedicated this, his first published work to Edward Beauchamp, Earl of Hartford, explaining the purpose of the book- "That philosophy may have her lawful praise, the holy scriptures their due service and reverence, and God his honor, worship and glory."

In the prologue he compares those who willfully neglect or dispise Philosophy to Pericles, who refused to believe in the portent of the eclipse of the sun, and was punished by the destruction of hid army. These people are not content with inventing "false toys" to disprove philosophy, but must needs "wrest the Holy Scriptures (which they understand not) for their peevish purpose".

If they understood the Scriptures, not only would they repent of their many vices, but would cease to "dispraise that, that is greatly to be commended."

De Doctrina Christiania Cap XL. For as Baldwin proceeds to show, St Augusting considered that though Philosophy were a heathen science, yet it should be studied by Christians, and good extracted from it, as the Israelites stole the gold and silver from the hated Egyptians. But Baldwin not would have us believe that Philosophy is "Scriptures Interpreter", but rather "a hand maiden to persuade such things as Scripture doth command", so that when it is thus used, "all praises may be verified there upon." Demosthenes had called Moral Philosophy "the invention and gift of God"; Cicero, "the guide of life and expulser of vice"; therefore, every Christian man ought ~~to xxxx-xxxx~~ diligently to apply it, and consider Moral Philosophy as the part

"of God's law, which gives precepts of outward behaviour, the observing and eschewing of such things as Reason judgeth to be good and bad, in the mutual conversations of life." And since, "life cannot be maintained without meat and drink and other like good gifts of nature; no more could it continue long without laws and manners - the lack of which St. John argueth to be a lack of Godliness ---- which text being well pondered maketh as much for the commendation of Moral Philosophy as any of St. Paul's do to the dispraise thereof." Therefore as Baldwin points out further, we should be ashamd to allow a spark of reason in the infidels which we do not possess, hence we should "so endeavour ourselves, every man in his trade or living, to use such Moral Virtues and Vertuous behaviour one towards another that our love and charity toward our brethren may testify our faith and love towards God."

Authority is Ed. 1555.

The treatise consists of four parts; the first Book 1. is entitled the "Lives and Witty Answers of the Philosophers" and contains four chapters of introductory matter; "Of the Beginning of Philosophy", "Of the Parts of Philosophy" "Of the Beginning of Moral Philosophy", "Of the Kinds of Teaching of Moral Philosophy", followed by twenty chapters each dealing with a philosopher's life, beginning with Hermes and ending with Socrates. The remaining parts of the treatise deal various-

The order of this book. Cf.P.18

ly with the materials for the teaching of Moral Philosophy. Book 1. Book II, of "Precepts and Counsels", contains what these beforenamed philosophers thought "of God, of the Soul, of the world, of death, of friendship, of counsel, of silence, of riches, of poverty, with their witty sayings concerning the same matters. After which their good precepts orderly shall

follow".

Book III." of Proverbs or Pithy sayings", shows things worthy of rememberance " in the end where of shall follow some of their principal sentences, drawn into metre; to the intent they may be the easelier learned, and better kept in mind."

Book IV. " called the book of Proverbs or Semblables shall show the great zeal that the Philosophers always have had to teach, by all manner means that wit might imagine, this so precious and needful a science to all kinds of people". And following on this comes Baldwin's much needed apology for mistakes." And if it shall chance that in any of these books, through ignorance or negligence, somewhat shall be misordered or not so fully handled as it should be, and as the matter requireth it; the excuse shall be, That in this treatise no perfection is pretended; and that it is only set forth as a show, to make men thereby desirous to have the perfection of the thing which it represented".

Book I. The method adopted in the first Book " Of the Lives of Philosophers" is clear and direct. The birth place and parentage of the man is stated, a few facts of his life given and various of his witty and wise sayings quoted. The plan is unvaried throughout the book.

Book II. In Book II of Precepts and Counsels on various subjects, each chapter is devoted to the sayings of the philosophers on one subject. In some cases all the sayings of one man are set down together, in others they are scattered apart. Each chapter ends with a verse entitled " The Sum of All"; which

is intended to epitomise the wise sayings of the various sages into eight or ten lines.

The last chapter in Book V " The Precepts of the Wise" contains lists of sayings by one man, as if Baldwin had tired of separating his subjects and had thrown the rest together pell-mell, for the reader to distribute under the proper headings.

In the"Conclusion" which follows Chapter XI, Baldwin explains the excessive number of wise remarks attributed to Socrates, and says that the best of his disciples, Plato, put down his sayings in his master's name, therefore he, Baldwin, will do the same and will follow the teaching of the Proverb which says that" Doubtful things ought to be interpreted to the best".

Book III. In Book III. the method does not differ materially from that used in Book II. though Baldwin would have us read a second meaning into every seeming- simple proverb. The matter is divided into chapters as in the previous Book, and the remarks of the philosophers anent the subject come under the different headings. Chapters XVII.- XXII. have no definite subject, as in the preceding book, Baldwin seems to have wearied and simply written down the remarks and divided them into chapters according to his fancy. The last chapter of the book returns to the old method, and all the remarks deal with the subject of " Benefits and of unthankfulness".

" Pithy metres of divers matters" are included in Book III. Baldwin has turned the sayings into verse, adding in

some cases, a moral of his own.

The conclusion of Book III. is Surrey's poem in translation of Martial's" Things that cause a quiet life". Its publication here is interesting, since it reappeared in Tottell's Miscellany ten years later, five years after his death, and is therefore; as Professor Arber points out, the only poem known to have been published during his life-time.

Arber's "Sayings of the wise".

Book IV. The fourth book is divided into two chapters under the headings of-one- Hermes, Socrates, Plato; and-two- Aristotle Plutarch- Seneca. The matters which follows these names is divers proverbs- such as " Like as the body is an instrument of the Soul; so is the Soul an instrument of God"., and ends most fitly with" As he which, in a Game place, runneth swiftest and continueth still his pace, obtaineth the crown for his labour; so all that diligently lean, and earnestly follow, Wisdom and Virtue shall be crownedwith Everlasting Glory".

Chapter III. Sources and Authorities.

Baldwin's authority for the meaning of Philosophy, its parts and the lives of many of the wisd men with the witty sayings therto appended, is Diogenes Laertius, from whose book, De Vita et Moribus Clarorum Illustrorum Philosophorum he has freely translated. Many of his sentences are renderings from the Latin author. For instance, Laertius writes, "Dividitur autem philosophia in partes tres; physiciam, ethicam, et dialecticam. Physica proprium est de mundo, et de bis quae sunt in eo, disserere; Ethica vero, de vita moribusque tractare." which Baldwin renders, "Philosophy is sorted into three parts, Physic, Ethic and Dialectic. The office of Physic is to discern and judge of the world, and of such things as are therein. It is the part of ethic to treat of life and manners, etc."

Diogenes Laertius.

Naturally, the Biblical references which occur throughout are Baldwin's interpolations - but the many names of classical authors scattered through the introductory chapters and lives of the sages are taken from Laertius, and "As Saith Valerius". "As Phalerius Writeth", are tributes rather to the wide reading of the Latin author than of the Englishman.

The lives of Pythagoras, Thales, Solon, Chilo, Bias, Periander, Anarcharsis, Mysom, Epimenides, Anaxagoras, Pherecydes, Socrates, Xenophon, Aristippus; Plato, Xenocrates, Arcesilaus, Aristotle, Diogenes, Antisthenes are taken almost entirely from Diogenes Laertius; slight differences are found in the spelling of names, etc., which may simply have been printer's errors left uncorrected, as, for instance, the name of Thales' son given by Baldwin as "Cidistus" is spelt, in "De Vita," Cibistus, or Cibissus, according to the edition; and

again, Baldwin makes Pisistratus answer to Croesus's question whom he thought most happy? "Theseus of Athens", where the original Latin has "Tellus of Athens".

The translation of Diogenes Laertius seems to have stopped at the wise sayings embodied in the lives of the Sages, for though Baldwin later on used their remarks as given in De Vita, he assigns them to the wrong speakers. Laertius quotes from Solon, "Never speak falsely", "Honour the Gods and respect your parents", and from Chilo, "Threaten no one, for that is a womanly trick;" "Speak no evil of the dead", "Obey the laws"; and Baldwin gives the first proverb to Periander, the second to Solon, the third to Cleobolus, the fourth to Periander and the fifth to Solon. He also assigns to Pythagorus one whole section of proverbs which Laertius quotes as from Pittacus.

The remainder of the lives of the Sages, Hermes, Isocrates, Plutarch and Seneca, are not given in Diogenes Laertius, and have not the same detailed account as the others - the authority for the life of Hermes which Baldwin would seem to have used is Caxton's print of Anthony de Wydeville's "Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers", which was compiled in Latin in 1350, translated into French by Guillaume de Tignonville, and into English by Wydeville.

Caxton's "Dictes & Sayings of The Philosophers.

From Caxton, Baldwin takes the genealogical table of the descent of Hermes from Adam. From St. Augustine he quotes several remarks, and also from Tully and Lactantius.

Four times the name of Erasmus is mentioned, once in connection with the life of Diogenes, which Erasmus gives in the "Apophthegmata" - "which be no less finely handled in the English (by Nicholas Udall) than in the Latin; besides, that it is also more plain and perfect." To Erasmus also, Baldwin owes several

Erasmus' "Apophthegmata."

of the proverbs given at the end of the book as well as the name "adages". "I have herein Englished of his such as to me seemed most meet for this purpose, adding them to others agreeable to this matter."

The sayings of the wise men were taken from various sources, and are evidence of Baldwin's wide reading and careless work.

Caxton's "Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers" contains many of the phrases Baldwin uses, but in many instances assigns them to different speakers. The "Dictes" are arranged in a totally different manner from that employed in the "Sayings of the Wise", the life of the Sage is given and his wise remarks on all subjects follow, each beginning a new sentence with the word "Said", so that in Caxton, under "The Life of Socrates" we find, "said that a man hath never perfect rest and joy in this world, for he can not always persevere in delectation, nor possess his winnings, and oft hath trouble and anguish - as well for loss of his friends as otherwise. And said that the love of this world stoppeth mannes eres from hearing sapience and blyndeth the eyen from seeing truth and hit causeth also a man to be envied and keepeth him from doing good deeds," -

Dictes And Sayings

"Sayings of the Wise".

which appears in Baldwin divided, Seneca having the credit of "Man hath never perfect rest and joy in this world; nor possesseth always his own winning", and Socrates in the next paragraph saying "The love of this world stoppeth Men's ears from hearing Wisdom; and blindeth his eyes from seeing through it. Also it causeth a man to be envied and keepeth him

from doing any good."

Examples of this kind can be multiplied. In the same chapter the three ensuing sayings are given respectively to Aristotle, Pythagoras and Seneca, but are all to be found in exactly the same words under the heading of Socrates in Caxton.

Baldwin gives to Plato " God hath not in this world, a more convenient and meet dwelling place, than in a clean and pure Soul", which Caxton assigns to Pythagoras.

Sometimes Baldwin alters the phrasing slightly. Wydeville has" A wise man reputeth not the worship of God in words, but in deeds", and Baldwin quotes from Pythagoras", the worship of God consisteth not in words; but in works". His alterations are not always improvements, as in the case where he changes " When ye will fast, make first clean your Souls of all filth, that your fasting may come of pure heart without any evil cogitations which God reputeth evil, and as ye ought to abstain from metes, so ought ye to abstain from sin, for it satisfieth not to spare metes and do evil deeds",to" When you will fast; purge your Souls from filth, and abstain from sin For God is better pleased therewith than with abstaining from meat".

It would almost seem as if Baldwin had used the " Dictes and sayings"- not feeling perfectly certain, possibly, that Wydeville was to be depended upon entirely. So he copied down a page of sayings and sprinkled them among the various philosophers and Sages, not being very careful to assign to

to any particular one those remarks which seem most in accordance with his peculiar tenets.

For some of the Quotations from Hermes, Baldwin reads the Poemander, and the extracts made by Stoebius - from this we cannot infer that he read Greek, since there were Latin translations dating from 1471. The same difficulty with regard to his Greek knowlege occurs in connection with Plato, Socrates, Aristotle etc, There were Latin translations at the date at which Baldwin was working, and we cannot be sure from which language he translated.

For Seneca, he read from "De Vita Beata" from which many extracts are taken -" Not to desire Riches is the greatest Riches;" - from "De Ira", "Debate, Deceit, Contention and envy, are the fruits of evil thoughts"; The Epistles "Blame not Nature for she doth for every man alike" - Whyttingtons translation of "De Quatuor Remediis"- "Men should live exceeding quietly if these two words "Mine" and "Thine" were taken away". For Boethius he studied probably Chaucer, and certainly Queen Elizabeth's translation; for Cicero, as well as using the Latin works, he appears to have adopted phrases from Tiptoft's translation, published 1530, and Harrington's, published some years later . This is not quite certain for the phraseology does not exactly correspond as in the case of Caxton and Erasmus, so it is quite possible that Baldwib's translations are original.

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ptoft
e book of
iendsh by
rrington

Tiptoft has "Friendship is much better than kindred". Harrington translates "Friendship passeth kindred" and Baldwin reads "A true friend is more to be esteemed than kinsfolk

As in other cases where Baldwin alters phrases that he borrows, he here improves upon the loan-

Tiptoft. Tiptoft reads " Friendship forsooth is nothing else but the knitting together of that thing that is godly, and of that thing that is human, with sovereign benevolence and charity and wot that never unless it were wisdom what better thing might be granted unto men by the godes immortal". This is

Harrington inverted and awkward in phrasing, Harrington's is smoother " For Friendship is nothing else but a perfect agreement with good will and true love in all kind of good thing and godly and I know not whether any better thing hath been given of God unto men, wisdom excepted, than this same friendship

Baldwin but does not equal for charity and terseness Baldwin's remarks that " Friendship is nothing else but the agreement of divine and worldly things with good will and charity and is the chiefest Virtue, Wisdom only excepted, that God hath given unto men".

Not only does Baldwin improve upon the language of contemporary writers, but he also exceeds them in good scholarship. In many instances his translations from the Latin are more correct, as well as more euphonious, than those of Whyttyngton, Harrington, Tiptoft etc.

" The Myroure or Glass of manners & Wysdome" " The Mirror of Manners" which Whyttyngton translated from Seneca, the Latin sentence " Scire uti ~~pene~~pertate est maxima felicitas" is rendered" A man that can skill to use poverty is most welth and felicity," while Baldwin's translation is the far more literal" To know how to use Poverty, well, is a great blessedness".

Chapter IV. The Style and Verse.

It is difficult to understand why Baldwin wrote such curiously bad verse in the "Treatise of Moral Philosophy" and yet, two years later, published a volume of most interesting experiments. One possible explanation, which is yet far from satisfactory and conclusive, is that he considered Philosophy an absolutely unpoetical subject, and drew up his morals into metre, counting out the syllables with accuracy, but paying little or no attention to the musical rhythm and accentuation of the lines. It is possible to find several lines that are pleasing, but they are in a very small minority. Two occur in Chapter IX. Bk II. on "Of Silence, Speech and Communication", and run thus:-

Chapter IX Bk II P.104

"Yet be not dumb; nor give thy tongue the lease,
But speak thou well or hear and hold thy peace."

and in chapter VIII. Bk II. "Of Friendship and Friends",

P.98

"Knit with a heart where rancour never grew"

is about the most melodious line in the whole work. Baldwin's faults in verse writing are a lack of rhythm, irregular metre, misplaced accents and needlessly inverted sentences. NB. [The pages are from Arber's "Sayings of the Wise"] Several of the lines can be scanned as three syllabled tetrameters with some irregular iambic feet.

(God is a substance for ever durable)

and thus read are euphonious, but as they occur in stanzas which for the most part consist of lines of iambic pentameter, it is more than likely that Baldwin

read all the lines in the sameway and disregarded euphony for the sake of absolute correctness.

The verse at the end of Bk II. Chap. II "Of God" is an excellent example of the peculiar method of Scansion.

Page 84. Line 1. ~~must~~ : "God is a substance for ever durable" must, in order to rhyme with line 3, conclude with an accent on the last syllable, and can therefore be best scanned in trisyllables. Line 3 may be scanned in the same way, "Which guideth all things in order convenable", but line 4 must be scanned in fives,"A God in whom each man ought for to trust" and lines 2, 5 and 6 read best if scanned in sixes, though with elisions they can be read in fives - "Who for prayer gives grace to mortify each lust" or "Who for prayer gives grace to mortify each lust."

Page 88. Judging from other verses, in which elisions are obviously used ; "Which with the body the Passions suffer can", Baldwin intended the lines previously quoted to be scanned as pentameters.

His lack of ear for musical rhythm is shown in the verses ending Chap. X Bk. II. "Of Kings", etc.

"A King (which in earth is even the same
That God is in Heaven, of KingsKing Eterne)
Should first fear God, and busily ~~himself~~ him frame
~~to rule~~ Himself to rule"

which is merely prose divided into lines.

Badly arranged sentences are frequently found - the subject separated from the verb in, Chap.V Bk II. P.93.

