

THE TREATMENT OF THE THEME
of
REPENTANCE IN RELIGIOUS VERSE
1595 - 1610

by

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS.

This study traces the development of the religious application of the "literature of tears" in English verse, beginning in 1595 with the publication of Southwell's Saint Peters complaynt, and concluding in 1610, when the publication of Giles Fletcher's sacred epic and the devotional lyrics of Campion marked the end of the vogue for the penitential "Complaint" established by Southwell's poem. It has been necessary in a few cases to include poems which fall into this category but which were published a few years after 1610.

The first chapter deals with the theories of the poets concerning the writing of religious verse, their defensive or defiant attitudes, and their views on style. The second considers briefly the doctrine of repentance according to sixteenth and early seventeenth century theologians and preachers, noting their emphasis on tears and their examples of Biblical penitents. The next five chapters survey the poems grouped around these examples, St. Peter, the Magdalen, the parables, the Penitential Psalms and the Crucifixion, considering in each case the

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analysis of repentance and the exhortations to the reader to identify himself with the subject. The last chapter deals in the same way with poems on such penitential themes as the Last Judgement and the transience of life, noting particularly Southwell's and Campion's lyrics, and the application of the sonnet to such topics. The epilogue offers briefly some reasons for the popularity of the theme and summarises the movement of religious verse in the period. Appendices contain unpublished poems from Egerton MS 2477 and biographical information, including some speculations as to the identity of G. Ellis and the relationship of his poem to one by Breton. There is a descriptive bibliography of primary sources and a summary bibliography of secondary sources.

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CHAPTER I

The Tearful Apologists.

'Now had I neede, anew to inuocate,
That all sufficient, to direct my verse:
My selfe much sinfull, cannot sinne relate,
Whose largenesse dis-inables my rehearse.
O giue me power to beautifie the hearse

Of Penitence:....'

Christopher Lever, A Crucifixe,
1607, (B3v).

The philological argument in particular, and the
other to a lesser degree, implies something which the poets
1. An Apology for Poetry, 1595. Reprinted in G. Gregory Smith,
Elizabethan Critical Essays, 1904, vol. I, p. 154.

2. Defence of Poetry, 1579. Smith, I, p. 74.

The prevalent note of Elizabethan literary criticism is one of justification. Poetry is in the dock, accused of being a subversive influence in the state and a corrupter of the morals of the young, and the poets are giving evidence for the defence. Their voices are raised perhaps a tone or two higher than is necessary for calm and reasoned argument, for they are naturally very indignant at these charges, but they are united in the outline of their defence.

The favourite method of the great apologists is to try to cut the ground away from under the enemy's feet by asserting the divine origin of poetry. This is done by Sidney in an argument from philology:

Among the Romans a Poet was called Vates, which is as much as a Diviner, Fore-seer, or Prophet, as by his conioyned wordes Vaticinium and Vaticinari is manifest: so heavenly a title did that excellent people¹ bestow vpon this hart-rauishing knowledge.

Another way is the appeal to ancient authority; if Horace says that poets were the first builders of cities and inventors of laws, no modern dare reply. Lodge can answer no otherwise "then Horace doeth in his booke de Arte Poetica." ²

The philological argument in particular, and the other to a lesser degree, implies something which the poets

1. An Apology for Poetry, 1595. Reprinted in G. Gregory Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays, 1904, vol. I, p. 154.

2. Defence of Poetry, 1579. Smith, I, p. 74.

are quick to take up and emphasise. The poet does not choose his task - to Sidney, it is his "unelected vocation". "Poeta nascitur, Orator fit" is a favourite quotation and one which Lodge explains as "Poetrye commeth from aboue, from a heauenly seate of a glorious God, vnto an excellent creature man".¹ Poetry is a divine gift which, as Lodge concedes, does not come only to the godly:

I reson not that al poets are holy, but I affirme
that poetry is a heauenly gift, a perfit gift,
then which I know not greater plesure.²

Because of its origin, it cannot do anything but incite men to virtue. As Sidney expresses it:

the final end is to lead and draw vs to as high
a perfection as our degenerate soules, made
worse by theyr clayey lodgings, can be capable
of.³

Poetry was, in fact, one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. This conception of it as an "ad extra" grace had been derived by the Renaissance from the Middle Ages, whose notion of God watching over and inspiring all human activities was based on patristic teaching. It was expressed most fully by Skelton in his "Replication", where the poet on the defensive, using in characteristically defiant fashion, the very metre of the scurrilous satires which his critics have censured, states the doctrine which binds him so firmly to

1. Ibid, I, p.71

2. Ibid, I, p.75

3. Ibid, I, p.160

the early Renaissance:

God maketh his habitation
In poetes which excels,
And sojourns with them and dwells

.....
We are kindled in such fashion
With heat of the Holy Ghost
(Which is God of Mightes most),
That he our pen doth lead,
And maketh in us such speed
That forthwith we must need
With pen and ink proceed. ^{1.}

It was never so plainly stated again. ^{2.}

This belief stimulated the poets in their task
of inciting men to virtue, of teaching so delightfully that
none could resist the beautiful picture of perfection.

Sidney tells us that the poet's vocation is

delight both to delight and teach, to moue
men to take that goodnes in hande, which
without delight they would fly as from a
stranger; and teach, to make them know that
goodnes whereunto they are mooved. ^{3.}

The more general aims of poetry which Sidney is
hinting at here cannot be further discussed in a study
such as this, which is confined to devotional verse.
Moralistic verse does not enter this field but it is
interesting to note that Puttenham would justify even verse
which has no pretensions to didacticism by the pleasure it
gives:

-
1. Complete Poems, edit. Philip Henderson, 1948, p.427.
 2. See E.L.H., vol. 6, 1939, pp.300-4, Courtland D.Baker,
'Certain Religious Elements in the English Doctrine of
the Inspired Poet During the Renaissance.'
 3. Smith, I, p.159.

"The Subject or Matter of Poets ".....
 finally, the common solace of mankind in
 all his trauals and cares of this transitorie
 life; and in this last sort, being vsed for
 recreation onely, may allowably beare matter
 not alwayes of the grauest or of any great
 commoditie or profit, but rather in some sort
 vaine, dissolute, or wanton, so it be not
 very scandalous and of euil example. ^{1.}

The greatest plea advanced by the critics for
 the divine office of the poet was that of Biblical precedent.
 David and Solomon were kingly poets who were inspired by
 God to write as they did. The prophets uttered God's
 messages in verse and the early Church found consolation
 in the singing of hymns. All these examples are given
 by the secular apologists, but it is the religious poets
 alone who cite the supreme justification:

Christ himselfe by making a Himne the
 conclusion of his last Supper, and the
 Prologue to the first Pageant of his
 Passion, gaue his Spouse a methode to
 immitate, as in the office of the Church
 it appeareth, and to all men a patterne
 to know the true vse of this measured and
 footed stile. ^{2.}

So far we have only considered pleas in defence
 of poetry in general, but in the last decade of the century
 when the writing of religious verse became more common,
 strong objections to the fashionable poetry of the time
 were raised. This, as Professor Campbell has emphasised

1. Of poets and Poesy: Smith, II, p.25.

2. Southwell, Saint Peter's Complaynt, 1595, Aii, "The
 Avthor To His loving Cosin" In italics throughout.

3. Divine Poetry and Drama in the Sixteenth Century,
 Cambridge, 1939, p.6.

in her recent study, was a product of the Reformation and the movement for the Bible in the vernacular. She finds a "studied attempt to oppose the pagan and secular literature seeming to many good men in the sixteenth century to lead the people away from God."¹ This attempt can be traced during the reign of Edward VI in the zeal with which his courtiers translated the Psalms into English verse, in the translation in 1549 by William Baldwin of the Song of Songs as a divine, not an earthly love-song, and by John Hall in 1565 in his Court of Vertue which contains deliberate religious parodies of secular lyrics such as Wyatt's lute songs, and which the author intended to replace the notorious but now non-existent Court of Venus.

There can be no doubt that feelings about the opposition of secular and religious verse ran as high as those about the defence of poetry itself. Professor Campbell has shown the development of the movement to replace lewd poetry by Biblical translation and paraphrase which continued throughout the century, culminating in the popularity of the Christian epic introduced into England by Sylvester in his translation of Du Bartas. Here I am concerned to show that there was an increase in the opposition to secular poetry at the end of the century and that, while the poets lamented that the God-given art, with authority from Scripture

1. Divine Poetry and Drama in the Sixteenth Century, Cambridge, 1959, p.6.

itself, was being put to wrong uses, they also insisted on one of its chief purposes being to exhort men to repentance.

In 1592 Dr. John Case, writing a commendatory epistle to The Pilgrimage to Paradise by his "honest true friende Master Nicholas Breton", remarked wearily:

It is a needlesse thing (friend Breton) in these our daies to reuiue the olde art of louing, seeing there are already so many courts of Venus, so many Palaces of pleasure, so many pamphlets or rather huge volumes of wanton loue and daliance

and he points out that the poet is writing of a different kind of love:

But I mistake your meaning, the onely title of your booke is Loue, and the obiect Heaven. Loue is the name, but God is the marke and matter at which it aimeth.

This is but a noting of difference.

The full attack on secular poetry was to be launched three years later with the posthumous publication of Southwell's Saint Peters complaynt. Southwell was a Jesuit, and, as such, steeped in Jesuit literary theory which he imbibed at Douai and at the English College in Rome, where he had been prefect of studies. Treatises on Jesuit literary theory were written at the close of the sixteenth century by men such as Franciscus Bencius and Pontanus, but they were based on the experiences and practices of the previous fifty years. The orthodox opinion was that poetry, like all the other arts, must be used to glorify

God Who had given it, and never as an end in itself. Its main purpose must be to instruct, and principally to instruct in the truths of the Gospel, and though it might delight in passing, the main aim must always be evangelism. It was but one aspect of the Jesuit plan of turning every human activity into a means of winning men to God.¹

Southwell's preface to Saint Peters complaynt, is a reformer's manifesto. The missionary has found much to dislike, but intends to employ the wisest technique in dealing with the situation. Those who came to preach the Gospel in this country were advised by St. Gregory to transform not to abolish, to give the pagan spring and winter festivals new and everlasting life as Easter and Christmas. Southwell's method may be likened to this. He explains his intention to a sympathetic reader, a convention, but in this case perhaps more than that, "his louing Cosin, Maister W.S." 2.

And because the best course to let them see the error of their workes, is to weaue a new webbe in their owne loome; I haue heere laid a few course threades together, to inuite some skilfuller wits to goe forward in the same, or to begin some finer peece, wherein it may be seene how well verse and vertue sute together.

-
1. Pierre Janelle, Robert Southwell the Writer, Clermont-ferrand, 1935, c.5, "A Jesuit Neo-Classic."
 2. Initials added in St. Omers edition, 1616. Quotations are from Cawood edition, 1595. In italics throughout.

This Southwell proceeds to do, turning amorous poems by Breton, Gascoigne and Dyer among others into devotional lyrics. It is a very necessary work because poets have been "abusing their talent, and making the follies and faynings of loue, the customarie subiect of their base endeouours" and as a result "haue so discredited this facultie, that a Poet, a louer, and a lyar, are by many reckoned but three words of one signification." The fact that God Himself used poetry and has thereby authorised the true use of it is no longer obvious to most poets:

But the deuill, as he affecteth Deitie, and seeketh to have all the complements of Diuine honour applied to his seruice, so hath hee among the rest possessed also most Poets with his idle fansies.

An even more graceful explanation of his purpose is given in the two ensuing verse prefaces, "The Author to the Reader," Southwell wants to make certain that no-one can mistake the nature of his poetry. The first preface is general and refers to all his poems:

Prophane conceits and fayning fits I flie,
Such lawlesse stuffe doth lawlesse speeches fit:
With Dauid verse to vertue I applie,
Whose measure best with measured wordes doth fit:
It is the sweetest note that man can sing,
When grace in vertues key tunes natures string.

The second refers explicitly to "Saint Peters Complaynt" and laments the general misuse of poetic talent:

This makes my mourning Muse resolute in teares,
 This theames my heauy penne to plaine in prose,
Christs Thorne is sharpe, no head his Garland weares:
 Still finest wits are stilling Venus Rose.
 In paynin toyes the sweetest vaines are spent:
 To Christian workes, few have their tallents lent. ¹

The second line of this stanza refers to Southwell's prose work, Marie Magdalens Funerall Teares, first published in 1591 and going through four editions before 1610. The preface "To the Reader" of this work contains a more lengthy censure of the subject matter of contemporary poetry. His attitude is one of sorrow. After reporting the "iust complaint among the better sort of persons" which he versifies in the preface to Saint Peters complaynt:

that finest wits loose themselves in the vainest follies, spilling much Art in some idle fansie, and leauing theyr workes as witnesses howe long they haue beene in trauaile, to be in fine delivered of a fable...²

He finds it "greatly to be lamented" that men of finer gifts than himself (for he defines his own work as "course in respect of others exquisite labors") should

so much abase their habilities, that when they have racked them to the vttermost endeuer, all the prayse that they reape of their imploiment, consisteth in this, that they haue wisely tolde a foolish tale, and caried a long lie very smoothlie to the end.

1. In italics throughout

2. Quotations from 1602 edition. In italics throughout.

Some fables, he allows, are allegories of "morall truths" but there can be no excuse for others which contain "neyther truth nor probabilitie." He notes that he is not alone in censuring the poetry of his age but that no-one yet has been daring enough to rectify it:

euery one being able to reprove, none
willing to redresse such falts, authorised
especially by generall custome

In Saint Peters complaynt he reveals that he has taken this task upon himself.

The challenging note of Southwell's prefaces was echoed by several other religious poets. Samuel Rowlands complains that

the art of Poesie is in sort dealt withall,
as Cacas once vsed Hercules oxen, when he
drew them backwards vp the hill: being
customarily in these daies wrested and turned
to the fooleries of Loue, and such like base
subiect of fancies abortiue births,¹ conuerting
Poetries imploiment to follies vse.

Breton laments that religious verse is selling very badly, though a note of exaggerated complaint sounds in this piece of self-advertisement:

there are so many idle Pamphlets vnder the
abused name of Poetrie abroad in the world,
that matter of good worth, either morall or
diuine, if it bee handled² in verse, it is
almost as ill as vertue.

1. The Betraying of Christ, 1598, Aiiij, "To the Right Worshipful, Sir Nicholas Walsh, Knight.

2. The Mother's Blessing, 1602, "To the Reader". Reprinted in Grosart's edition of Breton's Works in the Chertsey Worthies' Library, 1879.

A more frequent echo of Southwell is found in the contrasts the poets often draw between their own work and popular verse. A direct imitation of Southwell these are often in the form of verse prologues or epilogues. Verstegan contrasts the theses of classical poetry with those that inspire his muse:

The vaine conceits of loues delight
 I leave to Ouids arte,
 Of warres and bloody broyles to wryte
Is fit for Virgils parte.
 Of tragedies in doleful tales
 Let Sophocles entreat:
 And how vnstable fortune failes
 Al Poets do repeat

But vnto our eternal king
 My verse and voyce I frame
 And of his saintes I meane to sing
 In them to praise his name.

Another Catholic poet, "I.C." begins his poem, Saint Marie Magdalens Conuersion, published in 1603, by painting a contrast between the subject of his muse and those which had appealed to the popular taste in the previous years

Of Romes great conquest in the elder age,
 When she the worlde made subiect to her thrall,
 Of louers giddy fancies, and the rage,
 Wherwith that passion is possest withall,
 When ielousie with loue doth share apart,
 And breedes a ciuill warre within the harte.