"Who, after this life, through death transitory
For deathless Life joined to Joy do trust";

inverted verb and object in "Which, with the body, the

Ch. III. Bk I. pas ions suffer can"
p. 88.

The proverbs of Hermes, given under "Pithy Metres of Divers matters",

"Tréasures which Fálsehood seemèth to augmént
Are évilly gótten, and wórser are spent
Wherefóre to be rích whosó doth intend
Ought trúly to win and dúly to spénd."

has examples of the misplaced accent necessary for scansion - the strong beat falls on the second syllable of "Seeméth" and "Whosó".

The Canticles or Ballades of Solomnn Phraselyke declared in English metres by W.Baldwin.

Chap.I. Publication and dedication. Arrangement and contents.

This volume was published in 1549, and printed, as the Colophon informs us, by Baldwin himself, "Servaunt with Edward Whitchurche" at London.

Apparently this publication was not as popular with thw public as the "Moral Philosophy" or the " Mirror for Magistrates" for there seems to have been no attempt to repring it,. Possibly it was "Disliked" during the reign of the Catholic queen and merely neglected later.

It bears as a dedication "The most Godly King Edward the Sixte, by the grace of God King of Englande, France and Ireland, defender of the faith etc. William Baldwin prayeth God,to grant all things that are necessary. "And Baldwin quotes Seneca to show that " meet things should not be unmeetly given," and points out that as the prince easily had great zeal for " knowledge of the truth " with other good qualities which he refrains unwillingly from tarrying over, he considers that it is suitable to give to this pringe a godly book dealing with spiritual matters for the king combined the two offices of temporal and spiritual director and should by the grace of God, possess a third power, the gift of prophecy of true understaning of the scriptures.

Therefore Baldwin implores the king to accept this volume and wishes that such godly songs could be constantly sung

"to drive out of office the baudy balades of love that commonly are indited and sung of idle courtiers in princes and noblemen's houses:----

They are not fine enough, some will say, wel then, I wish that such fine fellows could become coarse enough for such coarse matters. The coarsest best pleaseth the finest of them in winter and I doubt not but their cold souls should be kept warm with these coarse songs, if in the winter of their frozen faith and clumsed charity they would vouchsafe timably to sing them. I speak not this of these balades alone but of all other like matter, as psalms and himnes, in which the apostle would have them that rejoice to be exercised." The dedication is concluded with thanks to the king for his encouragement of Thomas Sternbolt and a prayer for his majesty's continued health, wealth, virtue and honour.

In the Prologue to the reader, Baldwin explains the allegory of the "Balade" stating that the song is a dialogue between Christ and his spouse, the Church; the accompaniments being supplied by Christ's attendants, bishops, and teachers- and the damsels of the spouse "Young Christen souls".

He further states that he has only meddled with the matter, since many deny the song to be God's word on account of the "Wanton words", and he has attempted the paraphrase to prove that they are divinely inspired, and to make quite clear the inner meaning. He employed metre,

since it was suitable for a ballad; he fears that it may be a little obscure, but tells the reader to persevere diligently and all will become clear.

The book is to be read well, for, "Not in once reading nor twice that can make thee understand them"; the sentene is more to be noted than the rime; and the arguments which go before and after are to be welconsidered. Baldwin ends by promising a book of explanatory notes - which he may have written but did not publish - and praying for help and augmented knowledge for the reader.

Arrangement. The book is arranged systematically throughout; there is first a translation of the chapter in prose, then the verses are taken separately and explained by an "Argument" which is followed by a free paraphrase of the verse in metre, at the side of which, presumably for explanatory purposes, is a table of scriptural references, which seem to the ignorant of theology to have little bearing on the subject in hand.

Contents. The "arguments" or explanation of the text are very free interpretations with a strong anti-papal tendency. "Oh that he would kiss me with the kysses of hys mouthe" is explained, "The Church, Christes Spouse, delivered from the corrupt kisses of fleshly pleasures and delytes, and rid from the vain workes of men in which she longtime t rusted, having tasted of the pure fountains of God's abundant love and mercy, is so inflamed through faith to love Christ and his merits that, humbling herself she despiseth her formed foreign righteousness....etc.

Some of the arguments are clear, but others are quite incomprehensible: "The King hath brought me into his privie chamber" is a speech of the Church, but Baldwin interprets it, that Christ sent out the Spouse to comfort the members lest they faint by the way while following Him, which appears as if he took "brought in" to mean "sent out".

The arguments, read as a continuous piece of prose, (omitting the last few words in each case, since they are merely connecting links to the poetry following) make a theological treatise on the connection between Christ and the Reformed Church. The reasoning is extremely involved, and in many cases so far fetched as to be entirely obscure, but the meaning of the paraphrase, considered necessarily in the light of Baldwin's religious convictions, can be simply rendered.

The three Churches, of which frequent mention is made, would seem to be the early apostolic, the church existing in England up to the Reformation, and the Reformed Church. The "little foxes" may be the body corresponding to that known today as the Anglican Catholics, amongst whom form and ceremony are of paramount importance, or maybe the Catholics, who try to draw the Church back to the old beliefs.

The "Bed of peace" is the dependence on true doctrines, and the "believers of the fields and vineyards" are the Wycliffites and Lollards, who were never, according to

Baldwin's ideas, of the true faith, and preached differ ent doctrines. The snares, temptations and tribulations of the church are always laid by the Roman Catholics, for whom Baldwin entertained a lively and life long hatred.

Chapter II. Verse.

More interesting than the theology is the variety of metres in this paraphrase, Baldwin tells us to attend more to the matter than the "time", and it would have been easy to obey his behest had the verses been of the type shown in the " Treatise of Moral Philosophy". But instead of unscannable lines with poor rhyme and tedious jog-trot rhythm, we have a variety of metre- iambic, trochaic , anapaestic, more attention to rhyme and a sense of rhythm whichmakes us sure that Baldwin considered poetry unphilsophic.

R. V. Chapter I. The first verse;

2.

" Oh that my love whom only I desire
Which me hath brought from vaine to perfect bliss
By perfect faith from workes of worldly mire
Would with his mouth vouchsafe his Spouse to kiss

English Prosody. is written in what Mr Saintsbury calls" interlaced heroic Couplets", and though it is open to the criticism that it contains inverted object and verb, and the subject is separated from its predicate as far as is possible, yet it moves with a lift and ease to which, as yet, the verse of William Baldwin has been a stranger.

The fourth, seventh and ninth stanzas of this song vary from the quatrain, the fourth having six lines rhyming ab. ab. ab; the seventh, ten, rhyming ab. ab. cb. cb. ab.; and the tenth, eight, rhyming ab. ab. ab. ab.

Though greatly improved, Baldwin is not yet infallible

and we are reminded of this by coming across the lines amongst iambic feet,

"This thy name is an ointment poured forth withits" ugly elision in the middle.

Several songs are written in this stanza; one might almost stand for an Elizabethan love lyric if one word were changed.

Ch. II. V. 12. "Then turn to me thy face, and let me hear
Thy voice aloud, like thunder in the air
Thy preaching voice is pleasant in mine ear
And to mine eye, thy face is very fair".

Examples of the old sounded genetive in 'es' and adjectival ending 'e' are found in this measure-

"Hath kissed me with his swete peace and grace"
Ch.1 V.II.
h.I V.10. and "Beyng for Cristes sake addict."

The second song is an example of the cut up fourteener line, and had the subject been secular, would have been merely ballad measure, the second verse specially has this feeling.

h. I. V. 4. "Sith then that for our spouses sake
Our weak hearts thou hast won
Unto the truth we us betake
And after thee we run."

This measure is not as popular as the first, yet occurs with various slight alterations.

The same difficulty in scansion which was found in the Treatise is here again evident; two and three feet lines are mixed, and it is not easy to tell which Baldwin really intended.

In one song this peculiarity is very evident, but as the verses fall practically alternately dissyllabic and trisyllabic, it is probably here intentionally.

1.VI.V.2. Mý beloved descended down
Into his fruitful orchard.
Dis-Syllabic With his good gifts his church to crown
To keep stylltha same in safeguard.

He is goen to the beddes of spice
Tri- Syllabic. The boke which he is declared in
On them to feed which exercise
The Scriptures that are his garden.

It is possible to scan the trisyllabic lines as tetrameters, but that causes a wresting of the accent, and loss of beauty and ease,

He is goen to the beddes of spice

has not the same freedom as

He is goen to the beddes of spice

and it is a question whether Baldwin scanned by ear, and did not particularly mind irregularities, or whether he counted out the syllables, and cut them off, the proper quantity for the line, and cared nothing for their quality. Remembering the Moral Treatise one is reluctantly drawn to the conclusion that the second suggestion is the more correct, and where it is possible to chose between tedious iambics and lilting, possibly irregular anapaests, the former is the safer choice.

In one song there is no possible doubt as to his intention, and its cause is also fairly obvious,

Ch. II. V. 15. " Catch us the false foxes, that preache not the truth
Those young little foxes which flatter my mouth
Catch them with scripture declare them their follie
Teach them to preach true my word that is hollie
And stroy not my vineyards."

The lilt is clearly that of a hunting song and the suggestion almost certainly came from the connection between the subject and some folk-song known to Baldwin.

There are examples of verses in lines of eight. ten, twelve and fourteen feet- most of these are iambic with an occasional bisyllabicfoot inserted.

Several of the verses end with a refrain, which may be the same throughout the poem; may vary after two or three stanzas; or may be merely two or three words, different after every stanza but retaining the same rhyme An example of this type is the song in twelve foot lines

Ch. I. V 2. in the first book. " Thee (Oh my spouse) which dost the things which I require"
Which has the refrain " of hell of hel" to the first verse and "nor hel, nor hel," to the second and proceeds similarly throughout.

A trimeter verse in the 2nd Chapter has a refrain of two words, the second is "love" and the first a varying preposition.

Ch. II. V 4. " The streamer have I been
Of love which Christ my king

"Hath reared for those that been
The Flocke whom he woulde bring
To Love".

The next song "Under my head my love hath layed" affords an example of a refrain of one word "Continually" and also of poetic license in the matter of grammar

I.5. " "Wherewith although I be afflict
In wurth I take all lovingly
Beyng for Christes sake addict
To suffer al paynes willingly
Continually.

An alternating refrain is found in

II V.16. Christ my spouse which still doth feed
Among the flowers having delight
Among his faithful lilies.
Doth take great care for me indeed
And I again with all my might
Will do so what his wyllis.

In the fifth chapter is a song with a refrain of three lines the second of which is in anapaests which adds greatly to the charm-

5.V.10. "Christe God and man(ye young) if ye know not
Is such a one as hath in hym no spot
Refrain- My love you shall understand
Is white in divinitie, red in humanitie
Chosen among a thousand.

The last song in chapter 5 is an example of cut up " poulter's measure"

Ch V. V. 19. " Ye faithful would ye know } twelve
At ful what one he is }
My wit and learning is to low } Fourteen
To show that shape of his " }

Cut up ordinary fourteeners are represented by

Ch. VI. verse 4. " Ful fayer art thow, my frende, and frendly there withal
For why thy good wyll doth extend
To all that on thee call".

and in a different way by

~~I knew it not~~).
Ch. VI. V, 12. " I knew not I thow wast so high
Till by thy word so sweet
Thow madest me know thou wast cum low
And lovely did me greet".

Ordinary Poulter's measure by

Ch. VI. V. 8. " According to the rates, of giftes of godly grace
Within my church there are estates, whereof no one is base".

As paraphrases, the songs are quite acceptable and often give the sense of the verse very clearly, but as poetry they are not entirely satisfactory.

In many cases, Baldwin seemes to have strained after the Spiritual meaning he read into the words of Solomon, and thus to have spoiled the naturalness and spontaneity which is essential to fine poetry.

" My beloved is goen down into his garden to the spice beddes, that he may there fede in his garden and gather lilies . I please my beloved, and my beloved me, which feedeth among the lilies", is quite correctly paraphrased as

1. "My beloved descended down
   Into his fruitful orchard
   With his good gifts his church to crown
   To keep styll the same in safeguard.

2. He is goen to the beds of spice
   The books which he is declared in
   On them to feed which exercise
   The Scriptures that are his garden.

3. To fede himself among his flocke
   It ever more his will is
   To plucke the flowers of Abrams stocke
   His clere clothed faithful lilies.

4. In my love I alone delight
   Which maketh me so joyful
   And I am lovely in his sight
   Which feedeth among the faithful.

but no even the most enthusiastic admirer of Baldwin could call it satisfying poetry!

An example of the medley arising from the confusion of the religious and secular thought is afforded by the paraphrase of the well-known phrase

Ch. II. V.17. " Till the day break, and till the shadows be gone". wh which Baldwin renders

" Tyll day doe break, and truth do dim
All shadows dark, and cause them slyde
According as his wil is".

The original phrasing is so beautiful, it makes one more critical as to the paraphrase and calls up the question whether to talk of "dimming" shadows be correct, and if shadows do " slyde"?

This criticism leads to the greater one- is this paraphrase worth the making? When the original prose is so poetic what need is there to rearrange (and disturb) the rendering?.

Possibly in this fact - that it was impossible for Baldwin to give a really satisfactory prose exposition without taking away all the attraction of the Song - lies the reason for the unpopularity of the work. Its value for us is that it provides a storehouse of metrical examples, and a definite idea of the poetical powers and purposes of the minor Elizabethan writers. To the men living in the age, this valUe would not be apparent; the only interests the book could have for them would be that it gave a clear and simple explanation of a portion of Scripture, and that it formed interesting reading through its beautiful prose & poetry- . Neither of these can be claimed for the paraphrase, for, though Baldwin may have known exactly what he meant and the learned theologians of this day may have

followed his meaning, to the layman of the present, and probably of the past, the exposition calls up nothing so clearly as Shelley's exclamation" Words! Words! Words!"

- The Funeralles of Edward the Sixt."

Chapter I.
Contents.

This exceedingly rare book was published in 1560, " imprinted in London in Flete St. nere to St, Dunstans Church by Thomas Marshe", and reprinted in 1877 for the Roxburghe Club. In the Prologue to the reader, Baldwin states that the poem was " penned before His (the king's) corpse was buryed, and endevoured since by many mennes to have bene printed: but such was the evil that it could not be brought to pass".

The ostensible purpose of the poem was to remove all doubt as to the cause of the king's death (there was a strong suspicion prevalent that Edward VI. was poisoned) and by constructing an allegorical cause- the wickedness of the people- Baldwin achieves his real purpose, to write an account of the evils of the time.

It is perfectly obvious to us, when we read the poem, why the" many mennes" were unsuccessful If Mary disallowed the " Mirror for Magistrates" on account of its religious teaching and heresies, She most certainly would have ordered the instant execution of the author of the " Funeralles" and there would have been few, if any, voices raised in protest, for every class receives censure for its faults, and it is probably to his comparative obscurity that Baldwin owed his life, combined with the fact that he was working under a Roman Catholic and thers had a slight shield.

The poem is quaint in conception and mediæval in treatment with distinct traces of Chaucerian influence.

The opening lines

"When bitter winter forced had the sun
Fro the horned Goat to Pisces ward to run
And lively sap, that greneth gardens soote
To flye the stocke to save her nurse the roote etc.

are very reminiscent of the beginning of the prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

The continuation - God looking on the world and finding it "With Mahometric and Idol blud embued"; vowing vengeance being dissuaded by Christ; finally deciding on the death of Edward as a punishment to the Nation; summoming Crazy Cold as the messenger; the journey and obedience of Crazy Cold and the death of the king- is in the same strain of thought as the morality plays, particularly does it resamble "Everyman" where the same idea of the messenger sent as a warning is used.

The conception of Crazy Cold with icicles hanging from his head, skin of ice hardened with hoar frost and scaled with frozen snow, reminds one again of Chaucer and of Spenser.

Baldwin does not falter in his condemnation of all classes, as he says in the address to the reader- (written considerably after the poem) the sins of the people were in "part the undoubted cause of that most godly princes death, so they become the destruction of our vertuous Queen his sister, and the utter ruin of this whole realm" if they go (unchecked)

unchecked- and he proceeds in the poem itself to point out the several evils.

" Behold the heades, what else do they desire
Save in our name to cloke their covetise?"

They rob; raise rents; impose fines; join farm to farm and lease to lease to harm the poor; clergy land is not free from layman's hand; the corn is allowed to rot; they are false to their promise; marry for nothing but desire of wealth; sell widows and orphans to the highest bidder; think nothing of breaking the strongest oath if gain will follow.

" And when our preachers tell them ought hereof
What do they then but aythor fret or skof?

More definitely further on in the poem the different grades of society are rebuked- the Magistrates, lawyers and landlords each in turn. Restoration of church lands is implored, and vain and gaudy attire condemned.

" All Papistry, with fruitless gospel boast
Was cried against and damned as wicked most".

All the warnings were in vain, however, and the evil behaviour did not amend, so the promised punishment was sent and Edward with many others was stricken with a disease, the king as had been threatened, died, and sundry of the other sufferers also. Baldwin's way of telling this fact throws a light on his opinion of medical treatment.

" Whereof most part not over clearly tended
Recovered well, and thoroughly are amended.