Of Helens rape, and Troyes besieged Towne,
 Of Troylus faith, and Cressids falsitie
 Of Rychards stratagems for the english crowne,
 Of Tarquins lust, and lucrece chastitie,
 Of these, of none of these my muse now treates,
 Of greater conquests, warres, and loues she speaks.²

1. Odes (Antwerp, 1601), (A 2v):

2. A3.

Breton employs Pasquil to give a message to poets in his Mad-Cappe (1600) of which Verstegan and "I.C." would have approved:

Goe bid the Poets studie better matter,
Then Mars and Venus in a tragedie;
And bid them leave to learne to lie and flatter,
In plotting of a Louers Comedie;
And bid the Play-writers better spend their¹ spirits,
Then in fox-burrowes, or in cony-ferrits.

"H.T.Gent", writing a complimentary poem for Breton's An Excellent Poem ascribes his inspiration to the best of the pagan goddesses in contrast to the goddess of secular verse:

Pallas, not Venus, did the worke dispose,
Cutting their garments from Angellicke skies. ²

In The Passion of a Discontented Minde, Breton justifies his long-drawn out lamentation in his final stanzas by insisting that he has merely looked into his heart and written:

No farre fetcht storie have I now brought home,
Nor taught to speake more language than his mothers,
No long done Poem, is from darknesse come
To light againe, it's ill to fetch from others:
The song I sing, is made of heart-bred sorrow
Which pensieue muse from pining soule doth borrow.

I sing not I, of wanton loue-sicke laies,
Of trifling toyes, to feede fantasticke eares:
My Muse respects no flattering tatling praise;
A guiltie conscience this sad passion beares:
My sinne-sicke soule, with sorrow woe begone, ³
Lamenting thus a wretched life misdome.

1. Grosart, 1879.

2. In italics throughout.

3. 1621, (C4v). For the relationship of this poem and G.Ellis, The Lamentation of the lost sheepe, 1605, see Chapter V.

The highest use of poetry is to glorify God; this is a common-place of Elizabethan literary criticism, but the religious poets find it necessary to stress this.

Samuel Rowlands's statement that poetry

hath a native diuine off-spring and issue,
whereof partaking kindly, floates with a
calme tempered gale from all miscarrying
wracke, to the harbour of a quiet applause

is as rare in its calm assumption of a fact as in the mellifluous cadences of its metaphor. Breton, writing of the longing of all blessed souls to be with God, finds that "such a Poet as the Psalmist was" writes only of the sould "In giuing glorie to the God aboue."¹ The stern tone of the anonymous author of Saint Peters Ten Teares is, however, much more customary:

Imaginarie Muses get you gone,
And you of Ideas idle company:
That place your Paradice in Cetheron
And call vpon Nimphes of Thessalie.
Restraine your haughtie metaphorick lines:²
For reuerent truth your glory vndermines

Giles Fletcher supports his plea for religious verse with classical learning:

it is the dutie of the Muses (if wee maye
beeleeue Pindare and Hesiod) to set allwaies
vnder the throne of Jupiter...beeing good reason
that the heavenly infusion of such Poetry,
should ende in His³ glorie that had beginning
from his goodnes .

1. An Excellent Poeme, 1601, C.2.

2. 1597, "An Introduction"

3. Christs Victorie and Triumph 1610, iii, "To the Reader"

and he adds the standard explanation of its origin, "that had beginning from His goodness, fit orator, nascitur Poeta." Nicholas Deeble commends John Davies of Hereford because he has realised this:

Thrice happy be Thou, stird w^p to spend
The Guifts he giues thee, to so blest an end ^{1.}

and John Davies himself imagines the angelic choirs joining in, so please are they that man has at last found the right use for his gift:

For heau'nly Quires, by nature do reioyce
When Art, in Graces Quire, reares Natures Voice ²

These are the voices of professional poets and it is not too harsh to say that something of the note of justification comes from a need to explain their embarking upon a new but fashionable kind of poetry. The challenging cry of the missionary is heard in Southwell alone and it is he who made religious verse popular.³ Some poets take care to point out that they have not any professional bias, but that as other gentlemen do, have merely tossed off a few verses as a pleasant hobby. Verstegan assures his "Vertuous Ladies and Gentlewomen Readers" that he "penned some of these poemes" only "for my owne priuate recreation" He explains their unexpected appearance in print with modest

1. The Holy Roode, 1609 (A3v) "Ad Libri Lectorem"

2. Ibid, (A4). "Sonet". In italics throughout.

3. There were fifteen editions of Saint Peters Complaynt in the next forty years, See James H. McDonald, The Poems and Prose Writings of Robert Southwell, S.J. A Bibliographical Study, Roxburghe Club. 1937.

ingenuity:

Yet having by chaunce communicated them with a freind, I was not a little vrged, to affoord them the libertie of open view, but also perswaded to their further augmentation

"I.C." found his muse "prest" to write of St. Mary Magdalene in order

To spend the idle houres of her rest ¹

Joseph Hall also takes pains to extenuate the stigma of print:

I haue been solicited by som reuered friends to vndertake this taske; as that which seemed well to accord with the former exercises₂ of my youth, and my present profession.

Unlike Verstegan and "I.C." he has not written for amusement; in fact, it has been hard work, but worth while:

The difficulties I founde manie, the worke long and great; yet not more painefull than beneficiall to Gods Church.

Hall is sufficiently conscious of his readers and hopeful of their appreciation to deceive no-one by the charm of his modest demeanour. A far more blunt approach is that of another Protestant, Thomas Collins, who tells the reader "whosoever" of his Penitent Publican that his poem needs no apology but must be taken just as the reader finds it:

Mvch to insert, and make too long a matter,
As an Apologie for my Publican:

1. A.3

2. Some fewe of Dauids Psalms Metaphrased, 1607, (G5),
"To My Loving and Learned Cousin, Mr. Samvel Bvrton,
Archdeacon of Glocester."

Were, as on fire-lesse Fuell to cast water,
 And shewe my selfe a sence-besotted man.
 Then as it is, accept it, or reiect it.
 For cringing Complements, I list not vse...^{1.}

The perfect dilettante attitude is found in Henry Lok, who confesses he has not tried to arrange his sonnets carefully as he feels the order in which God "ministred" them unto him must be the best:

so I suppose my providence could not (by a
 formall placing of them) so soone hit the affection
 of euery reader, as Gods direction,²(by that which
 men call chance) might often do.

His motive in writing sonnets is not, as one might suppose, remembering Southwell, that of employing for religious purposes the most fashionable poetic form, but a remarkably utilitarian one:

it answereth best for the shortnesse, to the
 nature, and common humor of men, who are
 either not long touched with so good motions,
 or by their worldly affaires not permitted to
 continue much reading.

Writing poetry, even religious poetry, is not the chief occupation of life and Henry Lok is modestly careless about public opinion of his work.

I do not greatly seeke the praise of a
 curious Architector, neither (without
 neglect of more necessary duties) could
 I attaine to the required obseruances
 that way.

1. 1610, (A4), "To the Reader, whosoever." In italics throughout.

2. Sundry Christian Passions, 1597, (Iviiiiv) "To the Christian Reader"

We cannot take Lok's words entirely at their face value, however charming we may find this appeal of one amateur to another. Lok is stating a theory directly opposed to that of Southwell. "I do not greatly seeke the ~~pra~~ praise of a curious Architector" is a very different attitude from that of "to weaue a new webbe in their owne loome." Lok does not openly censure the metaphorical way of writing but he implies that devotional subjects can make their own impact in verse without any of the aids of secular poetry. It is one of the more subtle differentiations between the Catholic and Protestant points of view, the Catholic delight in all art as God's gift and the Protestant distrust of its beauty as a snare. The Catholics would bring any earthly embellishments as a gift of love but the Protestant fears their interference with his devotion. If Lok does not criticise openly, there are many who do. The chief attacker is Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, who in Virgedemiae (1597) rebukes Southwell for making Saint Peter "weep pure Helicon". It is wrong, he maintains, for a poet to use a religious subject as a peg on which to hang all the trappings of contemporary poetic style; the Gospel was not written in conceits, and he writes scathingly of sonnets on the theme of heavenly love,

"Great Salomon, sings in the English Quire,
And is become a newfound Sonetist,
Singing his loue, the holy spouse of Christ:
Like as she were some light-skirts of the rest¹

1. Liber I, Satire VIII, C.2.

Southwell's method requires too much freedom of the imagination to please the dour bishop. "This worke is holy and strict and abides not anie youthful or heathenish libertie; but requires hands free from prophanenesse, loosenesse, affectation" ¹ The anonymous author of Saint Peters Ten Teares while obviously owing a great deal to Southwell in theme, and indeed in treatment, yet sides with Hall in his prefatory verses, where he banishes all thought of secular verse and urges poetry to "Restraine your haughtie metaphorick lines." Restraint is again noted as a quality lacking in Southwell's poetry and one very necessary to a religious theme.

This school might have taken for its motto the line of Nicholas Deeble's complimentary sonnet to The Holy Roode, where he so mistakenly praises John Davies of Hereford for not striving after effect, "Zeale seekes not Art." Verse and virtue do suit together, but only if the reader is never drugged by the music of the verse into forgetting the virtue of the sense. Christopher Lever goes so far as to confound the critical dicta of the ages by stating "I had rather profite than please" ² and desiring that we should pick up A Crucifixe "to reade not for Mirth, but for Matter," while "W.P. Doctor of the

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1. Some fewe of Dauids Psalms Metaphased, 1607 (H8.G)
"To My Louing and learned Cosen."
 2. A Crucifixe, 1607, A4, "To the Reader", In italics throughout.

Lawes" is writing specifically for those of us who like "the sence of the minde better than the sound of the eare."¹ Thomas Collins, more scornful than any other poet of public acclaim, defines brusquely the type of reader he had in mind when he wrote The Penitent Publican:

I know the wise, and vertuous will affect it,
The rest, I care not, though they it refuse.
Pebbles are fitter, then rich Pearles, for swine,
For both (alike) th'eyle tramples in the mire: (sic)
The Gordian knot, is easier to vntwine,
Then bring bad men, good matters to desire.
But you (deuout ones) of diuiner spirit,
Doe you, my labour, with my loue inherit. 2.

"I.S." a Jesuit poet, writing of S. Mary Magdalen's Pilgrimage to Paradise is another who is more concerned that his reader should take the matter to heart rather than praise the beauty of the manner:

Read therefore without curiosity, carpe not
at the meannesse of the style, but seeke to
imitate the Vertues of the Saint. 3.

The quarrel is one of style only. The same subjects are treated and defended in the prefaces though one poet may have a fine command of imagery and another may prefer the plain utterance he, like Keble, finds in the Bible. Plain or ornate - there has always been controversy over "correctness" in the poetic presentation of religious truths and it is not surprising that the late sixteenth

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1. The Glasse of Vaine-Glorie; Faithfully translated out of S. Augustine his booke, intituled "Speculum peccatoris," 1585. "The Translator to the Reader."
 2. "To the Reader, whosoever" In italics throughout.
 3. 1617, (A5v), "The Preface to the Reader"

century, so concerned with all matters of religion, should have been involved in it. When Southwell found the starting-point of "Saint Peters complaynt" in Tanzillo's poem "Le Lagrime di San Pietro", he found too that that poem was in the nature of an apology for the writer's early amorous verse and that Tanzillo was using the method, approved by the Jesuits of writing of spiritual matters in a style likely to appeal to the educated gentleman, himself probably an amateur of letters.¹ A summary of the intentions of Southwell and his admirers and imitators as regards style can be heard from a quarter where they would least expect it. Nashe, writing of the style of sermons, about which a similar controversy raged, sums up in defence of the "conceited" school, "I hate in thy name to speake coldly to a quick-witted generation".² Breton, in the final canto of The Passions of the Spirit urging all the world to write of God's glory joins the plain school, when he commands, "Prophane conceite must all be caste awaye." "H.T." loyally praises Breton's style in An Excellent Poeme, vpon the longing of a blessed heart but he is conscious that it may be considered old-fashioned by some:

Onely the fashion sits not on their clothes,
To make them sightly to fantasticke eyes.
.....Plaine is their habite, yet Diuine and sweete;
Fit for the wise, but for the wisest meete.³

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1. M.L.R. Vol.xix. Cambridge, 1924, pp.273-290, M.L.Praz, "Robert Southwell's 'Saint Peter's Complaint' and its Italian Source".
 2. Christs Teares over Ierusalem 1593. Edit.R.B.Mackerrow, 1958. Vol.2.p.15.
 3. In italics throughout.

"I.C." effects a neat compromise by defining his own style as "plaine and passionate, much like a morning (i.e. mourning) garment, fitting both the time and the matter." ¹

Whether the poet hated to "speake coldly" or whether he abhorred "haughtie metaphoricke lines," he was often conscious of his inadequacy. Modesty can, of course, be something of a literary convention ² but if the secular writer is afraid his performance is not of the highest quality, the writer of religious verse has even more grounds for anxiety. He must be continually apologising for "these vnpolished lines" ³ or for "this good (though ill told) story" ⁴ or confessing that "I want fit words" ⁵ or he will be overwhelmed by the realisation of his own inadequacy. "What words can prayse Thee?" exclaims John Davies of Hereford ⁶ and a more honest poet turns from the contemplation of a recent martyrdom to give the only answer:

Why do I use my paper, ink and pen,
And call my wits to counsel what to say?
Such memories were made for mortal men;
I speak of saints, whose names cannot decay!
An angel's trump were fitter for to sound
Their glorious death! if such on earth were found. ⁷

1. "The Author to The Reader". In italics throughout.
2. See Clara Gebert, An Anthology of Elizabethan Dedications and Prefaces, Philadelphia, 1933, pp. 3-26 "Introduction"
3. Rowlands, (Aiiijv)
4. I.C., Saint Marie Magdalens Conversion (1603), A2.
5. Davies, The Holy Roode, H3.
6. Writing of church music in Wittes Pilgrimage, (1605?)
7. Byrd, Psalmes, Sonnets and Songs of Sadness and Pietie, 1588
Reprinted in E. Arber, English Garner 1879, Vol. 2. This stanza is identical with the first stanza of "Upon the death of M. Edmund Campion" in A Briefe Historie..., 1586
It is generally attributed to Henry Walpole; see L.I. Guiney, Recusant Poets, 1935.

Breton constantly finds it necessary to beg for a more adequate pen, one made from a feather of an angel's wing:

Some heavenly Muse come helpe me sing,
In Glorie of my heavenly King:
And from some holy Angels wing,
Where Graces doe for feathers spring,
Oh bring my hand one blessed Pen, 1
To write beyond the reach of men:

and again, in The Passions of the Spirit:

Oh, could my soule, out of some angle's winge,
By humble sute, obtayne one onlye pen.
Might wright in honour of my glorious kinge - 2.
The joye of angles and the life of men -

and Canto VI of the same poem opens with an invitation to all the world to "Borrowe some pens out of the angells' winges"

Their subjects frequently demand a greater command of language than the poet has, or rather, than any mortal being has, but a sincere and suitably placed apology often has more power than a laboured attempt to ignore the difficulty. On such occasions the reader can do nothing but agree with Henry Lok, "No maruell then though oft my pen do swarue" ³ Repentance is hard to express as more than one writer discovered:

But since I have not means ⁴ to make the show
Of my repentant mind....