And some, whose nature physic overprest
Are gone to God, and sleep in quiet rest."

Warnings of a somewhat similar kind had been sent before "When for their sins I sent them late the sweat." - which reference is interesting, for it is one of the very few which Baldwin makes to actual traceable events - the "sweating sickness", or the plague, had been very prevalent in the early years of his life, and very serious outbreaks had occurred in 1513, '21,'35,'43, and'47.

Published with the "Funeralles", but obviously written after 1558 and probably just before publication, are two shorter poems - "An exhortation to the repentance of sins and amendment of life, which were the cause of the kinges death, and wil be the destruction of the realm if God be not the more merciful to us - " and "The death playnt or life prayse of the most noble and vertuous prince King Edward VI."

The first of these is merely a repetition of the entreaties to the people to amend their lives; the complaints are more detailed, the princes are rebuked for greed, and avarice, and robbery under the "colour of their Christian profession"; the prelates for seeking promotion, for their popish errors and "foul derogation of Christ, His manhood, his merits or passion"; the subjects for their disobedience to their rulers, their irreverence, common swearing and transgressions of laws; the officers for their cheating in payments, their bribery and corruption; the lawyers for wresting the law of

the land to their own gain; the merchants for the bad goods they sell and their evil methods; the " Caitiffs" for raising rents, turning tillage to pasture and wasting woods; and the judges for partial and false judgments for the sake of money.

Each stanza ends with the refrain,

" For that was the cause of the kings death indeed
And will be his heirs too without better heed";

The second poem is a praise of King Edward's mind, heart and person, and another repetition of the cause of his death, varied by the introduction of Atropos and her two sisters and a comparison of the prince to the Phoenix- And this may cast some light on the neglect of so ardent a Protestant reformer- Elizabeth would hardly feel flattered by a poet who compared her brother to a Phoenix, and more than once stated his conviction, that never again would the nation be so bleessed in a monarch as it had been under Edward VI.

Ch. II. Metres and Verse.

The " Funeralles of Edward the Sixt" is written in heroic couplets, in imitation of the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, and is a very distinct improvement on Baldwin's previous attempts at verse. There are about four-hundred lines, and not one has the same cramped versification as the stanzas in the Moral Philosophy- and the steady exercise of the regular couplet prevents the freakish jumps from two to three feet which are found in the Song of Solomon.

Baldwin's ear for rhyme had evidently improved but he still makes "Commonly" rhyme with " households lie", and has other similar curiosities.

The accent also occasionally falls on the wrong syllable , but these errors are far less frequent, and the number of really fine lines is much greater- the description of Crazy Cold does not lose much by comparison with Spenser:

" But forth he came, this shivering Crazy Cold
With icicles bebristled like a boar,
About his head behind and eke before.
His skin was hard al made of glassy ice
Over heard with hoar frost like gray Irish freeze".

The complaint of God rises to quite a fine pitch of passionate invective and righteous wrath

" As for themselves, who noteth their attire

Would think them Gods more like than brittle mire!
And shall we suffer so perverse a nation
To scorn and mock their God in such a fashion?"

We are reminded that it is the Baldwin of the Song of Solomon who writes the Funeralles when we come upon the passage, terrible in its bathos,

" Fast forth it flew and up to heaven went
To rest with God in joyes that never stent.
The Soulless body about the bed did sprall".

Edward's prayer, which he offers up just before the final stroke of Death, is written in a different metre- the fourteen syllabled line, as used quite early and improved by Wyatt and Surrey- but hardly suitable to the subject- the pentameter line moves with more dignity, and the fourteener has to be read with too much hurry to give due and proper emphasis to so grave a theme. If the lines had not rhymed, we should not have been reminded quite so strongly of the " Walrus and the Carpenter"" and other poems of the like frivolous nature. Metrically, the lines are a among the best that Baldwin produced, the only faulty passage being the misplaced accent in the third line for the sake of the rhyme.

The same fault- unsuitability of metre- may be ascribed to the " Exhortation"- which is written in eight lined stanzas of dactyllic tetrameter rhyming in couplets, ending with the refrain

" For that was the cause of the kings death indeed
And wil be his heirs too without better heed".

The last line is occasionally varied by changing "heirs" "to" "sisters","queens"."lands".

The last verse is excellent as an example of the unsuitable metre.

" Sith we all already are guilty of murder
Cease we for God's sake to sin any further
O' Slay not our Sovereign, our most noble queen
Whose match in vertue hath seldom been seen
But pray the almighty her life to defend
Repent, recompense, pray, pay and amend
For if our sins send her to her brother
Swift vengeance will follow let none look for others"

Had the subject been comic, or merely of every day, ordinary interest, the rollicking swing of the lines would have been commendable ,but for an elegy, and an exhortation ending with the serious quotation from Syrach" Because of unrighteous dealing, of wrong, of blasphemies, and sundry deceytes, a realm shal be translated from one people to another", this form of stanza is eminently unfitted.

The "death playnt" is written in the seven line stanza of the Mirror for Magistrates, in sober iambic pentameter, and is much more pleasing to read than the " Exhortation"- The first verse especially is well arranged, and almost modern in its turns of expression-

"The noble heart which feares did never move
Wherein a mind with virtue fraught did rest
A face whose chere allured into love
All parts, through eyes which pity all possest
The brayne, which wit and wisdom made their chest
Fulfyled with all good gifts that man may have
Rest with a princely carcase here in grave."

The sombre effect which is noticeable is obtained from the low vowels of the first three lines, and the simplicity of the words, the absence of polysyllables. The repetition of "sin" in the last verse has the same effect of simplicity and consequent force.

"Wowurth our sinnes, our sinnes, our sins I say".

Interesting from the point of view of Baldwin's credulity is the reference to the Phoenix. This bird was believed to be actually in existence till late in the seventeenth century when travelling became more common and several fabulous animals died. There are not many of these references except in the satire "Beware the Cat", but from the few that are found in the "Mirror for Magistrates" and here, one gathers that Baldwin was not, in this respect, in advance of the general learning of the age, and gave credence to the wonderful tales of natural history.

"Beware the Cat"

Chapter 1. Editions - Date & Dedication.

This is the rarest of all Baldwin's works, there would seem to be only one copy now existing, which the British Museum has recently acquired from the Huth Collection. This is without a title page, but has a colophon

"Imprinted at London at the longshop adjoyning unto St. Mildred's Church at the Bultrie, by Edward Allde. 1584."

but it is obvious from references in the satire that it was written at a much earlier date.

There was a question for some time as to the author - though the copy now extant has a dedication to John Young signed G.B., which almost certainly stands for Gulielmus Baldwin. For some reason, presumably because the tales are related by him, the book was attributed to Stremer, as is proved by a broadside, preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, without date or signature,

Fugitive Tracts. Series1.

"To the iental reader: hearti salutation
Desiring thee to know; Baldwin's faschion
And if in answering: I appere sum what quick
Think it not without cause: his taunts be rive and thick
Where as ther is a boke called : Beware the Cat.
The very truth is so: that Stremer made not that
Nor no such false fabels fell ever from his pen
Nor from his hart or mouth: as knoe many honest men.
But will ye gladly knoe: who made that book indeed
One William Baldwyn; God grant him wel to spede."

The remainder is not the point, but serves to illustrate the extreme indigation of some writer that such a work shpuld have been attribited to Stremer.

The Broadside is also interesting in that it gives contemporary opinion both as to the actual author, and of the merits of this work.

The date of the writing of the book can only be ascertained from internal evidence, which is not wanting- in the epistle to the reader, Baldwin says when the tales were told him he was at Court with Master Ferrers - then Master of the King's pastimes - and according to the National Dictionary of Biography, Ferrer held this post and was aided by Baldwin in 1552. Likewise there is mention of the Irish Rebellion of Macknorro - no such name occurs in the translation of the Irish Chronicles -but a McMurrough or McMurro rebelled in 1548 against his liege lord. Finally, in the hymn at the end of the satire, "Gregory no Pope" is mentioned. Gregory XIII did not become Pope till 1572, so this may be an indication that the work was written before that date, but, seeing that Mr. Collier states in his Extract from the Register of the Stationers Company, that a fragment existed in 1561, and an entry appears in the Registry for 1568-9, "Rd. of Mr. Irlande, for his lycense for printing of a book intituled Beware the Cat, by William Bawdwin iiiid" the last piece of internal evidence is not of great value in fixing the date of writing, which would seem to be about 1552-3.

.B.Ferrers

Donovan - "The Annals of Ireland".

Ency: Brit.

lier Ext. n Reg. of t. Co.1568-9

In the edition of 1584, there is a poem by T.K.

containing the explanatory lines

"Thiss little book Beware the Cat
Most pleasantly compiled
In time obscured was, and so
Since that hath been exilde.
Exilde because, perchaunce, at first
It shewed the toyes and driftes
Of such as then by wiles and willes
Maintained Popish shifts."

From which it would appear that after the composition the book was obscured, i.e. kept dark or secret till possibly '61 and then suppressed - possibly because it was printed without a license - issued again in 1568-9 and again suppressed, and finally printed in 1584.

It is difficult to assign reasons for its suppression during the years of Protestant enthusiasm, but one may have been that Baldwin, in his new character as Clergyman (which he assumed before 1563) was ashamed of the unseemly tales and considered them unsuitable to his profession, and therefore attempted, during his lifetime, to curtail the circulation of the book. This theory is supported by the fact that the only copy now extant was published after his death.

"Beware the Cat" was dedicated to the "Right Worshipful Esquire John Young" and was apparently in fulfilment of a wish expressed by Young that one of Stremer's stories, told the Xmas before, might be repeated

Baldwin suggests that it is possible he may not care to have his stories told for him, but promises many more if Stremer's consent can be won.

The dedication is preceded by some verses by T.K. who Ritson suggests is Kendall Timothy, who published a volume of short poems under the title of " Flowers and Epigrammes" which does not contain the verses, but has others on the popes couched in the same spirit, which would lead one to feel that Kendall was in entire sympathy with Baldwin's subject, and therefore pa possibly wrote the verses, which explain the subject and purpose of the Satire.

ographia
etica.

" It shewed the toys and drifts
Of such as them by wiles and wills
Maintained Popish Shifts.

" Finde! yea, who can now boste but that
The Cat will him disclose
Therefore in midst of mirth (I say)
Beware the Cat to those".

The metrical interest of these stanzas is the cleverly managed linking of the verses by the last and first words- this device occasionally leads to awkardness but on the whole is most ingeniously employed.

The variant spellings used by the early Elizabethan writers for the sake of rhyme is well illustrated by

" The Cat ful pleasantly will shew
Some slights that now are wrought

And make some laugh which unto mirth

To be constrained are <u>loght.</u>

Lothe? yea, for overpassing grief. etc.

hapterII. Contents.

reface

As Baldwin says in the Dedication, he has divided Masters Stremer's oration into three parts, and prefaced t them with an argument, in which he explains how the story came to be told at all. One Christmas Ferrers, Baldwin (who was helping in some interlude for court entertainment) , Willot (the court astronomer) Stremer (a divine) . slept in the same room for one night. A discussion arose during which Baldwin objected to the ascription of reason to animals, and Stremer gave instances of thoughtful actions performed by some of them- elephants that walked on cords; hedgehogs that anticipated the weqther; foxes and dogs that slipped their leashes at night, murdered sheep, and returned to their collars the next morning; " parats" that bewailed their keeper's death; and swallows that opened the eyes of their young with celandine.

Baldwin maintained that, wonderful as these actions were, they were instinctive and not due to reasoning powers, and Stremer herewith promised to tell some marvellous adventures which had befallen himself and concerned animals, if he might do so without fear of interruption. This being promised, the " First Part of Master Stremer's Oration" began.-

1st. Part. Stremer was lodged, at the time when this astounding adventure took place, at the house of Day, the printer, near Aldersgate (over the origin of this word he has a long disquisition) to superintend the printing of his Greek alphabet. His apartment being near the leads, he was disturbed at night by the cats- on complaining to the servants of this, he was told various marvellous tales of these animals- one being the legend of the Cat of Kankwood, who appeared to a man and besought him to " Commend me to Titton Tatton, and Puss thy catton and tell her that Grimalkin is dead"- The second legend was of the time of the Irish rebellion of Macknorro- when one Patrick Apore, attended by a boy, attacked and conquered a town of two houses, and drove off the cattle- one sheep and one cow. Hearing the approach of a hostile force, he took refuge in a church and here made a fire, killed and cooked the sheep.

When he was ready to eat it, there appeared a Cat and demanded part- After she had eaten the whole sheep and cow, Apore thought that the company of the enemy was preferable to that of the devil, and attempted to escape, only to find that the cat was on his saddle- bow-. He slew the animal and only escaped from the swarms of pursuing cats by the swiftness of his horse, and was killed by his little kitten at home after he had told the tale to his wife, with the words " Thou hast slain Grimalkin".

The theory was propounded that the cats on ships act as news-bearers, and legends were told of the sagacity of cats when their own kind are in danger- these were followed by tales of witches who change men and women into were- wolves by the application of a wonderful ointment. These tales bring to an end the first part of the oration.

Part 2. The second part describes Stremers discovery of the Cat- council, his intention of making a philtre to help his hearing, the composition and taking of the philtre, some lo lozenges and pillous for the ears- which cause his hearing to be so much improved that he was almost deafened by the rush of sound which he describes in Skeltonic verse, written in prose " barking of dogges, grunting of hogges, wawling of cats, rumbling of rats, gaggling of geese, humming of bees, rousing of bucks, gaggling of ducks, singing of swannes, ringing of pannes etc". The description of his terror and recoverythere-from end the second part.

Part 3. In the third part of the oration, he relates the conversations of the cats, who tell each other tales of the houses and people with whom they have lived, dwelling more particularly on the evil motives people had for apparently virtous actions. Most of the tales refer to Roman Catholicism, always in a derogatory manner, showing the priest either as an individual gifted with occult powers obtained from the spirit of darkness, or an extremely fallible human being.

After a meal, Strmer found his highly sensitive powers

of hearing had become dulled, and she no longer could interpret cat- language.

Epilogue. Baldwin ends with an exhortation to every man who intends to commit a sin, to get rid first of his cat, but to remember that the devils cat who listens and reports to her master, cannot be tied up. So everyone should so act that neither his own cat, nor the devil's can have ought to repeat against him.

Finally there is a hymn on behalf of Stremer

" To him graunt Lord with health, wealth and rest.
Long life to unlode to us his learned brest
With fame so great, to over live his grace
As none had erst, nor any after have."

apter 3. Style

This satire should be read in conjunction with the "Funeralles of Edward the Sixt" and the accompanying poems - the treatment of the works is different, but the purpose is the same - to expose the social evils of the day. "Beware the Cat" is written in stilted prose, and in it Baldwin seems to have made an attempt at lightness and irony, and as might be expected from the author of the Moral Philosophy, the attempt is a failure. The passages which are meant to be humorous are uninteresting and tiring - such an one is the tedious description of the preparation of the philtre and the effect of its application. The satire is not only used as a general basis for the story - but runs throughout in the method of telling, as Shakespeare, in jesting at the bombast of Tamburlane, falls into the same style, so Baldwin, satirising the rough language of Skelton, and the flowery language of Burley's translations, commits the same errors himself. In certain passages the intention is obvious - "As soon as restless Phoebus was come up out of the smoking sea, and with shaking his golden coloured beams which were all the night long in Thetis moist bosom, had dropped of his silver sweat into Herdaes dry lap, and kissing faire Aurora with glowing mouth had driven from there the adouterer Lucifer and was mounted so high to look upon Europa," etc.

Stremer's Oration Pt. 12

This is clearly an attempt to write in a different method, to make fun of the classical references growing common among

Prose writers and of the high flown praseology. Baldwin would not have thought of using "Silver Sweat" for "morning dew" unless he had had some purpose behind his action.

Another extraordinary passage, peculiar morefor its matter than its style, occurs in the third part of Master Strewer's Oration. "It is not the moon that causeth the sea toebb and flow, neither to nepe and spring; but the neping and springing of the sea is the cause of the moon's waxing and waning. For the moonlight is nothing save the shining of the sun, cast into the element by the opposition of the sea, as also the stares are nothing else but the sunlight reflected upon the face of riversand cast upon the crystalline heaven, which, because rivers keep alway like course, therefore are the stars alway of one bigness. As for the course of the starres from east to west is natural by meanes of the sunnes like moving, but in that they ascend and descend, that is, sometime come southward and sometime goe nobthward; that is caused also by the sunnes beying either on this side or on the other side of this line likenightical; the reason followeth for the poles not moving, and that is the situation of those rivers and dead seas which cast them, and the roundness and egg form of the firmament."

Part 111.

We do not know enough of Willot to be certain that Baldwin meant this to satirise his peculiar astronomy, but we do know that Baldwin was not so ignorant as would appear from this, for in the song of Solomon he uses, in an

h.Vi.V.10 argument on the verse "Clear as the Sun, fair as the moon, terrible as an army with banners", the fact that the moon derives its light by reflection from the sun. Apart from its distinctive style, the book is interesting as a pure satire. Baldwin works in his abuse of the Pope and papal superstitions very cleverly, and contrives likewise to give sundry digs at prevalent social abuses. Though "The Funeralles of Edward Vl." is meant as an exhortation, its matter is so like that in "Beware the Cat" that it is difficult to separate the two purposes and say which is pure satire and which pure exhortation. Both express the same contempt for the frivolity and lavishness of the youth of the age.