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1. The Soules Harmony, 1602 (B6v)
 2. Reprinted in J.O. Halliwell, A Brief Description of the Ancient and Modern Manuscripts Preserved in the Public Library, Plymouth. 1853, p.202
 3. The Second Part of Christian Passions, "Son.LXXVII" 1853, p.202x
 4. Byrd, Psalmes, Sonnets and Songs of Sadness and Pietie, 1588. Arber, p.88.

and virtually impossible is the attempt to describe any event in Our Lord's Life, particularly His Passion. The Agony in the Garden calls forth from the anonymous writer of "The Teares of our Saviour in the Garden" a torrent of similes and then the despairing appeal:

Compare their paines, their hope, their smal delight.
Yea, thinke more woes, the we haue wayes to wring ¹
And thinke by them what cares did Jesus sting.

Only Lever is bold enough to state the obvious reply to these constant apologies:

The Subject is not mine, but Gods, being extract
from sacred Authorities; and therefore₂ of it
selfe able to resist all opposition.

Even he has to confess that his expression of this subject may not be wholly adequate:

Here-hence I deriue my comfort, that the worthinesse
of the Subject may giue supplyment to my verse,
that wants woorth:

and he comforts himself with the reflection that at least "in the opinion of good men" he could have done a far worse thing:

I shall be thought to haue done more, in giuing a
religious matter this poore forme, than others
(that with much industry and arte) haue painted
the deformed face, of profane and idle Inuentions.

1. The Song of Mary, 1601, p.24.

2, A Crucifixe, 1607, A3, "To the...Archbishop of Canterbury,
...my singular good Lord and Patron".

When he comes to the description of the Crucifixion, he, like John Davies of Hereford, is loud in his apologies:

Said I, a representment, and no more;
It is much more, then in my wordes can be,¹
My soule conceits, a verie Christ before...

Before such a scene "Words are all at strife"²

Certain subjects Lever, with a side-glance at Southwell, dismisses as beyond the power of any poet, and the chief one is penitence:

There is a griefe, which farre exceeds³ the skill
Of many learned spirits to define...

and he quails at the thought of having to depict a repentant sinner:

It were in vaine, I labour'd to expresse,
The just proportion,⁴ and the qualitie
Of horred griefe...

Breton is another poet who finds repentant sorrow impossible to describe:

I cannot figure Sorrow in conceite;
Sorrow exceed all figures of her sence!⁵

Lever sums up a general feeling:

My selfe much sinfull, cannot sinne relate.⁶

The only thing a poet can do when faced with such a difficulty is appeal for help and if he is treating a religious subject the help must be heavenly. This is the reason why

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1. Ibid, (D2v)
 2. Davies, The Holy Roode, H3
 3. A Crucifixe, B.
 4. Ibid, B.
 5. Halliwell - Phillipps, p.182.
 6. A Crucifixe, (B3v)

many of these religious poems are preceded by an invocation and why the poet pauses before starting a particularly difficult stanza to pray for aid. Sometimes it is the Urania of du Bartas and Milton,¹ but more often it is the fire and wind of Pentecost and the memory of the gift of tongues:

But thou, o Lord, who clouen tongs didst send,
Vnto thy seruants, when their skills were scant,
And such a zeale vnto thy praise that brant,
As made them fearelesse speake, and neuer bend,
Vnto the end, One jot from thy behest,
Shall guide my stile, as fits thy glory best. ²

The poet of "Laudetur Dominus in aeternum" remembers that the Holy Spirit has "especiall power,

That in thy hand, thy praise of praises holdest:
And, from the top of Truthes triumphant tower,
The hidden sence, of fairest thoughts vnfoldest:" ³

Invocations are to be of "no mortall Grace" but only of heavenly,

The Throne of Heauen is her holy hill,
Whence flowes the Spring of sauing health:
In steed of birdes Archangels sing her will,
The Temple is her loue, and peace her wealth...⁵

and it is this "faire milkewhite Dove" who alone can help the poet. Even Southwell subscribes to this convention of invocation, though in his hands it acquires the playful ease which is characteristic of his finest work:

1. Huntington Library Bulletin, No.8, October 1935, pp.29-71,
Lily B. Campbell, "The Christian Muse".

2. Lok, The Second Part of Christian Passions, "Son.LXXVII"

3. The Right Way to Heaven, Compiled by Richard Vennard of
Lincolnes Inne, 1601, (Av)

4. Davies, The Holy Roode, 1609, N. Deeble, "Ad Libri Lectorem."

5. Saint Peters Ten Teares, 1597 (A2) "An Intraduction".

Licence my single penne to seeke a pheere,
 You heauenly sparkes of wit, shew native light:
 Cloud not with mistie loues your Orient cleare,
 Sweet flights you shoote; learne once to leuell right.
 Faour my wish, well-wishing workes no ill: 1.
 I moue the Suite, the Graunt restes in your will.

In most cases the invocation is an only too serious plea for help with a difficult subject. "I.C." neatly pleads that St. Mary Magdalene of whom he is writing, will be an intercessor for him:

Thou blessed Saint, whose life doth teach to liue,
 Intreate that louing and best loued Lord of thine,
 That he vouchsafe such liuely grace to giue,² (sic)
 Vnto these dull, and liueles rimes of mine.

Lever feels the need for special grace when attempting the theme of repentance, and in pleading the reason for choosing this theme, he succeeds in stating the aim of all the religious poets of the period:

O giue me power to beautifie the hearse
 Of Penitence...
 If ~~ever~~ thing of greatest admiration,
 Could draw the vulgar eye, for to admire it;
 Then let the subject, of this poore relation,
 Be powerful in their harts, that shall desire it:
 It is a heauenly act, for to inspire it.
 For though our penance, be a crabbed tree,³
 Yet is the fruit, of rare proprietie.

"To beautifie the hearse of Penitence" is what Southwell, Verstegan, Lever, Lok, Collins, Breton and Davies were all trying to do, though their approach was not uniform.

Conscious of the necessity of defending themselves

1. Saint Peters Complaynt, 1595, (A3v), "The Author to the Reader". In italics throughout.

2. A3.

3. (B3v-B4)

as the poets of the late sixteenth century were, it is not surprising to find that the religious poets are even more sensitive to criticism. They are endeavouring to defend not only the dignity of poetry itself but also their own particular use of it and to attack all other uses. Even so individual a writer as Campion as late as 1610 finds it necessary, though he does it in a light hearted manner, to explain why he has combined in one book two apparently opposite views of the right use of poetry:

That holy hymns with louers' cares are knit 1
Both in one quire here, thou mayest think't unfit.
Why dost not blame the Stationer as well,
Who in the same shop sets all sorts to sell?
Diuine with styles profane, grave shelved with vain,
And some matched worse. Yet none of him complain!

A truce has been momentarily called.

A most adequate summary of the critical views of the Elizabethan religious poet is found in "The Preface" to "Adams Calamitie, and misery," an unpublished poem "Compiled by G.E." in Egerton Manuscript 2477.² The poet appears to have been even more concerned than his fellow-apologists in justifying his choice of subject and his style, which is simple but in its decorative quality owes much to Giles Fletcher. He has obviously spent a great deal of time in pondering the problems facing the religious poet and his views are to be found not only in the lengthy verse "Preface" but

1. Second Book of Airs, "To the Reader." Edit.P.Vivian,1909.

2. For complete text, description of manuscript and discussion of authorship, see Appendix A.

but also in "The Epistle Dedicatory" and even spilling over into the first twenty-three stanzas of "Adams Calamitie and misery." Examination of these passages will serve to bind together the findings of this chapter.

The poet begins in "The Epistle Dedicatory" by asserting, as Lever did in his epistle to Richard Bancroft in A Crucifixe, the prime importance of meditation on the Passion as an aid to repentance:

yt doth not only spurre vs forward to vnfayned
Repentance of our Sinnes, but opneth the shut
vpp fovntaines of teares.

Like Verstegan and "I.C." he hints delicately that he is no professional man of letters but has written his poem taking "advantage of tyme wch might have beene worse bestow'de." His purpose, if not as blatantly evangelistic as Southwell's is yet a didactic one:

to carry the mynd (wch for the most part) ys
desirous of varrieties, wthin the compas of
devout Substaunce and worthie of reading.