"Funeralles of Edward Vl. Vv. 101-104

"For yet at game, so it be voyde of vice
But if this winter time thou mayest him marke
To ride all day all arunde about the parke
Or els at dice, or tennis out of time," etc.

"The idle like, with pounced silke and golde,
Arrayed their wives and children young and old." (1.57)

"And sure it is a shame for all young men that they be no more studious in the tunges, but the world is now come to that passe, that if he can prate a little Latin, and handle a racket and a pair of six-square bowles; he shall sooner obtain anything that the best learned in a whole citie, which is the cause that learning is so despised and bagagical things so much advanced."

This is a fault much condemned by Baldwin's contemporaries and successors. Shakespeare has a glance at it in Henry V.

whose present from the Dauphin was a tun of tennis balls; Ascham condemsn the Italianated court gallants; Donne has a gibe at the overdressed courtiers who

"in flocks arefound
In the presence, and aye, God pardon me -
As fresh and sweet their apparels be, as be
Satires The fields they sold to buy them."

Condemnation of unjust lawyers is also a common feature of this style of writing during the Elizabethan age. Baldwin has various passages on this in the Mirror for Magistrates, in the legends of the Duke of York, of Collingbourne, and of Anthony Woodville - in the Exhortation to Repentence he writes

Line 48 ff "Repent ye false lawyers your racking and straining
To make all lawes serve to your greedy gaining
Your robbing the riche, your undoing the poor
Your making the law and the justice a whore
Which no man embrace may until she be sold
For great men's favours or a high heap of golde."

Gascoigne has somewhat similar sentiments in "Dulce Bellum Inexpertis", and in the Stel Glas shows the reflection of the perfect Advocate, who is absolutely different from the lawyer represented in "The Viewe of Worldly Vanities", who "never regards the worthiness of the cause, but the worthiness of the person. Not the lyfe but the rewards; not the justice, but money. Not that the law doth determine, but that which your minde doth desire.....You neglect the cause of the poor man, and the

ritch man's cause you follow tooth and nayle ....
Yea, if at any time you undertake the poor' man's cause, you delaye them lingeringly....But you neither give favour favourably and frankly nor do justice justly. Neither can you give well unless you sell."
Breaking of oaths is condemned in both the exhortation and the satire, and is given as the cause of the downfall of several of the heroes of the "Mirrow for Magistrates." The "Funeralles of Edward VI" and the legend of Sir Anthony Woodville in the "Mirror" refer to the marriage of orphan wards and widows for the sake of gain to their guardians. Dr. Furnival has collected for the E.E.T.S. the evidences of child marriages in the reign of Elizabeth and from his statistics we can gather that Baldwin's was no cry of "Wolf". Few of his contemporaries speak with quite the same vigour and courage on this topic - courage was undoubtedly required, for few nobles were entirely exempt from this crime, and popular feeling does not seem to have been seriously against it- but Churchyard has a passing reference (without Baldwin's vigorous denunciation born of true conviction) in the "Tragical Discourses of a Dolorous Gentlewoman".

"But wilful man (that wealth may wrest away)
Will force poore babes to marry or to mourne
What father will the child may not deny.....
Love is not now, as love hath been of old
(A gamesome babe to dandle on the knee)
Love cares for nought, but lands and bags of gold

That keeps both men and horse in stable free."
And Patrick Hannay, whose "Sheretine and Mariana" owes its inspiration to "The Mirrow for Magistrates" writes,
"Myfather now dothe finde (though all too late)
The misery forced marriages doth ensue."
As might be expected in a satire directed against superstitions generally and those of the Romish church particularly, references to the Pope are frequent in "Beware the Cat", as a rule, worked into the main body of the story so carefully that only special study discovers them, but occasionally laboured and apparent. Of the first type is the gibe at the doctrine of Transubstantiation - the servants tell Stremer that a witch, being of woman's size, cannot be contained in a cat's body, to which the answer is made that it is much easier for them todo so that for anyone to "Bring Christ's body out of Heaven to thrust him into a piece of bread". Again, Grimalkin is esteemed by the cats as noble and famous, just as "we sely fools long time for his fine crafty juggling reverenced the Pope, thinking him to have been but a man (though much holier than we ourselves were) whereas indeed he was a very incarnated devil, like this Grimalkin."

Part 1. of Stremer's Oration

Of the second kind is the comparison of the Pope - "in whose cause all his clergy would not only scratch and bite, but kill and burn to powder...whomsoever they thought to think out once against him. Which pope devoured more at every meal than Grimalkin did at her last supper" - with Grimalkin who ate a sheep and a cow at a sitting.

These references to the Pope and the "foul popish errors", the "shifts" of the Catholic clergy, merely voice the opinions of Reformed Protestant England with regard to the & instigators of the Inquisition and are not materially different from those of many comtemporary writers. Gascoigne expresses similar sentiments in his poem "Dulce Bellum Inexpertis", where he says,

"These spiritual Pastors, nay, these spiteful Popes
Which ought to lend a lanterne to the rest
Had they themselves but light to see the ropes
And snares of Hell which for theyre feet are drest
Because they pill and pole, bycause they wrest
Bycause they covet more than borell men
(Harde be theyr hearts) yet would they tremble then."

and Marston says in "Pygmalion and Galatea",

"Looke how the Peevish Papists crouch and kneele
tossum dum idol with their offering
As if a senseless stone could feel
The ardour of his bootless chattering."

Also Churchyard has (with his marvellous spelling) in "A Wished Reformation of Wicked Rebellion"

"O Jezuwits, can you yourselves excuse
When Jhesus naam and doctrin you abuse?"
Yee care not whom yee poyson, kill or stryck."

In the Harleian Miscellany Vol.9 Roy, a monk himself, but a helper of Tindale in his preparation of the Bible, writes in the Epistolary preface on the Satire on Cardinal Wolsey, 1546. "In the lamentation

following, made by a bely beast engendered among the gresy or anoynted heap, wother wyse called the papystical sect, whom Christ calleth "a crooked, untoward and cruel generation of vipers" they may surely grope, etc., etc. The "Lamentation" (as it appears in the Harleian Miscellany) is a satire on the Mass, bewailing, ostensibly, its loss, but in reality revealing the evils which it produced and encouraged.

"Approache, proud patriarchs, with your Pope,
Bisshops, Archbisshops, and cardinells gay,
With all other prelates which had your hopw
To be maintained by the masse all waye
Who shall find our belly and rych array?
Seeing that gone is the Masse
Now deceased, alas, alas!"

Other wokks with similar references are to be found in a volume entitled "Fugitive Poetical Tracts", edited by the late Mr. Huth, and containing "A Briefe Chronicle of the Bishop of Rome's Blessing" by Thomas Gibbon, written in 1550; "An Answere to a Papistical Exhortation" in 1550-3, and others of a similar nature, all shewing the intense distrust and hatred of Papal and priestly rule. With all his love for ghastly details of executions, Baldwin was humanitarian in principle. In "Beware the Cat" he has a passage on the custom of keeping the heads of dead malefactors and traitors upon the city gates, and he condemns the practice on these grounds. It is forbidden by Scripture to leave bodies exposed after sunset, it is

a "loathely and abominable sight for men", and, satirically, evil spirits tempt tyrants to leave bodies exposed, that "Misanthopi or Molochitus" may suck the blood therefrom. Another evil that others beside Baldwin lament, is the pitiful state of the Clergy. In the "Funeralles of Edward VI." he says,

"Funeralles" line 61 ff

"Thine heritage (meaning the land of the church)
They have thee whole bereft
Except thy shurt, but see, what have they left,
Thy golde, thy plate, thy lodging, yea thy lands
That are the poor's, are in the richest hands
.....What kind of Clergy land
Or fee, is free now from the Layman's hands.
"Request was made ~~that they~~ the Church's goods restore
Or put the use that they were taken for."

Much the same intention is displayed in the lines in "Beware the Cat","for the wild Irish men had Churches in such reverence till our men taught them thecontrary, that they neither would, nor durst they either rob aught thence, etc.

Latimer writes on the same subject, condemning "The scraping and getting together for bodily houses while the soul's house is neglected....We of the Clergy had too much, but now we have too little. Schools are not maintained, scholars have not exhibition, the preaching office decayeth. The gentry invade the profits of the Church, leaving but the title....benefices are let out in fee-farms, given to servants for keeping of hounds, hawks and horses, the

clergy, kept to sorry pittances, are forced to put themselves into gentlemen's houses and serve as clerks of kitchens, surveyors or receivers."

The reason for the unpopularity of the "Funeralles of Edward Vl." and "Beware the Cat" is obvious - they exposed the faults ofthe influential and moneyed classes too clearly. The Church would not favour works which pointed out the immorality and greediness of the prelates - and though Roman Catholicism is ostensibly the subject of the Satire,&"Popish Errors" one of the causes of the death of Edward Vl., there is nothing in either work which would lead one to imagine that Baldwin found the Reformed Chubch perfect and free from all taint of evil, but rather the contrary.

The nobles, lawyers and merchants were in much the same case.- nothing good was said of them, and much that was very bad. Their greed for gain, lust for power, lack of honesty, and oppression of the poor were again and again pointed out. And it was from these classes that the reading public was drawn.

The "Moral Philosophy" had not displeased and ran through many editions - the "Mirror for Magistrates" gave chronicle history in an easily read form not too didactic a form, and was extremely popular - but the Canticles of Solomon were perhaps too abstruse in their theology, and the "Funeralles of Edward Vl." and "Beware the Cat" were too bitterly satirical forthe age, and now raise interest in the student, partly

for their form and place in the History of Literature and partly for the clear pictures they present of the life and thought of one section of English Society in the early Tudor days.

EDITIONS OF THE "MYRROURE FOR MAGISTRATES".

1.	1555	Edited	by	Baldwin	19 (?) legends.
11.	1559	"	"	"	19 "
111.	1563	"	"	"	27 "
1V.	1571	"	"	?	27 leg. corrected chron. order.
V.	1574	"	"	Higgins	"1st part" 16 new legends only.
V1.	1574	"	"	?	Baldwin's 27 legends.
V11.	1575	"	"	Higgins	"1st part" reissued.
V111.	1575	"	"	?	Last Part, i.e. Baldwin's.
1X.	1578	"	"	Higgins	"1st part".
X.	1578	"	"	?	Last part.
X1.	1578	"	"	Blennerhasset	12 new legends only.
X11.	1587	"	"	Higgins.	1st part, last part, and Blennerhasset's legends.
X111.	1610				Three parts issued minus
XIV.	1619	"	"	Niccols	prose links, with
XV.	1621				altered lines.
XV1.	1815	"	"	Haslewood.	Text as 1587 Edition.

hapter 1. Editions.

dition 1.

This book, by far the most important work with which William Baldwin was connected, was published first in 1555 Two duplicate copies of a prose-link and part of the tragedy of Owen Glendower, and various copies of the title page are all that remains of this edition;

The reason for this wholesale loss being the prohibition of the chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who forbade the publication of a work dealing with histories, partly, doubtless because its authors were Protestants.

The intention of the printer had been to carry on the "Lives of Unfortunate Princes" from the period at which Lydgate left them, taking English historical examples from the time of Richard II in preference to Italian.

This is clear from the copy of "The Tragedies gathered by John Bochas, of all such princes as fell from theyr estates through the mutability of fortune since the creacion of Adam, until his time; wherein may be seen what vices bring men to destruccion, with notable warnings howe the like may be avoyded. Translated into English by John Lidgate, Monke of Burye. Imprinted at London by John Wayland, at the Sign of the Sunne over against the Conduite in Flete Street." This is preserved in the Grenville Collection, and contains a page bearing the title "A Memorial of Suche Princes as since the tyme of King Richard the Second have been unfortunate in the realm of England. Londini in aedibus Johannis Waylande." On the reverse of this page is printed Wayland's license, which reads, "Mary, by the

grace of God, queen of England, France and Ireland, defendour of the faith, and in earth of the Church of Englande and also of Ireland the supreme head etc"

Trench.a M.for M. its origin and influence. p.5.

Mary's title as "supreme head of the Church" was made invalid in January 5th.1555; but the realm had been reconciled to the pope by Cardinal Pole in November, when he "received the realm" again into the body of the Holy Catholic Church under the pope, the supreme head thereof" and Mary's title had been dropped unofficially in 1554, hence it seems certain that Wayland printed both the "Falles of Princes" and the "memorial of Unfortunate Princes" together, and on the suppression of the latter, issued Lydgate's book alone.

Wayland's place of business was "The Sign of the Sunne in Flete Street", where Wynkyn de Worde had formerly lived; there also Edward Whitchurch had worked, he was a Protestant, eager in the cause of reform, who had aided Richard Grafton in the production of "Matthew's Bible" in 1537, and published Coverdale's translation in the next year. Upon the accession of Queen Mary, we hear no more of Whitchurch's connection with the Sign of the Sun, he probably found it wiser to retire into private life. His business was taken up by John Wayland, a staunch Roman Catholic, who yet retained in his service William Baldwin, who through his subordinate position as assistant, was comparatively free from danger arising from his Protestant views. Wayland continued to issue the books upon which Whitchurch had been employed; amongst these was the Mirror for Magistrates, which had been commenced (as

internal evidence proves) in the reign of Edward VI. ~~on a work already well under way~~.

The fact that all the contributors were Protestants also bears out the statement that Wayland was merely carrying on a work already commenced and probably well under way, for, had the choice been left to him, it would probably have fallen upon Catholics.

dition.II. The records of the Stationers Register for July 1558 - 9 bear the entry:-

rbers Tran- cript. .97. "Thomas Marshe hath lycense to prynte the Myrroure of Magestrates vjd". But Baldwin says "through the meanes of the right honorable Henry, Lord Stafford, the first part was licenced and imprinted the first year of the raign of this our most noble and vertuous queene etc", though books

rench.p.22. licensed by the Stationers' Company did not need to be passed by the Chancellor. In this case, seeing that many of the heroes of the tragic legends were connected with his widespread family, Stafford probably merely interceded for the publication of a work which had been suppressed.

The title of this edition printed by T. Marshe reads "A Myrroure for Magistrates, wherein may be seen by example of others, with howe grevous plages vices are punished: and howe frayle and unstable worldly prosperitie is found, even of those whom Fortune seemeth most highly to favour. Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum Anno 1559. Londini. In oedibus Thomas Marshe".

The volume contains the legends of nineteen unfortunate princes arranged chronologically, from the time of Richard II to Edward IV.

ition III. A third edition appeared in 1563, also issued by Thomas Marshe, and containing the "second part of the Mirror for Magistrates; which consisted of eight long tragedies and the famous induction of Thomas Sackville.

ition IV. A "newly corrected and augmented" edition was published in 1571 - the corrections being alterations of the chronological order, and slight verbal differences throughout; and the augmentations were signatures appended to twelve of the tragedies.

ition V. John Higgins, in 1574, being attracted by the form and popularity of the "Mirror", published a new set of sixteen legends "From the coming of Brute to the incarnation of our Saviour and redeemer Jesu Christe".

ition VI. Therefore the next edition of the original work, published in the same year by Thomas Marshe, was issued under the title of "The last part of the Mirour for Magistrates".

dition VII- X. Reprints of the "First" and "Laste" parts were issued in 1575 and 1578. In the latter, the tales of Elinor Cobham and Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, mentioned in the table of contents of the 1559 edition, were for the first time included.

ition XI. "The Seconde Part of the Mirror for Magistrates conteining the falles of the unfortunate Princes of this Lande. From the Conquest of Caesar unto the comyng of Duke William the Conqueror" was published also in 1578, and contained twelve legends written by Thomas Blennerhasset and printed if he is to be believed - without his sanction and against his will.

dition XII. Nine years later, in 1587, John Higgins issued "The

Mirour for Magistrates, wherein may be seene, by examples passed in this realme, with how greevous plagues vices are punished in great Princes and Magistrates, etc - Newly printed and with the addition of divers tragedies enlarged". This contained the original twenty-nine legends with which Baldwin was concerned, the sixteen of Higgins edition of 1574, Blennerhasset's twelve tales, and four new stories, by Higgins and his friends.

dition XIII - XV. In 1610, 1619, and 1621. Richard Niccols published the whole works, omitting only the prose links of Baldwin and Blennerhasset and the L'Envoi of Higgins, altering those lines of the original text which did not suit his rather peculiar rhythmic ear, and adding a poem on the life of Queen Elizabeth - the only valuable thing in an edition which is neither more nor less than an impertinence.

After 1621, the popularity of the work seems to have waned entirely, its publication ceased, quotations from it and poems modelled on it are distinctly fewer, and no copy seems to have been printed until 1815, when Joseph Haslewood collated all the editions and published the Mirror in three volumes, with a most useful introduction and notes.

But, though this is of great value and interest to students, the general tenour of the work is too sombre and melancholy ~~and~~ to prove fascinating to the general public.

Chapter II. Plan of the work.

The work is prefaced by two epistles - one to the "Nobilitie", in which Baldwin explains the purpose of the book - to turn men (of high rank especially) from vice to virtue, by showing them the evil fates of such as committed heinous sins. The second epistle dedicatory explains how Baldwin came to write the book. He relates that the printer (Whitchurch), having finished Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's "De Casibus Illustrorum" was counselled by many to continue the story to his own time, to be "a mirour for men of all estates and degrees as well nobles as others, to beholde the slipery deceites of the wavering ladye, and the due rewarde of all kinde of vices". Whitchurch took the advice, and "required me to take paynes therein, but I refused utterly except I might have the help of such as in witte were apt, in learning allowed".

The "help" took the form of six assistants, certainly Ferrers, Churchyard, Challoner, and Cavyll and probably Segars and Dolman. When all had met on one night, Baldwin produced a volumn of Lydgate and proposed to continue their work after the same method that he had employed, but this was impossible, seeing both Lydgate and Boccaccio were dead and no moans could be effectively made to them. Hence the suggestion was made and accepted, that the unfortunate princes should make their complaints to Baldwin, which is stating, practically, that Baldwin was considered leader and editor.

Ferrers marvelled that Boccaccio had omitted the

tales of unhappy English princes, but satisfied himself with the remembrance that "Bochas" was an Italian, and English history was probably unknown to him; he went on to suggest that they should commence with the reign of Richard II, and offered his own tale of the life of Sir Robert Tressilian.

After this prose introduction, follow nineteen tragedies in chronological order, connected by prose-links, which enable us to state the authors of various of the poems, and also give us clues as to the date of the composition of the preceding or ensuing legend.

The fore prose link to the last tragedy, that of Edward IV - explains the fact that the legends were issued in two parts - a halt had been called on account of the lateness of the hour, and it was suggested that the company should disperse for seven days during that time should seek for new tales which they should tell on the next occasion of their meeting.

This second part was not issued till 1563, though part of the legends must have been in Baldwin's possession for some years. Sackville's Induction was probably written in 1557, and since he passed it on to Baldwin, knowing that he was intending to publish the "Mirror", it seems likely that Baldwin had it before 1558 - 9.

The contributions to the second part are prefaced by another address, in which Baldwin recounts how they all met at the time appointed, bringing their own and other men's legends. Baldwin produced his own tale of Anthony Woodville; Buckingham's tragedy and the induction by

Sackville; Cavyll's legend of the Blacksmith - Ferrers gave the Duke of Somerset of his own and Churchyard's "Shores Wife", and the printer brought up Dolman's Lord Hastings and Segar's Richard III.

All the business was left in Baldwin's hands, but no explanation of the tardy production is offered.

apter III. Originals.

Baldwin states, in his epistle to the reader, that the printer purposed to carry on the work of Lydgate, thus giving us a certain indication of the origin and model of this work.

John Lydgate, a monk of Bury, wrote various works among which was a verse translation of Boccaccio's "De Casibus Illustorum" in the Prologue, he states that the first translator was named Laurence, who wrote in French at the time King John was a prisoner in England. (i.e. After Crecy, circa 1346). He mentions the mutability of Fortune, the danger of trusting to her, and the good to be learned from the falls of those who were rash enough to do so; he pays tribute to Chaucer, mentioning many of his works, notably his stories derived from Boccaccio. The prologue ends with an encomium on the Duke of Gloucester, by whose command Lydgate attempted the translation.

The first tale is of Adam and Eve who appear very feeble and shaken with age, and tell their tale to Boccaccio, partly in the first person, and partly in the third. The ending of the story is a prayer that we may be kept from the same temptations and finally led to glory.

The tale is followed by a L'Envoye by Lydgate, containing a moral of the evils due to "inobedience" pointed by the tale.

The second legend is introduced by a chapter heading and relates the history of Membroth who built the tower

of Babylon and was punished for his pride: this is followed by a dissertation by Boccaccio on pride, and by Lydgate's L'Envoye, which points out that meekness is that virtue "of all virtues which may most avayle".

The stories continue in like manner through nine books and the volume ends with "Words of the Translator" expressing the hope that the book may be received by princes with pity, and pointing a final moral, that those who wish to ascend with surety must do so through virtue, and not by the aid of fortune.

That Baldwin copied the form of Lydgate's translation is very clear, but yet he made some slight alterations. Lydgate's prologue is in verse, Baldwin's "Address to the Nobilitie" and "Epistle to the Reader" are in prose; Lydgate's stories are told in a mixture of the first and third persons. Baldwin keeps strictly to the first person; the moral is kept separate from the story in "De Casibus Illustrorum" and pointed by Lydgate and not the hero of the legend, in the "Mirror" the teller of the story shows his own moral, and the prose links are useful to identify the authors of the poems, to preach miniature sermons.

The actual debt to Lydgate would seem to be the idea of unfortunate princes returning to the upper world to warn their successors; the morals to be deduced from the causes of their falls; the notion of fortunes' wheel (by no means confined to Lydgate, but possibly in this case borrowed from him); and the form of the verse - the seven-lined iambic pentameter stanza, rhyming ababbcc, and called by the Chaucerian school the "Rime Royal".

Chapter IV. Writers and their Share.

It is exceedingly difficult to solve the problem of the exact share of each of the seven writers for the "Mirror"for Magistrates". There are many conflicting statements by men of literary renown, who must have arrived at their conclusions through the same pieces of evidence - the prose links; the statement made by Baldwin in the Epistle to the reader (only published in the edition of 1563) that the second part contains "as little of myne owne as the fyrst part doth of other mens"; contemporary reference to particular poems, such as are found in Churchyard's Challenge"; and the very dubious tests of metre. Certain of the poems are signed - very many for the first time in 1571, but this edition is unfortunately not absolutely reliable, the many alterations which occur in prose-links and prefaces lead to misapprehensions as to authorship. And as we are not certain that Baldwin had anything to do with the production of this edition, or that the producer had any definite knowledge of the methods by which the first editions were constructed, it is safer to take the edition of 1563 as an authority and neglect the signatures of 1571.

On applying these tests, it is found that in part I nine only of the nineteen legends may be assigned with certainty to authors, and of these nine, two are given with great definiteness to four different people by various commentators.

Tragedy I. "The fall of Robert Tresilian" is assigned without dispute to George Ferrers, on the authority of the

preceding "Address to the Reader".

Tragedy II. "How the two Rogers, surnamed Mortimers, for their Sundry vices ended their lives unfortunately" may be according to the preceding prose-links, by any but Baldwin or Ferrers. The signature Ca: was first affixed in the edition of 1571 and altered to Th.Ch. in 1578. The former stood for Cavyll, and the latter for either Thomas Churchyard, or Thomas Challoner, but as Churchyard makes no mention of this story in his"Challenge", Trench.p.38. and Challoner died in 1565 and could therefore not have lived to make the alterations which appear in the '71 edition, it seems probable that Cavyll wrote the poem - Comparison of the metre with that of the legend of the Blacksmith leads to the same conclusion.

Tragedy III. "How Syr Thomas of Woodstocke, Duke of Gloucester, uncle to King Richard the second was unlawfully murdered" is assigned to George Ferrers, on the authority of the fore prose link" "MaisterFerrers sayde ..... I will come to the Duke of Gloucester", and the signature G.F. added in 1571.

Tragedy IV. "How the Lord Mowbray .... was banished the realm and died miserably in exile" is preceded by a prose link, giving clear evidence that Baldwin is the author, though the signature Th. Ch. was added in 1571, intended for the succeeding poem and misplaced.

Tragedy V. "How King Richard the Second was .... murdered" is an interesting example of the possibility of error arising from an incomplete comparison of different editions. The

name "Maister Ferrers" in the fore link, and the signature G.F. are only found in the edition of 1571, the earlier ones reading "I would (quoth one of the company)" gladly say somewhat for King Richard....."
Edition 1555 has this forelink to the next tragedy "when Maister Challoner had finished this so eloquent a tragedy.... we paused". which is proof that this story of Richard II was written by Challoner, and not, as Haslewood says, that the preceding tale (Mowbray) was by Challoner, & Richard specially written for the 1571 edition, for had this been so, the phrases "seeing that the reign of Henry IV ensued" and "passed over the maskers" would have had no point.

Tragedy VI. "How Owen Glendower miserably died for lacke of food" also has a disputed authorship.

The fore link in the remmant of the 1555 edition reads" I thought them (O.G. and the Percies) unmete to be passed over, and therefore sayde to the silent company".. "Owen Glendour, because he is a man of that country whence (as the Welshmen beare me in hand) my Pedigree is descended I wyll tell his tale for him etc:" Editions 1559 - 1578 omit the reference to his Welsh decent, but leave the poem still as Baldwin's, but in the tenth edition is inserted "I will pray Master Phaer, who of late hath placed himself in that country and haply hath met with hisghost in the forest of Kylgarran, that he will say somewhat in his person" and the signature to correspond is placed at the end Th.Ph.

One of two interpretations of this puzzle must be accepted; either Baldwin wrote the tragedy and died before 1578, when Higgins issued the Mirror, placing in their proper places the hitherto omitted tales of Gloucester and his wife, and ascribing his poems to Phaer on account of some notion that he had subscribed to the book, was a Welshman, and would therefore have written the tale. Or Baldwin did not write the legend, and left behind some traces now lost, which enabled Higgins to alter the prose-link and add the signature with an easy conscience. Since it is difficult to prove Baldwin untruthful in any other point, though he occasionally made careless slips, it is preferable to accept the first theory, and to leave the authorship in Baldwin's hands, even when so doing is running counter to the opinions of Henry Morley, Warton and Chalmers.

agedy VII. "How Henry Percy, Duke of Northumberland, was put to death at York" might be by anyone accept Baldwin or Ferrers, according to the fore-link.

agedy VIII. "How Richard, Earl of Cambridge was put to death at Southampton" is assigned, without dispute, to Baldwin on the evidence of the preceding prose link.

agedy IX. "How Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury... was..... slain" is anonymous. On the authority of the few words in the epistle to the second part "that the second part contained as little of mine as the fyrst did of other mens", dubious or unclaimed legends are assigned to Baldwin unless there

is definite contradiction in the prose links. This is the case even when, as in this instance, there is a reference to Baldwin "marke, Baldwyne, what I think he may say", as it merely continues the supposition that "one" is speaking, who may be Baldwin, the poet, addressing Baldwin, the editor.

Tragedy X. "How King James was miserably murdered". The same arguments apply to this poem as to the preceding - there is no direct evidence as to authorship and nothing forbids its ascription to Baldwin.

Tragedy XI. "How Lord William Delapole, duke of Suffolk was banished". According to the edition of 1559, the preceding link clearly assigned this to Baldwin, reading "You say truth, quoth I, and now ..... you shall hear what I have noted in the Duke of Suffolks' doings ....." It is signed in 1571 W.B. and in 1578, when the Stories of Elinor Cobham and Duke Humphrey were first added, the interlocutory matter concerning the authorship of "Suffolk" was left unchanged.

Tragedy XII. "How Jack Cade was...worthily...punished". This legend is anonymous, neither link giving any hint as to the author except that the term "fortunes whelpes" appears also in the forelink to "Owen Glendower", and may point to the same author, Baldwin. There is no indication in the metre which would contradict this idea.

Tragedy XIII. "The Tragedy of Edmund, Duke of Somerset". This legend was placed out of its order in the edition of 1563, and omitted in the previous one, the explanation probably being that Ferrers was not quite ready with the tale, and

the end links of Cade was written to suit the ensuing narrative- in 1559 -63 "Richard Plantagenet"and in1571 "Somerset". The authorship is made quite clear by the links and signatures G.F.

ragedy XIV. Richard Plantagenet and his son were slain" This is clearly by Baldwin who dreamed in the forelink that a"tall man's body, full of freshe wounds....holdynge by the hand a goodlye child. "spoke in a "shrieking voyce outof the weasand pipe of the headless body".

ragedy XV."how the Lord Clyfforde came to his death" is anonymous. There is absolutely no indication of authorship in the links.

ragedy XVI."The infamous end of Lord Typtoft, Earl of Worcester This might have been written by any of the seven except the author of Clyfford's tragedy and Baldwin,seeing that the writer leaves certain things to "Baldwin's discretion".

ragedyXVII. How Sir R. Neville, Earl of Warwick, and his brothers were slain".This, according to the links, might be by anyone,and since there is no appeal to Baldwin, and a reference to St. Paul's church which he in his preparation for the ministry, probably knew well, it seems likely that the editor of the work was the author of this poem.

TragedyXVIII. "How King Henry VI was murdered in the Tower" There is no indication of authorship in the links to this poem,and the metre is so totally different from that used by Baldwin as to preclude any possibility of assigning the poem to him.

ragedy XIX. "How George Plantagenet was ....murdered" The forelink clearly indicates that the author of this work was Baldwin.

ragedy XX. "How King Edward ..... died". In the preceding link Ferrers had suggested the dispersal of the band as night was drawing near, but "one" repeated from memory the tale of Edward IV as written by Skelton. Whether the "one" was Baldwin or not is immaterial.

This brings to an end the first part of the book. The second has fewer difficulties with regard to authorship, since five of the eight tragedies are mentioned in the epistle to the reader.

ragedy XXI. (Assuming the order to be continued) "How Sir Anthony Woodville was .....murdered" is anonymous, but so like in matter to the "Funeralle of Edward VI" that there is little doubt that Baldwin was the author.

ragedy XXII. "How Lord Hastings was.....murdered". Baldwin states in his epistle to the Readers that "the printer delivered ..... ye lord Hastings penned by Maister Dolman" - and the link shows that just as the reader continued the chronicle to Lord Hastings, Baldwin "wylled him to surceas, because I had here his tragedye very learnedly penned".

ragedy XXIII. The Induction and Tale of the Duke of Buckingham by Sackville.

ragedy XXIV. "How Collingbourne was executed" is anonymous but, as in the case of "Sir Anthony Woodville", the matter helps in the identification of the author. Collingbourne was put to death for making a rhyme - he was not a noble,

nor had he any claim to be included amongst the well-born heroes of the Mirror, but Baldwin also had suffered in the same way from the suppression of his books and persecution from those in power, sufficiently to give him a greater sympathy with Collingbourne than the other writers were likely to feel.

Tragedy XXIV. "Richard III - is assigned to Francis Segars on the evidence of the epistle to the reader, which is also the authority for Churchyard's authorship, of the

Tragedy XXV
Tragedy XXVI. legends of Shore's Wife, and Cavyll's Blacksmith.

Baldwin. To sum up the authorship - Baldwin is certainly responsible for Nos.IV.(Mowbray), VI (Glendower) XIII (Cambridge) XI (Suffolk), XIV (Plantagenet and Rutland) and XIX (Clarence); he is probably the author of IX (Salisbury), X (James), XVII (Warwick), XXI (Woodville) and XXIV. (Collingbourne) and possibly of XII (Cade) and XV (Clyfford).

Ferrers. Ferrers wrote I (Tresilian) III (Woodstocke) and XIII (Somerset), and the legends of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Elinor Cobham, his wife, omitted from all editions till 1578.

Challoner. Challoner wrote V (Richard II)

Cavyll. Cavyll subscribed II (Mortimer), and XXVI (The Blacksmith).

Churchyard. Churchyard only certainly wrote the story of Jane Shore (XXV), but has been credited with Richard II and Mortimer.

Segars. Segars added the tragedy of Richard III (XXIV)

Dolman and Dolman the legend of Hastings (XXII)

Sackville. Skelton.

Sackville contributed the induction and the tale of the Duke of Buckingham, and Skelton's poem on Edward IV, written half a century earlier, was imbedded in the work.

Chapter V. Baldwins work.

Of the two parts of the Mirror for Magistrates which Baldwin Edited, much was actually his own writing. In the previous chapter his contributions towards the poems have been summed up, and found to consist of eleven legends in part I. and two in part II. In addition to this, the prose introduction in the form of an "address to the nobilitie" and "to the Reader" before Part I, and an "epistle to the Reader" before Part II. and the prose links between the poems, are his work.

In a disscussion on the work, it will be clearer to study first the poems which are certainly Baldwins and from an examination of the style, metre, language and train of thought, draw conclusions which help to decide the authorship of the more doubtful legends. The first tragedy definitely assigned to Baldwin is the story of the Duke of Norfolk. "How the Lord Mowbray, promoted to be duke by RichardII. was by him banished the realm, and died miserably in exile. This legend tells how Norfolk was favoured by the king, yet was ever on the side of justice till he forgot his good resolutions and joined the

Legend.

Conference: Gloucester took him into his confidence, and Mowbray betrayed him to the king, thus causing his death. He later betrayed Hereford, but was banished after the duel and wandered to Almaine (where he hated the outland-

ish manners and dress) and from there forced to flee when they discovered his former wickedness. He finally arrived at Venice, where, hearing of the death of the king, he pined away and died.

ditions& This tale remains practically unchanged save for slight
lterations. verbal alterations in all editions until 1571, when the variations were probably made by Higgins.