He is modest concerning his "slender skill" and charmingly apologizes for his not unsmooth lines by pointing, as Lever did, to his subject to excuse him, but showing in doing so, a smiling grace more akin to Southwell:

yet the substaunce will partly manyfest that
weedes have there vertues, and a harsh line
may as well expresse a desier to deserue, as
the loftie stile of "Tulli or the filed phrase
of Cicero. * (sic)

The versified "Preface" begins with the lamentation of Southwell, Breton, Verstegan, "I.C.", Rowlands and the poet of Saint Peter's Ten Teares that men of great poetic gifts are wasting them in writing of the wrong subjects:

Who doth not see how men of passing skill
Convert Rare giftes wch heauen to them hath lent
fabling storyes of forked Parnas hill
quite counter course vnto gods purpose ment
or vertues love wch is his wills intent
wresting of Nature and his giftes of grace
to bring forth thissells or some frute more base.

He proceeds in a plainer manner than the other apologists to castigate this "groce ympietie" as one sign of the degeneracy of the age when

gods holy heastes as cheifly now neglected
sin hath the soules of men so mvch infected...

In defence of his argument he continues in a manner employed by him alone by citing authority for his argument that in running counter to nature, or rather God's Will - in this case signified by the writing of secular rather than religious verse - men ruin themselves. Plato maintained that a man had two "good Angells" whom he must not cross; Seneca pointed out the folly of thwarting one's natural bent, "Nature constrainde doth kill Imagination." St. Paul developed this argument further when he stated that all our so-called natural

gifts come from Christ:

his counsell ys contented wee should rest
for hee that giues doth know what is the best.

With this last statement particularly the religious poet agrees whole-heartedly and clinches his point by common observation. Whatever men undertake does not prosper unless it is dedicated to God, "except the ground by heauens great powre bee layd¹". He could have misused God's gifts "by writting Comick, or some tragick seane" which unfortunately is undertaken by far too many, but in his case would have meant warping his natural inclination, which he complacently observes is "divine and chaste". He therefore reaffirms his allegiance to the divine muse - in words which all the religious poets of his day would have applauded:

let those that lyst seeke to pervert gods will
my Muse soares vp vnto sweet Sion hill.

Like many of his fellow-poets he is acutely conscious of his public and like them displays some belligerence in anticipation of their criticism. He does not intend to "wounde my selfe wth wronge", even though he only pleases a few, and states his firm resolve:

What's ere I writt bee yt in proes or verse
of vertues love the substaunce shall rehearse.¹

The last two stanzas refer his work to the protection of his unnamed patron. He hopes that he will be pleased but chiefly that he will defend the poem, poor as it is "from envies secret smirke

and Momus mynds wch seeketh for to kill
the sweet applause this substaunce craveth still...

In return he promises "and next I writ shall make amends for this".

Condemnation of other poetic subjects, justification of his own by its purpose of moving to repentance and by authoritative opinion, scorn for the numbers of his readers, defiance of critics combined with hope of protection from a perceptive patron and an attitude of becoming modesty about his attainment - all these are features of the apologies for the writing of religious verse in the late sixteenth century and all can be traced in the work of this unknown and unpublished poet.

The first section of "Adams Calamitie, and misery," headed in the manuscript "Poems profitable and pleazant to be red and respected"² continues the apology from a different

1. P. (6v)

2. There is actually only one long poem.

angle. Here the use "G.E." makes of the convention of invocation can be seen. It is more developed than that of any contemporary. Beginning with a prayer to God the Father to help him "couch in measure" the plan he has conceived but which his "laboring soule" feels too inadequate to turn into poetry, he bursts into praise of God and of "sweet sion Hill" where His glory can be seen but is suddenly checked by fear of presumption, expressed in a well-sustained nautical conceit:

Strike saile my Muse and launch not in so far
 beare of aloofe and hold thy barke at baie
 writts thou of heauen thats hath no skill of star
Charybdis deepe & silla maie thee fraie
 & in thy hie-thought prize worke thy decaie,
 for many ship in gulfe of curious doubt
 ouewhelme themselues & never can get out.

See then thou out thy course along the shore
 and beare a poynt where land markes maie direct
 the shallow waters best can brooke ay one
 but tryfling wherryes by the seas or chect
 in poynts so hie lett faith thy sailes direct
 gods breathing spirit bee thy happie wind
 and sacred word a load star to thy mynde.

He dare not beg God's direct intervention but yet he can invoke the aid of the Holy Spirit:

But as the Svn (earths fairest husbandman)
 annexed to the wheeling firmament
 descendeth not from his pavillion
 but sends from thence his fruitfull blandishment
 even so great Joue to further my intent
 I humbly praie, send forth thy holy sprite
 to guide both hart & hand as I doe writt.

The curious Renaissance mixture of classical and Christian learning is well illustrated here.

He still fears that he is too ambitious in attempting such a sacred subject but is reassured by the recollection that now in post-Reformation days truth blazes forth for all to see and is no longer confined to "sages olde" who "sedu'ste the vulgar sorte" to behaviour which was "counter to that the scripture doth exhorte"¹. This determines him to continue his bold plan:

What shall I then wth low conceted weight
take counter course & couchant to the ground
creepe in base muddy objects next my sight
as if my intelectuce parts weare drownde...²

Save that God will reward his "sure intent" he neatly picks up the nautical metaphor and urges his soul to

sett vp swifte saile, let christ thy Pilot bee
& rest asur'de his heavenly port to see.

Again he is overwhelmed by the realization of God's glory which "no tounge, no pen, is able to expresse" and before beginning his epic he pauses for a final invocation of the aid of the Holy Spirit:

1. P. (9v).

2. P. 10.

Moste blessed spirit and pure lampe of light
 eternall spring of blisse and glory trew
 of this abundant grace into my spright
 distill one drope of thy celestiaall dew
 that may my lines with sweet infuse ynbrew
 and giue mee words equall vnto my thought
 to tell the Meruells by thy mercies wrought.¹

The hesitancies and vacillations of the religious poet in the face of his subject which were noted earlier are seen most clearly here. Just as "the Preface" showed humility combined with defiance in the face of his readers kind and unkind, so these stanzas show the dilemma the poet felt when he swung round from his public to look at his chosen subject more closely. It was an impossible task, and more than one poet realized that it was, but conscious of his high intention not only of using his own gifts to God's praise and thereby inciting other poets to do so, but also of urging men to their chief and neglected duty of penitence, swallowed his uncertainty and, trusting in the help of the Holy Spirit, wrote on the problems of a religious poet in an age when poetry itself was under fire, his doubts and fears and his searching for assurance in heavenly aid and justification in the evangelistic aim of his subject can be glimpsed in many revealing flashes in the prefaces but are nowhere revealed quite as sharply as in "Adams Calamitie, & misery."

1. P. 11.

"G.E.", however, offers no comments on the correct style to be used by a religious poet and his few self-deprecatory remarks do not reveal him as an adherent of Southwell or of his opponent, Hall. It will be seen when considering the poems themselves that this quarrel was not very deep-rooted. In fact, as Hall wrote but a handful of lyrics and metrical Psalms, which do not enter the scope of this study, he must be considered as a theorist only. The practitioners, however much they affirmed in their prefaces the virtues of simplicity, yet fell under the sway of Southwell and imitated his conceits.

At this point, before analyzing the poems in detail, it may be convenient to consider the problem of sincerity. It arises naturally when the question of style is under examination. In imitating Southwell in order to make their works sell were the poets giving the lie to the noble aims of their critical prefaces and bowing down before Mammon? Can sincerity be seen in the grotesque stylistic gambollings of such a poet as John Davies of Hereford, in the distasteful virulence of John Fletcher, in the melodramatic approach of Samuel Rowlands or the sheer dullness of Gervase Markham or Sir William Leighton?