1563 reads "A vertuous mind is safe from every charm" 1571 has "Amind well bent etc".

1563 has "Dothe cause the heart to [illegible] evyll to incline.

1571 reads Doth cause the mind from good to ill incline.

Change of title appears in "For when the duke was charged with my playnt" (1563

And "For when the earl was charged with my playnt.

That the alterations in edition '71 are not necessarily improvements is apparent from the following lines which in '63 read

"To water like, which maketh clere the stone
And soils itself, by running thereupon."

And in '71 appears

"Like water waves that cleanse the muddy stone
And soils themselves by running thereupon.

erse&Metre. The stanza employed is that which Baldwin copied from Lydgates" Falls of Princes", the seven lines of iambic pentameter, rhyming ab.ab.bc.c.

Baldwin's ear for rhyme was by this time much improved, the accentuation, though at times peculiar, is on the whole

uniformly correct. The following lines are examples of unusual elisions.

As stroyeth good and stirreth up every naught
To suffer him so he thought not sure nor good
That misreportes any honest enterprise.

Alliteration is employed with good effect in various lines.

Vice only vice with her stout strengthless arm

And "The duke of Gloucester guiltless made away

See, Baldwin see the salary of sin,

Mark with what meed vile vices are rewarded

ources. Baldwin uses the chronicle of Hall and the Poly-chronicon ~~fo~~ for his account- and follows them very exactly and minutely- neither mentions the "churlish manners" of the people of Almayne, which may have been an invention of the poet, or a matter of common tradition now lost.

The following passage from Hall" Hereford began to break his mind to hym (Mowbray) rehearsing how that King Richard little esteemed and less regarded the nobles and princes.... he desired the duke of Norfolke....to advise theking to turn the leaf, and take a better lesson. When the Duke of Norfolke had heard fully his devise, he took it not in good part, but reKened he had gotten a praie by whiche he should obteyne greater favour of the king than he had yet had..... was very glad to declare to the king what he had heard," which Baldwin turns to....

For when this Henry, Duke of Hereford, sawe
What spoyle the king made of noble blood

..... Wherefore to me (twofaced in one hood)
As touching this, he fully brake his mind
As to his friend that should remedy find.

But I, although I knewe my prince did ill
So that my hart abhorred sore the same,
Yet mischief so through malice led my will
To bring this duke from honour unto Shame
And toward myself my soverayne to inflame
That I bewrayed his words unto the king
Not as a reade, but as a most haynous thing."

affords an excellent example of how closely Baldwin followed the chronicles.

Didactic purpose.

The main moral which he would advance here is that courtiers should speak truth to their sovereign: secondary ones that fortune is not a deity, but merely an agent, and She is not responsible for men's sins; the evil effects of overweening pride are likewise pointed out.

It is in this type of poetry- the didactic - in which Baldwin expresses himself best. He allows his feelings to have sway and apparently finds the cramping metre not so fettering as in the plain historic statements.

" Wo, Wo to kings whose councellors do fayne
Wo, Wo to realms where such are put in trust
As leave the law and serve the princes lust

And Wo to him that by his flattering rede
Maintains a prince in any kind of vice".

Legend. The second tragedy penned by Baldwin is "How Owen Glendower seduced by false prophecis tooke upon him to be Prince of Wales, and was by Henry, Prince of England chased to the mountains, where he miserably died for lacke of foode, Anno 1401." In this tale Glendower points out that though property desends from parent to child, yet gentle natures do not, and every offspring ofa noble race must make himself "gentle" by his own action.

"Gentry consisteth not in lands and towers.
He is a churl, though all the world were his
Yea, Arther's heyre, ~~that~~ of that he live amiss.

Moral. The principal moral in this tragedy is avoidance of superstition, one of Baldwin's pet theories, which he brings forward in "Beware the Cat" and the "Treatise of Moral Philosophy". In this case, the particular superstition to be avoided is belief in false prophecies.

"Yee craftyWelshmen wherefore do ye mocke
The noble men thus with your fayned rimes?
Ye noble men, why fly yee not the flocke
Of such as have seduced so many times?
False prophecies are plagues for divers crimes,
Which God doth let the devilish sort devise
To trouble such as are not godly wise.
.....Whereby, oh Baldwine, warne all men to bear
Theyr youth such love to bring them up in skill

Bid princes fly colprophets lying byll
And not presume to clymb above their states
For they be faultes that soyle men,not their fates."

Editions. The alterations in editions'55,'59 and '71 are immaterial but the earlier text affords proof of the superiority of Baldwin's verse over that of the subsequent editors. The first verse in edition '63 reads

"My body she hath made lean and slender
For I poor wretch am starved Owen Glendower"

and in 1587

My lively corps thou hast made lean and slender
For lack of food,whose name was Owen Glendower.

Source. Baldwin's authority for the tale was Hall,whom he again follows with great minuteness - Hall has " King Henry was the moldwarpe,cursed of Goddes own mouthe, that and they three were the dragon, the lion and the wolf which should divide the realm between them ,by the deviacion and not the divinacion of that mawneet Merlin," which Baldwin renders

" Whom Merlin doth a mouldwarp ever call
Accursed of God that must be brought in thrall
By a wolf, a dragon, or a lion strong
Which should divide his kingdoms them among."

Metre. The metre of the legend is the same seven lined stanza employed before,the rhyme and rhythm are in no way remarkable.

Some lines stand out as noticable, more for their sentiment than the method of expression.

One "Bloud is Brute, but gentry is divine" is quoted by Raleigh in his History of the World." French.p.86.

A variant reading of the proverb rendered by Heywood - "Cat after kind is a good mouse hunt" here appears as "Though it be true that cat will after kind."

The third tragedy is "How Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge, intending the king's destruction, was put to death at Southampton.A.D.1415." and is one of the shortest in the work, containing, as it does, only eight stanzas.

The authority for the tale is again Hall, who mentions the sum of money received from the king of France by the conspirators, which is made the motive of the attempted crime that the brother, for whom the plot was made made, might be saved.

There is nothing remarkable in metre or rhyme, and little of Baldwin's philosophy in the legend, save the sententious sayings of the first verse.

> " Haste maketh waste hath commonly been said
> And secret mischief seld hath lucky speed
> A murdering mind with proper poyse is wayed."

And in the morals of the second, reminiscent of the Funeralles of Edward VI.

But, Oh false honours, breeders of debate
The love of yours our lewd hearts doth allure
To leese ourselves by seeking you unsure."

Interesting in connection with Shakspear's Henry V. is the evidence that they both thought the same with regard to peace and war and the opportunities afforded for treason at both these seasons.

Shakespeare makes Westmorland say, in connection with the war with France

"But there's a saying, very old and true
If that you will France win
Then with Scotland first begin."

And Baldwin, when Cambridge is explaining his treason, says

'For force through spede, sleight spedeth through delays
And seld doth treasons time so fitley find,
As when all dangers must be out of mind.'

The fourth tale is "How Lord William de la Pole Duke of Suffolke, was worthily banished, for abusing his king and causing the distruction of the good Duke Humphrey. A.D.1450," for which Baldwin again used Hall's Chronicle which mentions the prayers of Parliament that the Duke of Suffolke should receive his just reward for the noble alliance he had made with the king, and also his banishment, capture and violent death. Baldwin records the marriage between HenryVI. and Margaret of Anjou - illegal because of a previous contract - in such a way as to recall his opinions previously voiced in the Funeralles of Edward VI. on such similar points and

lays far stress on this crime than on the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, to which Hall makes more reference. For Baldwin says "Where unto me recounting all my faults

As murdering the Duke of HumpHrey in his bed
And how I had brought all the realm to naught
Causing the king unlawfully to wed."

Where Hall has " for above all things he was noted to be the ve very organ,engine and deviser of the destruction of Humphrey, The good duke of Gloucester, and so the bloudde of the innocent man was with his dolourous death, recompensed and punished." Some peculiar proverbs find their place in this tale.

' Good hap with vices cannot long agree.'

' Floods drown no fields until they find a break.'

And here also Baldwin uses more metaphors and similes than is his wont - he compares the overbearing pride of high estate and consequent loss of popularity to the stagnation of water, which,bursting its dam,floods the land,but having no outlet and not sufficient supply to keep a constant movement,becomes putrid and offensive. Again later he compares the power of princes to quicksands.

' For princes power is like the sandy slimes
Which must perforce give place into the wave
Or sue the windy surges when they rave.'

' Howe Richarde Plantagenet ,Duke of York, was slayn through his over rash boldness,and his sonne the Earl of Rutland for his lack of valiance A.D.1460." is taken from Hall's chronicle which contains the same genealogical descent as Baldwin's tale

Hall mentions also that the Duke of York, with a bold countenance entered unto the chamber of the peres and sat down in the throne royal," which Baldwin turns to

"And in the house while parliament did last
I In the king's seat boldly sat me down
And [illegible]claymed it, whereat the lords did frown."

Baldwin takes his figures from Hall, who says the queen had a force of 18000, or as some write twentie and thousand" and York had with hym not fully five thousand; and from the same source he takes the account of the murder of Rutland by Clifford and the mutilation of York's dead body. The moral pointed is" forbear to embark upon war save for the defence of the realm, bide quiet, and peace and desires will surely come. Various separate lines, as wellas the whole tale, help to emphasise the point.

"For guiltly hearts have never quiet life
No state so sure but some is overthrowa
It is not force of frendship, nor of might
But God that causesh things to fro or frame
Not wit but luck doth wield the winners game
Wherefore if we our follies would refrayne
Time would redress all wrongs, we voyde of payne
Best therefore tarry time
So right shall reign and quiet calm each crime."

The next tragedy assigned without dispute to Baldwin is"Howe George Plantagenet,third sonne of the Duke of Yorke was by his brother king [illegible], Edward wrongfully imprisoned,and by his Brother Richard,miserably murdered the 11th.January.A.D.1478.

Hall is again the authority and though the poet shortens the account considerably,he follows consecutive events.

'For had king Henry been settled sure
I was assurde my days should not endure'

"I was assurde" gives in three words what Hall requires a paragraph to tell - The coming of the demoiselle to France, and her information that if Edward were killed, Warwick's daughter Anne,married to the Lancastrian heir Edward,would reign,and Clarence be suppressed. Hall suggests two possible reasons for the murder of Clarence; one,that the queen and her kindred were inimical to him,and the king was disturbed by them and the prophecy to the effect that when Edward died his successor should be one whose name began with G; the other that Clarence wished to marry Mary, the daughter of Charles, Duke of Burgundy,which marriage Edward(envying the felicitie of his brother) both agayn sayd and disturbed" This started a quarrel which was brought to a climax by the condemnation of Clarence's servant for witchcraft etc,And the Duke's loudly voiced disaproval thereof"The king much greved and troubled by his brothers daily querimonye and continual exclamation caused him

tobe apprehended and cast in to the tower, where he being taken and adjudged for a traitor, was privily drowned in a But of malmsey, Baldwin insets these reasons as if they combined were had had sufficient weight to condemn the duke, whereas Hall suggests one or the other and leaves the question unanswered. Baldwin spreads the information Hall gives on the Duke's servant, making him a reader of prophecies, accused, finally, of attempting to poison the king; and adds the traditional fact that Gloucester egged on the king to sign his brother's death warrant no mention of this is found in Hall, Fabyan, or Holinshed. The chief moral the author would point is - beware of false prophecies -

> Warne all princes prophecyes to eschue
> That are too darke and doubtful to be known
> What God hath said, that cannot but ensue
> Though all the world would have it over thrown

A secondary moral mentiondd earlier but without such stress, is - do not allow love to sway actions in place of justice and truth.

To the fact that "false, fleeting, perjured Clarence" swore a solemn oath and broke it, Baldwin pays little attention

he apparently thought that to love his wife and cleave to his kindly father - in - law against his unkind brother was far more sinful than to break an oath and cause the death of his former ally.

There is more variation in the readings of the various editions of this poem - some of these are historic and consequently interesting. Edition '59 has "For Lionel, King Edward's elder child "

and '63 and '71 have "For Lionel, King Edwards eldest child "

'59 and '63 read "Both uncle and heyre to Richard issueless

and '71 has " Both eam and heyre etc.

'59 & '63 have "The second John who in youth his life

'71 reads "The second Edmund who in youth did lose his life."

For the interchangeable use of this "his" and 's the lines in the two editions are interesting.

'59 - A step daughter of hers Huke Charles his heyre

'71 A step daughter of hers Duke Charles' heyre.

Various familiar proverbs are found in this poem. The oldest dates from the composition of the "Owl and the Nightingale" and is "Foul is the bird that files its nest," others less well known are -:

"Truth will out though all the world say no" which is similar in sentiment to Hamlet's "Foul deeds will rise". Tho' all the earth o'er whelm them, to men's eyes" .

And "Love's strongest bands unkindness doth unbind."
Baldwin's views on prophecies are clearly stated -
any prognostication concerning a dog,a wolf or a gryphon
does not refer to the crests or heraldic devices of any
particular family, but the character of the person.
One who seizes a realm by violence, or even a portion of it
land, is a bear or a wolf though his heraldic badge
may be a dove. And from the mistaken notion -

" And thus there grew of a mistaken truth
An art so false as made the true suspect,
Whereof hath come much mischief, more the ruth.
That errore should our minds so much infect
True prophecies have fowly been reject
The false,which bred both murder,warre and strife
Believed to the loose of many a goodman's life
"All be false which are derived new
The age of things are judged by the hue
All riddles made by letters names or arms
Are young and false, far worse than withes charmes

The doctrine of predestination is hinted at-

" But what shall be,shall be;there is no choyse
Things nedes must drive as destiny decreeth
For which we ought in all our haps rejoice.
Because the eye eterne all things forseeth
Which to no ill at any time agreeth
For ills, to ill to us, be good to it
So far his skills exceed our reach of wit."

With this tale an end of the definitely assigned legends is reached - the remainder are of doubtful authorships.

The first of these is "How Sir Thomas Montague Earl of Salisbury was in the midest of his glory, was chaunceably slain at Orleaunce with a piece of ordinaunce, the 3rd. November. A.D. 1428" written in the seven lined stanza adopted throughout by Baldwin, and taken from Hall's chronicle with the same attention to detail which characterises his work. There is no social evil pointed out in this poem, but various quotations may be cited which, added to the general tenour of the tale, makes it fairly conclusive that the authorship should be ascribed to Baldwin.

The model "cause" for a knight is given -

"What cause can be more worthy for a knight
Than save his king and help true heirs to right?

Mercy, tempered with justice, is the proper medium for a prince's rule.

"I always thought it fitty for a prince
And such as have the regiment of Realmes
His subjects hearts with the mildest to convince
With justice mixt, avoiding all extremes".

which is reminiscent of the dedication of the "Canticles and Ballades of Solomon".

The theological reasoning of the following passage is undoubtedly like Baldwin's other statements in similar places. God allows the guilty to flourish for a time,

that their punishment, when it comes, though it may be long delayed, may be the heavier.

"God hateth rigour though it furder right
For sinne is sinne, however it be used
And therefore suffreth shame and death to light
To punish vice, though it be wel abused.
Who furdreth right is not thereby excused
If through the same he do some other wrong
To every vice due guerdon doth belong".

Which is a contradiction of the Jesuitical doctrine that "the end justifies the means".

Other passages contain some of Baldwin's favourite maxims.

"Soon is sour the sweet that Fortune sends".
"When hope and hap, when wealth and health is hiest
Then wo and wracke, desease and nede be niest.
"For like as Phoebus with his cheerful beams
Doth freshly force the fragrant buds to flourish
So ruler's mildness subjects' love doth nourish"

To apply metrical tests here is difficult, the poem is written in the same seven-lines stanza and has limping lines such as

"Such townes and forts as might either help or hind

but that is not enough in itself to prove or disprove the authorship. Still, when we remember that the Duke of Salisbury was eminently a virtuous noble, and his fall was purely due to accident, and not to overweening pride or boastful miscalculations, we see that the writer has done

his best to extract a moral, and as the other authors were not as particular as Baldwin, and nobody else signs or claims it, it seems most wise to assign it to him.

The next doubtful tale is "Howe King James the first, for breaking his othes and bonds, was by God's sufferance miserably murdered of his owne subjects. A.D. 1437". The title makes the authorship plain - "for breaking his othes and bonds" - and other evidence goes to strengthen the statement that Baldwin wrote the legend of James of Scotland.

The danger of giving confidence to "unproven" men is attested in.

"O Kinges and Princes, what plight stand we in
A trusted traytour shall you quickly win,
To put to death your kin and friends most just:
Take heede therefore, take heede, whose rede
ye trust".

and the dulling of conscience by frequent repetitions of sin in

"Sinnes oft assayde are thought to be no sinne,
So soileth sin the soul it sinketh in".

The final verse attests the principal moral

"See Baldwin, Baldwin, the unhappy endes
Of such as passe not for theyr lawful othe
Of those that causeless leave theyr faith and friends
And murder kinsfolk through theyr foes untroth
Warne, warne all princes, all like sinnes to loath

And chiefly such as in my realm be borne
For God hates highly all that are forsworne".