It is hard to pronounce on what in a poem reveals the poet's sincerity and perhaps hardest of all to attempt to do so with regard to religious poetry. Certain conventions can be adhered to, certain methods of presentation adapted without the poet's heart being bared and the finished poem can yet be most moving. Examples of this abound in the fourteenth and fifteenth century religious lyrics where conventions of style or traditional interpretation dictated almost every line. He would be a bold critic who suggested that "*Quia Amore Langues*", "*Brother Abyde*" or "*Filius Regis Mortuus Est*" were among the best because their unknown writers were more sincere than others in expressing their devotion. The intangible anonymity of the mediaeval religious lyrics is not only due to the fact that we do not know the names of their writers.

When the religious lyrics of two centuries later are considered, we find that recognizable figures have emerged from the mist. The lives of Donne and Herbert are reasonably well-documented, yet if we had not any biographical information, we should still know the kind of men they were from their poetry. Traherne is a notable instance of this.

Trite as this may sound, it has to be said in order to fit the late Elizabethan religious poets into their place. They show the process of emergence from the mist of anonymity. A great deal of imitation and unacknowledged borrowing goes on but it is different from the uniform subscription to a recognized system of rhetoric or to an imagery derived from patristic exegesis. Now it is deliberate imitation of those poets whose work was most popular. The professional man of letters had been born and was using what means he could to claim his public's attention and purses. The poets with whom this study deals were mainly of this class. Many of them were competent versifiers but Southwell is exceptional. He possessed more poetic talent than any other and more important still, he had a definite aim in writing as he did. No-one else, however closely he might wrap the mantle of didacticism around him, could claim to be a missionary first and a poet second. It would be a false generalization to state that the hack-writers who eagerly followed his trumpet-call did not realize the sacredness of his topics and had no feelings of their own about the right use of poetry. The earnestness of Thomas Collins, the vehemence of Verstegan and other Catholic poets, the

care Lever has taken with structure and theology, the thought which "G.E." has expended on the problems of the religious poet, would all protest against it. These poets subscribed to the vogue but were not swamped by it as their varied approaches to their favourite theme will show. The defensive or defiant attitude of the prefaces is not entirely a pose.

CHAPTER II

The Necessity of Tears.

"Teares are the key that ope the way to blisse,
 The holy water quenching heauens quicke fire:
 The attonement true twixt God and our amisse;
 The Angels drinke, the blessed Saints desire:
 The ioy of Christ, the balme of griued hart,
 The spring of life, the ease of eu'ry smart."

Nicholas Breton, The Passion of a Discontented
 Mind, 1621, (B3V)

1. Jerome, edit. Rucker, 1597, p. 239.

2. John Hall, A godly Sermon, 1595, p. 11.

"Repent, was the first lesson to young and old"¹
 said silver-tongued Henry Smith in one of his eloquent
 sermons at St. Clement Danes in the last decade of the
 sixteenth century. Repentance is the first step upon
 the road to Heaven, the act whereby the narrow gate is
 entered and because of its fundamental importance in the
 Christian life, theologians have spent much time in
 analysing its beginnings, its nature and its fruits. In
 Calvin's opinion the substance of the whole gospel could
 be found in the phrase "repentance and the remission of
 sins."

The etymology of the word interested the
 theologian and the preacher, and from a true understanding
 of it its full implication could be seen.

It being after the Hebrew word, a turning vnto
 God: after the Greeke word, a chaunge of mind,
 purpose and deade: after the Latines, a re-
 calling of our selues home, or a recouerie of
 the pristine health of minde after folly or
 madnesse. Whereby it apparently resteth in
 eschewing euill, and doying good: in turning
 from the deuill vnto God: in chaunge of purpose,
 abhorring now that which before with pleasure
 we hunted after: in returning home againe into
 our selues with deuise and studie to amende
 the euill committed.²

1. Sermons, edit. Fuller, 1657, p.539.

2. Peters Fall. A godlie Sermon, 1585, Dii.

The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church points out that philological interpretation has determined the differing emphasis of the Eastern and Western Church. While repentance, fully comprehended, includes sorrow for sin committed, confession and desire to amend, the Greek word, which is translated "repentance" emphasises the last aspect, but the Latin translated "penitence" refers to the first two parts:

In accord with this distinction in language, Latin teaching has laid special emphasis in penance on acts of reparation and satisfaction for sin.¹

Calvin rejected such ideas of reparation as special days of penance. According to him repentance was a Christian's life-work:

Such are the effects produced by that spirit of fanaticism, that it terminates repentance within the limits of a few short days, which a Christian ought to extend throughout his whole life.²

Hooker follows the Catholic theologians in recognizing as it were two shades of repentance. One is "the inward secret repentance of the heart" and this he affirms gently is a life-work, "always practised more or less, in our

1. Edit. F.L. Ross, 1957, "Repentance."

2. The Institutes of the Christian Religion, 1559, III, 3, (ii). Translated by John Allen, Philadelphia, 1935.

daily devotions."¹ It can nowhere be better seen than in the penitential exercises in Lancelot Andrewes Preces Privatae. Hooker also realises that there may also be occasions when this regular confession does not prove sufficient and a more open method of confession and satisfaction may be sought within the Church.

Calvin defined repentance as:

A true conversion of our life to God, proceeding from a sincere and serious fear of God, and consisting in the mortification of our flesh and of the old man, and in the vivification of the Spirit."²

Repentance is a product of faith. The certainty of judgement brings with it a consciousness of wrongdoing and a fear of punishment. Faith, however, also brings with it the knowledge of redemption, and the sinner, knowing he has offended this all-loving and absolutely just God, prays for mercy. With the awareness of forgiveness, the sinner feels an increased love of God and also a hatred of his sin and of all sin, a revulsion from anything that will offend God, resulting in a resolve to amend his life.

1. Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, VI, iii, 1. Works, edit. Keble, Oxford, 1888.

2. Institutes, III, 3, (v).

This is the plan of most of the sermons and treatises on repentance written at the end of Elizabeth's reign, such works as Arthur Dent's Sermon on Repentance or William Perkins's treatise Of the nature and practise of repentance. Later chapters will show that the long poems written on repentance during this period also followed its outline. It can be seen in the work of Southwell, Breton, Ellis, Collins and Lever, Catholic and Protestant alike. It must be noted here, however, that the Catholic Church accepts signs of attrition as sufficient for repentance, that is, a fear of God's just anger and a sorrow at having offended Him. Anglicanism takes this further and insists on an active love of God supplanting fear. This can be well seen in Donne's fear of despair and anguished probings into the causes of his penitent feelings.¹ This difference need not be emphasized in this study as a sense of the urgency of the need for repentance seems to have overshadowed any theological niceties during this period.

All would agree that the outline given above defines true, or in Calvin's definition, "evangelical"

1. Studies in Philology, July 1959, Vol. LVI, No.3, pp.504-18, Douglas L. Peterson, "John Donne's Holy Sonnets and the Anglican Doctrine of Contrition."

repentance. There is another type, false or "legal" repentance, where the sinner is conscious only of the inevitability of punishment. His fear is untempered by awe and he lacks the faith in the Redeemer to rise from his despair. He feels no hatred of his particular sin or of sin in general and consequently makes no resolution to lead a better life if he is forgiven. He is thinking solely of his own position and not at all of his relationship with God. For such there can be no forgiveness.