The authority for the tale is Hall, whose account Baldwin has followed most faithfully- which is possibly the reason that the story of Kate Barlas is omitted. On the principle of elimination, it is safe to say the poem, on this ground alone, could not have been by anyone save Baldwin, for Churchyard, Sackville, and Ferrers would almost certainly have mentioned the famous legend, but Baldwin seems to have had a deeply-rooted mistrust and dislike of women, and seldom mentions them, except with disapproval. Sackville would have used the tale to add to the horror and pathos of the King's death, and would have worked upon the injury sustained by the queen in protecting her husband, but Baldwin makes the end quite natural - James broke his oath, God punishes all sin, not at once, probably, but quite certainly and just at the time when the punishment will be most hardly felt - there is little pity shewn for the King who acted wrongly from good motives.

"How Sir Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and his brother John, Lord Marquise Montacute, through their too much boldness were slain at Barnet, the 14th of April. A.D. 1471", is not a poem that adds glory to its author: the matter is uninteresting, and the style tame and halting, there is not hint of the magnificence and regal splendour of the "King-maker", he is merely represented as a powerful noble, who, by his righteous and upright dealings with the common people, was able to attain their love and help when

he so desired it.

The main reason for the attribution of this poem to Baldwin is that nobody else claims it, and consequently on the authority of the sentence before quoted from the epistle to part II, that the second part "contains as little ~~as~~ myne own as the first part of ~~the~~ other men's", it is assigned to the editor, but the matter seems hardly in accordance with his views - Warwick originally fought for Edward, a fit of pique made him conspire with Clarence to over set the king from his throne, and brought about the battle in which he met his death through his "too much boldness". Neville ends his tale by explaining how he met with so much success previously, and excuses his broken faith by blaming the two kings - Baldwin, in the other legends connected with the breaking of oaths and promises, laid great ~~stress~~ on the punishment sure to follow this sin - James I. broke the oath of allegiance to the nation which had kept him imprisoned for eighteen years, and his punishment was death at the hands of traitors - but Warwick, who was false to both Henry VI and Edward IV, and beguiled Clarence, met his death "through his too much boldness"; and the only moral that the writer points out is that princes should "live liberally and keepe them out of det".

The only verse that seems to reflect Baldwin's true spirit is one in which Warwick bewails prevalent social evils.-

"I heard poore soldiers and poor workmen whine
Because theyr duties were not truely payde
Agayne I saw how people did repine
At those through whom theyr payment was delayed"

but this does not carry sufficient weight to balance the discrepancy before noted - that the author lays too little stresson the sin of breaking oaths to have been William Baldwin.

The legend of "How Syr Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers and Scales, Governor of Prince Edward, was with his nephew, Lord Richard Gray, and other causelesse imprisoned and cruelly murdered Anno 1483" is one of the most interesting in the collection and for several reasons may be assigned to Baldwin.

Of the eight legends in part II, six are by known authors - Segars, Dolman, Cavyll, Churchyard, Sackville and Ferrers - there remain two, and as Baldwin owns that he went to the meeting place "with such stories as I had procured and prepared", it seems reasonable to assign these two unclaimed legends to him. Further, the matter in the legend of Sir Anthony Woodville, extraneous to the subject and obviously dragged in to point the moral, is quite in accordance with Baldwin's views expressed in various places.

Woodville assigns all his troubles to the fact that he married, for the sake of her dower, the heiress of Lord Scales: and that Edward IV, through Warwick was engaged, ostensibly, in making a marriage-treaty for him abroad, for love neglected the advantage of the state and

wedded Elizabeth Woodville.

Baldwin seems a little confused in his reasoning over this point - Sir Anthony Woodville says

"We worldly folk account him very wise
That hath the wit most welthely towed
By all means therefore, alwayes, we devyse
To see our issues rich in spousals sped
We buy and sell rich orphans, babes scantbred
Must marry, ere they know what marriage means
Boyes marry old trots, old fools wed young queans"
We call this wedding, which in any wise
Can be no marriage, but pollution playne
A new found trade of human merchandise
The devil's net, a filthy fleshly gain."

These verses (like in sentiment to the lines in the Funeralles of Edward VI.

"Alas! how are our orphans brought and sold
Our widows forced to marry where they nold"

and "Your buying of orphans to wed to your kin
Your forcing of widowes unwilling to marry")

would seem to condemn marriages arranged for polical or finan-cial reasons, and yet in other passages Baldwin equally condemns the kings who marry for love and disregard the welfare of the nation - possibly his theory was that kings should consider themselves as mere pieces of the state and as such, not capable of ordinary human fe lings.

A further proof that this poem is by Baldwin is afforded by the fact that one verse in it agrees with

a sentiment expressed in the "Treatise on Moral Philosophy". In the life of Solon there given, there is a statement that Solon made a law "that no man should give any dowry with his daughter", which is not found, like the rest of the life and sayings, in the original Diogenes Laertius- and is therefore, probably, an invention of Baldwin's put in to suit the wisdom of this sage, for in the legend of Sir Anthony he voices the same opinion.

"The sage King Solon, after that he sawe
What mischiefs follow missought marriages
To barre all baits, established this lawe
No friend or father shall give heritages
Coyne, Cattell, stuffe or any carriages
With any maide for dowry, or wedding sale
By any means, on pain of banning bale".

Difficulties which assail those in high estate are pointed out here as well as in the legends of Suffolke and Mowbray-

Such is the state that many wish to bear
That either we must with others blood be stained
Or lead our lives continually in fear
You mounting souls, behold what here is ~~gained~~ gayned
By cumbrous honour, painfully attainde
A dammed soul, for murdering them that hate you
Or doubtful lyve in danger lest they mate you.

Hatred of lawyers is voiced here as in "Beware the Cat"

and the Funeralles of Edward VI".

"These Officers in law, or charge, are brooms
That sweep away the swete from simple wretches
And spoyle the enriched by theyr crafty fetches
These pluck down those whom princes set aloft
By wresting lawes and false conspiracies.
Yea, kings themselves by these are spoyled oft
When wilful princes carelessly despise
To heare the oppressed peoples heavy cries
Now will correct theyr polling theves, then God
Doth make those reves the reckles princes' rod"

"Such polling heades as prayse for prudent pollicy
False practices, I wish were past our poales
I mean the bastard law brood, which can mo-lifie
All kinds of causes in theyr crafty noales,
They undermine all virtue, blind as moales,
They bolster wrong, they wracke and strain the right
And prayse for lawe both malice, fraud and might.'

The same, or similar, reasons exist for assigning to Baldwin the authorship of the second anonymous tale in Part II - "How Collingbourne was cruelly executed for making a foolish ryme".

The prose-links of the editions published by Baldwin have "here followeth the story, that after the death of the duke, one called Collingbourne was cruelly put to death for the making of a ryme. "I have his tragedy here" said I - which makes it clear that Baldwin had either "procured or prepared" the tale, and that the latter is the case is clear from the matter and the moral pointed.

Collingbourne was a quiet, private individual cruelly executed by order of Richard III for writing the rime.

"The cat, the rat and Lovell our dog
Shall all rule England under the hog"

That this comparatively obscure personage should have been chosen as one of the heroes in a Mirror for Magistrates is significant. There must have been some definite purpose to be served, and what that was is obvious - to complain of the treatment of poets by the general public - their neglect etc. and the worse treatment meted out by those in authority - the suppression of their work and frequently the punishment of the author. This came home particularly to Baldwin, whose works had been frequently suppressed.

He, through the mouth of Collingbourne, laments the present lack of respect paid to poets and poetry -

"Be rough in rhyme, and then they say you rayle
As Juvenal was, but that makes no matter
With Jeremy you shall be had to fayle

Or forced with Martial, Caesar's faults to flatter
Clarks must be taught to claw, and not to clatter
Free Helicon and frank Parnassus wylls
Are helly haunts, and ranke pernicious ylls.'

foretells the poet's reward.

"Cease therefore Baldwin, cease, I thee exhort
Withdraw thy pen, for nothing shalt thou gain
Save hate, with losse of paper ynk and payne
Fewe hate theyr faults, all hate of them to hear
And faultiest, from fault would seem most clear"

warns them how to escape his fate.

"To teach all subjects to take heed
They meddle not with magistrates affairs
But pray to God to mend them if it need
To warn all poets that be strayers
To keep them close in compasse of their chayers
And when they touch that they would wish amended
To sauce them so, that fewe need be offended".

Anticipating Milton's "Areopagitica" Baldwin writes

"This freedom old ought not to be debarred
From any wight that speaketh ought or writeth
The author's meaning should of right be heard
He knoweth best to whatend he enditeth.
Words sometimes beare more than the heart believeth
Admit therefore the author's exposition
If Playne, for truth; if forced, for his submission"

Baldwin used, for this legend the chronicle of Hall, supplemented by Fabyan, from whom he took the details of the execution.

Less clear is the authorship of "How Jack Cade, naming himself Mortimer, trayterously rebelling against his king in June Anno 1450, was for his treasons and cruel doings worthely punished".

The writer follows Hall's account of Cade's rebellion his "entisement" to take upon him the name of Mortimer, his battle at Blackheath and capture of London, the gradual dispersal of his troops - but turns to Fabyan for the account of the body lying all night at Southwarke "and upon the morrow the dead corps was drawen through the high streets of the city into Newgate and there hedyd and quartered whose hede was then sent to London Bridge, and his four quarters sent to four sundry towns of Kent".

The latter fact - that details of the execution are faithfully given - points to Baldwin, who used Fabyan in the same way as the legend of Collingbourne, as author.

The reasoning at the beginning of the poem would also seem to bear this out, for the writer speaks of "fortune" as being,

"The hap whereby we yeelde our mind
To lust and will".

and points out that a quiet unassuming life is the safest. At the end of the poem the doctrine of divine right of kings is preached, and the dire results awaiting those who refuse it are indicated, reminding one of the matter in the dedication of the "canticles and Ballades of Solomon" and in the link following the tale of the "Blacksmith"

"Full little know we wretches what we do
When we presume our princes to resist

We warre with God, against his glory too
That placeth in his office whom he list,
There never was a traytour yet but mist
The marke he shot, and came to shameful end
Nor ever shall, till God be forst to bend.
God hath ordained the power, all princes be
His lieutenants or deputies in realm
Against their foes still therefore fighteth he
And as his enemies drive them to extremes
Theyr wise devises prove but dottish dreames,
No subject ought, for any kind of cause
To force the prince, but yeelde him to the laws"

The remaining doubtful tragedy is the story of "Howe the Lorde Clyfford for his strange and abbominable cruelty came to a strange and sudden death, Anno 1461"

This would seem not to be Baldwin's work, if the prose links are entirely to be trusted, but, assuming for convenience that Baldwin devised the link merely to fill up space and connect tales, much of the matter is in accordance with his views. There are many proverbs and sententious sayings of the type which he uses - "Repentance is the via media to forgiveness" - "parental wreke" is not a virtue but a vice - sure vengeance lights on cruel deeds -

The last two verses are quite in the"Baldwinian"spirit-

"A headless arrow payde me my reward
For heading Richard, lying on his bere
And as I would his childe in no wyse here
So sodayne death bereft my tongue the power
To ask for pardon at my dying hour.

Wherefore, Good Baldwin, warn the bloudy sort
To leave theyr wrath, theyr rigour to refrayne
Tell cruel judges horror is the port
Through which they sail to shame and sudden paine
Hell hayleth traitors down to death amayne
Was never yet, nor shall be cruel deed
Left unrewarded with as cruel meed.

It will be clearer, to sum up in tabular form the results of the examination of the various poems, omitting the signatures that are placed after them in later editions, and relying for evidence merely on prose-links, and style and matter.

	Poem.	Author.	Reason for assignment.
I.	Tresilian.	Ferrers.	Epistle to Reader Pt. I.
II.	Mortimer.	Cavyll.	No evidence except signatures. Ca. placed first in 1571.
III.	Woodstock.D.of Gloucester.	Ferrers.	Two Links.
IV.	Mowbray.	Baldwin.	Fore Link.
V.	Richard II.	Challoner.	Forelink to VI in Ed. '55.
VI.	Glendower.	Baldwin	Forelink in Ed.'55.
VII.	Northumberland.	Anonymous.	
VIII.	Cambridge.	Baldwin.	Forelink.
IX.	Salisbury.	"	Matter.
X.	James. I	"	"
XI.	Elianor Cobham.	Ferrers.)	Forelink to XI.
XII.	Gloucester.	")	
XIII.	Suffolke	Baldwin.	Forelink and Signature.
XIV.	Jack Cade.	"	Matter.
XV.	Somerset.	Ferrers.	Epistle to Reader pt II.
XVI.	York.	Baldwin.	Forelink.
XVII.	Clyfford.	"	Matter
VIII.	Worcester.	Anonymous.	
XIX.	Warwick	Anonymous.	
XX.	Henry VI.	Anonymous.	
XXI.	Clarence.	Baldwin.	Matter.
XXII.	Edward IV.	Skelton.	Forelink.
XIII.	Woodville.	Baldwin.	Matter.
XXIV.	Hastings.	Bolman.	Epistle to Part II.
XXV.	Buckingham.	Sackville.	Epistle to Reader pt.II.

XXVI.	Collingbourne.	Baldwin.	Matter and Link.
XXVII.	Richard III.	Segars.	Epistle to Reader pt.II.
XXVIII.	The Blacksmith.	Cavyll.	"
XXIX.	Shore's Wife.	Churchyard.	"

Chapter VI. The Prose-links

The prose conversations by means of which the legends of the Mirror are linked together, are almost more interesting than the tales themselves.

From them, we are enabled to state with a certain degree of accuracy, the author of the ensuing or preceding legend, and the date of their composition.

We know from the link following the tale of James 1 of Scotland, that Ferrers intended to tell the stories of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and his unfortunate wife Elianor Cobham, and likewise that by some means, the legend of the Duke of Somerset, intended obviously for the edition of 1559, was delayed, and only inserted (in the wrong chronological order) in 1563.

As is almost necessary, considering the number of editions through which the "Mirror" ran, the number of different editors and printers engaged thereupon, and the various alterations which were made in the chronology of the legends, the prose-links vary very much with the various editions, and it is from a comparison of the different forms that we are enabled to come to ~~the~~ conclusions as to the intentions of the editor.

Glendower Edition 1555

The first interesting change occurs in the link preceding the tale of Owen Glendower, which reads in the 1555 edition _ "When Master Challoner had ended this so eloquent a tragedy.....And finding Owen Glendower, next, one of fortunes own whelps,.....Howbeit, Owen Glendower, because he is a man of that country whence

(as the Welshmen bear me in hand) my pedigree is descended, although he is but a slender prince, yet rather than he should be forgotten I will tell his tale for him under the privilege of Martin Hundred: which Owen coming naked out of the wild mountains, like the image of death in all points.....lamenteth his misfortune after this manner" From this three facts may be drawn- William Baldwin was of West country origin → Thomas Challoner told the preceding tale (which another portion of the same link, unquoted, makes clear was of Richard II)— And William Baldwin told the next story of Owen Glendower.

dition 1563 etc.

Subsequent editions read " When he had ended this etc." leading to much discussion on the personality of the "he", it is impossible to say why Baldwin made this change, and only one reason can, with any shew of likeliness, be adduced - that is that Challoner himself wished to remain anonymous.

dition 1559-63

Further alterations in 1559 and 63 are. "Now yet Owen Glendower, because he was one of Fortunes darlings rather than he should be forgotten, I will tell his tale for him under the privilege of Martin Hundred". And in 1571 still further ".....darlings, and affected to be prince of Wales, altho' to his own mischief and destruction rather.....I will take upon me by your favour to say somewhat in his person".

These changes take away Baldwin's statement of his Welsh or West Country descent, but do not, as the Signature affixed in 1578 of Th. Ph. does, assert in any way that he is not responsible for the authorship of the

ensuing legend?

loucester and
lianor Cobham
itions 1559
d 1578

563 - 1578

The prose links following the tale of James.1. of Scotland vary with the ensuing legend - in 1559 (and 1578) Master Ferers says "I have here two notable tragedies, the one of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the other of the Duchess Elianor his wife etc." and in 1563 1578 he refers to the duke and duchess "both whose tragedies I intend at leasure to declare, for they be notable. Do so I pray you (qd. another) But take ye heed ye demurre not upon them. And I to be occupied the meane time, will shew you what I have noted in the Duke of Suffolk's doings etc". The interpretation of this change is that the tragedies were ready for the edition of 1559, but were missed in printing (which may help to account for the extraordinary pagination), the mistake was discovered before the reprint in '63 and the prose-link altered to suit the then ensuing tale, and it may very well have been Baldwin's intention to place the two tragedies at the end of the collection, as the table of contents to edition 1571 shews (though the tragedies are still wanting). They are replaced in their proper position in 1578, and the prose-link of 1559 is used again.

uffolke
1571

The fore-link to William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolke is increased in 1571 by a piece of history, giving the true cause of the hatred of the English against the Duke - his murder of Gloucester - and not Baldwin's didactic cause - the arrangement of an technically illegal marriage.

Edition 1559 Somerset.

The omission of the legend of the Duke of Somerset from the edition of 1559, and its subsequent inclusion in '71 leads to a change in the links - : In 1559, one of the company says "I mind to say somewhat of the Duke of Somerset" and Baldwin continues "while he was devysing thereupon and every man seeking farder notes, I waxed drowsye and began in dede to slumber". And there follows his vision of the headless Duke of York who in a shrieking voyse out of the weasand pipe of the headless body said as followeth."

In 1563, the legend of the Duke of Somerset was ready, and was placed after the tale of Shore's Wife, and the statement is made in the prose-link that it must be "placed in the fyrst part". This is done in the next edition (1571) and the little human touch of Baldwin's drowsiness is lost, though in the ensuing link (the fore link to the Clyfford tale) the fiction of his dream is still maintained.

Epistle to the Reader

The epistle to the reader, which prefaces the second part of the "Mirror" in 1563, is omitted in subsequent editions, and a very short link is substituted, merely giving the date from which the reading of the chronicles was resumed - Edward V. - and the fact that Baldwin produced the tragedy of Sir Anthony Woodville.

The remaining changes in the prose-links are merely the result of the altered order of the legends - Edition 1563 has Richard III., Shore's Wife, Somerset and the Blacksmith - and Editions 1571 - 1587.Richard III

the Blacksmith, Shore's Wife, with the prose-links altered to suit.

Hastings Buckingham.

The first indication of date in a prose-link is that in the second part - between Hastings and Buckingham Baldwin is asked for the tragedies of Edward IV's two sons, and he replies that "Lord Vaux undertoke to pen it, but what he hath done therein I am not certain, and therefore I let it passe til I Knowe farder". According to Mr. Trench, Vaux was buried in 1556, for an account of his funeral is found in Machyn's Diary for that year. But as he also quotes Dugdale & Burke to prove that Vaux was alive in 1558 and died in 1562, the date of the poem entrusted to him is ambiguous - it may be pre 1556, or not till 1561.

Trench p.56.

The same link indicates that Sackville's "Induction" was begun after 1555 - for on hearing of the suppression of the work, he determined to start upon it himself, and to begin with William the Conqueror, but, on finding that Baldwin was reissuing the volume, he handed over to him the poem and the induction.

Buckingham Collingbourne

The reference, in the link following the legend of the Duke of Buckingham, to the doctrine of purgatory "which will be mistyked" points to the reign of protestant Elizabeth, and therefore restricts the composition to the years 1558 - 1562.

Blacksmith

The link which follows the legend of the Blacksmith (variously placed in different editions) is of twofold interest - the matter makes the authorship of the Cade legend quite certain - the same doctrine of divine right

is preached in both.

"Whatsoever man, woman, or child is by consent of the realm established in the royall seate,.....is undoubtedly chosen by God to be his deputye. And whosoever resisteth any suche, resisteth agaynste God himselfe, and is a rank traytour and rebel etc."

And the date of the preceding poem is fixed by the reference to "The franticke heads which disable our queen, because she is a woman. And our king because he is a stranger etc." this can only refer to Mary and Philip - so the legend was written between 1554 - 1558.

The same date is indicated by the link in edition 1563 between the stories of Jane Shore and the Duke of Somerset, where mention is made of "the ende of this king and queen's reigne", but Somerset was not ready for 1559 - possibly it was undergoing a process of remoulding to fit the form of verse in use in the "Mirror".

Other indications of date, not contained in the prose-links, may be gathered from external sources. Churchyard states emphatically in his "Challenge" that the legend of Shore's Wife was written in the time of Edward VI. which is additional evidence to that adduced before, that the plan of the whole work was conceived in the reign of Edward VI. and the greater part of the first nineteen legends written in that reign.

Trench p.53. If, as Mr.Trench suggests, the poem of Skelton's life of Edward IV. was quoted from a recollection of the manuscript rendering, the date of that portion of the Mirror is fixed, for Professor Arber gives the date

of the publication of Skelton's poems as 1553 which goes on to add more evidence to the fact mentioned above, that much work was done in Edward VI's reign.

The interest in the prose-links is not confined to dates and authorship - but extends to the curiosity in Baldwin's "natural man". In them, he proves himself to have been careful in detail, zealous for learning and its advancement, of a most sincere piety, possessed of great detestation of sin and a certain belief in the ultimate justice of God, but with an appalling lack of the sense of humour.

Chapter VI. Contemporary References to and the influence of the Mirror.

Sir Thomas Elyot in "The Book named the Governour" emphasises the value of history - "Cosmography" he says" being substancially perceyved, it is tyme to induce a chylde to the redying of histories. But fyrst to set him in a fervent courage, the master in the most elegant and pleasant wise expresseyng what incomparable delectation utility and commodity shall happen to emperors, kings, princes and all other gentlemen, by redying of histories".

This gives one a hint as to the reason of the popularity of the Mirror for Magistrates, for, if one neglects, the moral, the legends and prose-links give a fairly consecutive account of the main events from the reign of Richard II. in a form much easier to read than the Chronicles, with their long quotations from Parliamentary bills, and royal announcements.

Most of the references made by contemporary and immediately succeeding writers are favourable. Sidney, in

the "Apology for Poesie" mentions four works only - Troilus and Cresida, the Earl of Surrey's Lyrics, The Shepherds Kalender and the Mirror for Magistrates" meetly furnished of beautiful parts". Heywood exalts the writers of the Mirror above himself saying.

Trench p.71

"In Lyncolnes Inne and Temples twayne
Grayes Inne and other mo,
Thou shalt them fynde whose paynfull pen
thy verse shall flourrishe so
There leave thou shalt a great reporte
of Baldwin's worthie name
Whose Myrour doth of Magistrates
proclayme eternal fame.

Meres, in 'Palladis Tamia', gives to one "Edward Ferrys" the glory of having written the "Mirror for Magistrates", following the mistake of Puttenham made in the "Art of English Poesie".

Raleigh's quotation from the Mirror, faultily reproduced in his "History of the World" has been mentioned before in connection with the legend of Owen Glendower - the whole of the passage preceding the quotation is in accordance with the moral that Baldwin pointed out - that it is not birth and ancestry that make a man noble, but his noble actions.

John Hall's remarks on the Mirror are the reverse of complimentary - his satire runs

"Another, whose more heavy hearted Saint
Delights in nought but notes of ruful plaint
Urgeth his melting muse with sollem teares
Rime of some drerie fates of luckless peres

Then brings he up some branded whining Ghost
To tell how old misfortunes had him tost
Then must he ban the guiltlesse fates above
On fortune fraile, or unrewarded love.
And when he hath partaked his grieved mind
He sends him down where earst he did him find
Without one penie to pay Charon's hire
That waiteth for the wandring ghosts retire.

This speedily was answered by one of the admirers of the abused volume - Marston published "Certain Satires" in 1598 and refers to Hall in no friendly terms.

"Fond Censurer: Why should these mirrors seem
So vile to thee? Which better judgements deeme
Exquisite then, And in our polished times
May run for senceful, tolerable lines.
What, not mediocra firma from thy spight?
But must thy envious hungry fangs needs light
On Magistrates Mirror? "

The compilers of the collections of English verse known as "England's Parnassus" and "Belvedere" were greatly indebted to the Mirror for Magistrates for quotations. Mr. Trench says it is mentioned forty-two times by name in "Englands Parnassers" and Mr. Crawford Chapman who is at present engaged on apportioning the lines in "Belvedere" to their authors, says that the quotations from the Mirror are frequent.

Trench p.84

Contemporary references are interesting in so far as they show the immediate effect of a work upon the literary public, but many books have been published and their

success has been immediate and great, but their influence as transitory as a mere flash in the pan -

This was not the case with the "Mirror for Magistrates", for Mr. Trench gives an exhaustive and lengthy list of books which bear traces of its influence, and Mr. Fleay, in "The English Chronicle Play" a list of historical plays amounting to thirty, thirteen of which he says owe their inspiration to that part of the Mirror with which Baldwin was concerned. He says, in continuation, "From its meditative and elegiac form it is unlikely that it was often employed as an immediate source, but the influence of such a work in choice of subject, and, at times, in manner of treatment cannot but have been exceedingly great".

Fleay-English Chronicle Play'

Ulpian Fulwell's "Flower of Fame" written in 1575 and published in the Harleian Miscellany, bears traces of very distinct influence - It is a treatise in alternate prose and verse, treating of Henry VII. the Battle of Bosworth, Henry VIII - his birth, reign and death. James of Scotland etc. and "a commendation of the English Soldiers that served at this siege of Hadington: with the Capitaines names as neare as could be called to rembrance".

Fulwell's 'Flower of Fame'

The writer acknowledges his model" I have taken upon me to introduce King James unto thee (in forme of the "Mirror for Magistrates") to utter his complaynte and tell his own tale, as followeth - and then ensues the "Lamentable Complaynte of King James of Scotland, who was slain at Scottish Fielde. Anno 1513." Even in the metre he copies the Mirror, and in sentiment is most like Baldwin.

"I thought my bower buylt on happy soyle
Which underpropped was with tickle staye
Wherefore on sodayne chance I took the foyle
In hope for to have had a noble pray
In search whereof I reapt my fatal day
With shameful death my fame was forct to bowe
A guerdon meet for breach of sacred vowe".

The chief difference in the arrangement of the two poems is that in the Mirror, history and moral are combined in the verses, and in the "Flowers of Fame" the history is given separately in prose.

Francis Hubert Historie of Ed. II.

Francis Hubert, whose "Historie of Edward II. was published in 1631, does not acknowledge his debt to the Mirror, but has obviously read the work, seeing he presents his tale in an exactly similar way. There are some few introductory stanzas on the difficulties of state-craft (like those produced by Baldwin) then Edward is introduced.

"Imagine with yourselves you see him come
From forth the deep dark caverns of the earth
Starved and pined, nothing but skin and bone
In Princely plentie suffering want and death
As naked as an infant at his birth
So punching need doth pluck what Pride did plant.

And wasteful riot is repaid with want, and begins in the next stanza to tell his history and point the moral "all the world is vaine".

Thomas Wenman History of Mary

Mary, Queen of Scots, calls on Baldwin (through the person of Thomas Wenman, about 1590) since Ferrers is dead,

Queen of Scotts.

and Sackville busied with state cares, and beseechnes him to tell her story, since

"Baldwin has the course begone
To register the plaints that Princes make"

The story proceeds in a method very similar to that employed by Baldwin, and some of the verses show very distinct resemblances.

"We may not count for cruel or unkind
The surgeon or phisitian who doth use
To cauterise our wounds, if we do finde
By sequel of the same that ease ensues.

is very like the sentiment in

Legend of Clarence. V 20

"The wounded man who must abyde to smart
Of stitching up or searing of his sore
As thing to bad, reproves the surgeon's art
Which notwithstanding doth his health restore.

William Wyrley "True use of Armourie"

William Wyrley, in "The True Use of Armourie" 1592 has two tales in verse of Sir John Chandos and Sir John de Gralby - the former of whom expected to have been included in the "Mirror for Magistrates".

"When first that golden book began
For Magistrates brignt mirror clear indeed
Through which eternal praise the Authors wan
Streight I believed as truly as my creed
My hard mishap so happily would speed
As that some one of those rare learned men
My bliss and fate would have vouchsaft to pen"

The tale is far more detailed than the legends of the Mirror, but contains moralising stanzas which bear

a distinct resemblance to some in the older work.

"What Sots we be to heed so great a care
For worldliness that no man can combine
In saftie; what dolts sweetest sleep to spare
For earthly trifles slipper than this time
No earthly great, but wasted is with time
He crowned, he fled, he fled and then he crowned
Regno regnavi, fortunes wheel goth round".

Storer "Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey"

Less in the way of sentiment is the debt of Storer's "Life and death of Thomas Wolsey"Cardinall" (1587) but the form is obviously derived from the Mirror - Wolsey is discovered sitting between Melpomene and Clio on the banks of the Thames, near Hampton Court Palace, and his ghost makes moan in the seven lined stanza of the Mirror - but in a very different manner, for Wolsey, being a learned prelate, employs metaphors and similes freely, personifies Algebra, Logic and Music, and discourses in a far more flowing style than the warrior heroes of the Mirror.

Drayton "Heroical Epistle"

Drayton's "England's Heroical Epistles" contain the complaint of Rosamund to King Henry and his answer, with other poems of a similar type; they are epistles in verse by historical personages and may owe something in the matter of choice of subject to the Mirror, but in form are entirely different, the metre being the heroic complet, and the prose-links mere explanations of obscure passages and classical references. There is a more obvious debt to the Mirror in the tales of Prince Gaveston, Matilda the Fair and the Earl of Essex. Marston indeed, in his reply to Hall's Satire says

"What shall not Rosamond or Gaveston
Ope their sweet lips without detraction?

which would almost seem to indicate that he considered these two poems to be part of the Mirror - not mere works influenced by it.

Daniel's "Rosamond"

Daniel's "Rosamond", also referred to by Marston, follows the design of the Mirror more closely - the speaker's spirit "plains"

"Out of the horror of infernall deepes" and the poem contains references to persons in the Mirror - "Shore's wife is graced, and passes for a saint".

Patrick Hannay "Sheretine and Mariana"

Patrick Hannay's tale of "Sheretine and Mariana" is interesting in that it is, as Mr. Trench points out, the only instance of the Mirror form being used in connection with fabulous, or at any rate unknown history.

The introduction is different - the poet falls asleep and has a vision of a beautiful maiden, blood-stained, who laments that she is unable to pass over the Styx until someone tells her sorrowful story - which she then begins.

The most Baldwinian sentiment has been before quoted the misery which arises from forced marriages.

"My Father now doth finde (though all too late)
The misery forced marriage doth ensue.

Marlowe's Faustus

Closer to Baldwin's own time is Marlowe, whose closing lines to 'Dr. Faustus,'

"Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight
And burned is Apollo's laurel bough"

English Writers VIII p.249

Are said by Professor Morley to be a reminiscence of

"They brake the bowes and shaked the tree by sleight
And bent the wand that ought have grown full straight"

from Churchyard's legend of Shore's Wife.

Bolton "Hypercritica"

To come to a later date, Edmund Bolton, whose "Hypercritica" was written in 1620, mentions the Mirror in his fourth "Address" very favourably. He discourses on the value and necessities of histories of England, the dangers into which historians may easily fall, and gives an epitome of the various volumes, in prose and verse which he considers are valuable amongst these he mentions "the best of those Times (if "Albion's England be not preferr'd) for our business, is, "The Mirror of Magistrates" And in that Mirror, Sackville's Induction, the work of Thomas, afterwards Earl of Dorset and Lord Treasurer of England, whose also the famous tragedy of Gorbuduc was etc."

Conclusion.

The value of the works of William Baldwin is not purely literary - The great mass of English Literature would suffer but little from the loss of the "Moral Philosophy" the "Funeralle of Edward VI". "Beware the Cat" and the "Canticles of Solomon", and would not be very terribly injured if the "Mirror for Magistrates" were swept away into oblivion, for none of these works, with the possible exception of the last, is entitled to be called a foundation Stone of English poetry and prose.

The "Mirror" with "Tottel's Miscellany", and "A Paradise of Dainty Devices" and such other similar collections, has a distinct and valued place in literature, and though, unlike the Miscellany, it is seldom read for pure delight, it has an undoubted national worth, and in its solemnity, its reserve and slowness, may be termed characteristically "English".

The reason for the interest which the "Mirror" aroused and maintained for nearly a century is not now easily comprehensible - the cause of its sudden decline in popularity is capable of a more simple explanation. With the reign of Charles I. the English people began to feel that history was being made, and Baldwin's rather old fashioned ideas of excessive loyalty, even to a bad king, were rapidly becoming ousted by the revolutionary ideals of government by the people for the people, and, that this end might be attained, Catholic and Protestant sank the differences in their religions, and banded together against the principle of the divine right of kings - Hence, though

literature was still flourishing, historical didactic legends lost favour, and were replaced on the one hand by the light lyrics of the Tribe of Ben, and on the other by the serious, purely religious poetry of Herbert, and the Scriptural epics of Milton.

When the struggles of Stuarts versus the Constitutionalists were finally settled - not till the time of George II literary taste had travelled too far from the simple legend to return to the works of William Baldwin, and in this fact may be found the reason of his present neglect.

The true value of the less important works is the evidence they afford of the State of England: of the result of the national spirit working in a humbly-born, ordinary individual; of the zeal for learning and the spreading thereof; of certain of the national evils; and finally, of the character of the man who wrote them.

Tedious as he often is, limited in outlook and narrow to the point of bigotry, one cannot help admiring William Baldwin for his patience, perseverance, zeal for reform and courage to express his zeal - Though the picture he draws is in all ways a gloomy one, it is faithful according to his lights. And it must be remembered that if he lived on into the "spacious days of great Elizabeth", and therefore might be expected to indulge in encomiums and rhapsodies anent her majesty and greatness, he had also passed through the terrible five years before her ascension, and suffered in them, cruelly - We know his works were suppressed, but we do not know what other troubles he was forced to endure, whether, as was the case with many a militant Protestant,

he was compelled to hide, and to go about for months in fear of death by torture and fire.

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