All theologians are agreed that true repentance is a work of grace but its first stirrings may be prompted by many things. They may be felt after a contemplation of the Four Last Things, as in the first "week" of St. Ignatius's Spiritual Exercises. They may be aroused by a consideration of the disobedience of man and the sin that is inherent in man's nature. This method was used by Richard Greenham in one of his most eloquent passages:

... the body of sinne shall neuer be from vs so long as wee live. For the scum thereof is almost continually boyling and walloping in vs, foming out such filthy froth and stinking sauor into our mindes, that it is not only detestable to the minde regenerate and renewed by the spirit of God, but also it would make abashed the very naturall man, to looke into so loathsome a stie of sinne and sinke hole of iniquitie. Yea it maketh vs often to quaille, and if it were possible,

it would corrupt the very part regenerate.
For mighty is the power, and raging is the
strength of sinne.¹

Penitential thoughts may be aroused by some extraneous agent reminding us of our sin, as the cock's crowing reminded Peter of his. The most powerful topics which may move to repentance are, however, Christ's Passion and the stories of Biblical penitents. The theologians are unanimous in naming these. They are St. Mary Magdalene, St. Peter, David, the people of Nineveh and the characters in the parables, the lost sheep, the prodigal son and the publican. A consideration of the supreme examples of "legal" repentance may also prove efficacious and so attention ought to be paid to the stories of Saul, Cain and Judas that we may not be like them.

The Elizabethan preachers were preoccupied with the theme of repentance, though their method of exhortation varied. A few examples of the more famous preachers must suffice. Lancelot Andrewes dissected texts with graceful ease to show that the wrath of God came upon the unrepentant sinner in this life as in the next.² Richard Greenham and

1. Workes, 1599, p.269.

2. A Sermon of the Pestilence (1603), 1636, p.18.

the "plain" preachers who followed him, spoke sweetly and straightforwardly of comfort "for an Afflicted Conscience." Arthur Dent became one of the bestselling authors of the century when he was persuaded by "sundry godly and well-disposed persons" to publish his sermon which plainly and concisely analyzed the causes and result of repentance.¹ William Perkins explained "The True Manner of knowing Christ crucified"² and also wrote a lucid treatise, Of the nature and practise of repentance.³ Henry Smith, more verbally brilliant than his fellow Puritans, appealed to the love of the drama in his contemporaries by painting damnation as a scene in an early Elizabethan tragedy:

When iniquity hath plaid her part, vengeance leaps upon the Stage, the Comedie is short, but the Tragedy is longer: the black guard shall attend upon you, you shall eat at the Table of sorrow, and the crown of death shall be upon your heads, many glistering faces looking on you, and this is the feare of sinners... 4

Drama and the methods peculiar to drama were never very far from the minds of the Elizabethans, even in matters of religion but it was left to the poets to exploit the most

1. Quotation from 1615 edition. The first edition came out in 1582 and the twenty-first in 1638.

2. 1596.

3. 1595.

4. Sermons, 1657, p.783.

dramatic method of all, the monologue spoken by a famous penitent into whose thoughts the reader can be persuaded to enter.

The analysis by the poets of the whole psychological workings of the process of penitence was often as precise and orderly as that in any treatise or sermon. Dent's sermon or Perkins's treatise can easily be read as prose-commentaries on the poems of such Protestant poets as Ellis, Collins or Breton. Lever provides his own prose amplification of the system of repentance set forth in A Crucifixe in The Holy Pilgrime, published in 1618, a neatly-planned treatise which like many another less well-written was intended to be a guide "Leading the way to Heaven."

While such examinations of the fruits of repentance, or the state of mind of the penitent - what the author of The Highway to Heaven calls "hir inseperable furniture (as humble Confession, Faithfull prayer, and amendment of Life)"¹ - were often very detailed, as will be seen when the poems are considered in detail, all the poets were impressed by the necessity of emphasising the grief of the sinner. Sorrow was, in Southwell's phrase,

1. The Right Way to Heaven, Compiled by Richard Vennard, 1601, (civ).

"Sinnes eldest child"¹ and in true repentance followed the recognition of having offended a loving God.

Tears, the visible sign of this sorrow, appealed greatly to the poet. Most theologians, however, do not stress the necessity of weeping. Calvin, linking weeping with fasting, maintains they "are not added as perpetual or necessary effects of (repentance), but as circumstances belonging to a particular case."² The moderate Hooker acknowledges that grief is always present, "such a sorrow as renteth the heart", but does not demand the evidence of tears in every case. This grief, he says, is accompanied "oftentimes partly with tears",³ but he would not insist with Lever that weeping is a sure sign of penitence and the man who cannot weep is very far from grace:

The leaprous man, to heale his filthinesse,
Must seauen times water his contagious skinne.
Is holy water of that worthinesse?
Then with repentant teares let vs beginne,
To wash the leaprous body of our sinne.
Seauen times is nothing, multiply thy seauen,
We must wash cleane, ere we can enter heauen.⁴

One of the reasons for the tear-sodden quality of the poetry of repentance may be found in the fact that

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1. Saint Peters complaynt, 1595, p.31.
 2. Institutes, III, 3, (xvii).
 3. Polity, VI, iii, 5.
 4. A Crucifixe, 1607, D3.

the penitents who appealed particularly to the poets as "patternes" of repentance were all closely associated with tears. St. Peter "wept bitterly"; St. Mary Magdalene was never imagined dry-eyed by writer or painter; David tells us that his couch was wet with his tears night after night, and in contemplation of the Passion, tears forever flow.

Another reason is the purely decorative aspect of tears. They become pearls or April showers and a poet like Southwell can make much of the ideas thus suggested:

O beames of mercy beate on sorrowes clowde,
 Poure suppling showres vpon my parched ground,
 Bring forth the fruite to your due seruice vowde,
 Let good desires with like deserts be crownd.
 Water young bloming vertues tender flower,¹
 Sinne did all grace of riper groth deuower.¹

Alabaster's analogy of the fly in amber may be considered as carrying this ornamental exploitation to a low level in taste²

Then weep forth pearls of tears to spangle thee,
 Sufficient for thee to be enrolled;
 For as the scorned fly which is surprised
 Within the drops of amber that doth fall,
 By this his tomb beginneth to be prized,
 So he which in his bitter thoughts recall,
 Draweth his soul by penance into tears,
 His worthlessness to Christ thereby endears.

1. Saint Peters Complaynt, p.21.

2. Sonnets, edit. Story and Gardner, 1959. Sonnet 17.

but, not unexpectedly, the nadir is reached by John Davies of Hereford:

Those glitt'ring Sunnes, (his bright transpiercing
eies)
On Peters eies, as on two Fountaines, shine;
By whose attractive vertue Drops arise,
Then downe distill in showres of Angels wine;
Who with heau'ns hoast therefore, their tongues
employ
To praise their God, in hymnes, starke drunke
with ioy!¹

This repulsive idea may be derived from the quaint conceit of Psalm 56, verse 8:

Thou hast kept count of my tossings; put thou
my tears in thy bottle!

The poets do not emphasise this decorative aspect of tears, as an ecstatic poet such as Crashaw does. They are much more interested in the theological implications behind the action, in the state of soul which produces the tears. Alabaster even divides his tears into three categories,

Three sorts of tears do from mine eyes distrain:
The first are bitter, of compunction,
The second brinish, of compassion,
The third are sweet, which from devoutness rain,
And these diversities they do obtain
By difference of place from which they run.
The first come from the meditation
Of all my sins, which made a bitter vein,
The next pass through the sea of others' tears,
And so that saltness in the taste appears,

1. The Holy Roode, 1609, (B4v)

The third doth issue from Christ's wounded side,
 And thence such sweetness in them doth abide.
 Never did contraries so well agree,
 For the one without the other will not be.¹

Such subtle differentiations are rare, though Southwell has a pithy analysis in one stanza of the whole state of penitence:

A selfe contempt, the shroud: my soule, the corse:
 The beere, an humble hope: the herse cloth, feare:
 The mourners, thoughts, in blacks of deepe remorse:
 The herse, grace, pittie, loue, and mercy beare.-
 My teares, my dole: the priest, a zealous will:
 Penance, the tombe: and dolefull sighes, the knill.²

In the main, tears were to the poet the sign of true repentance and a desire for mercy and grace. They appeal to Christ the Intercessor, "Whom weeping winnes repentant sorrow moues"³ and they are the sacrifice He will accept:

Pilate did wash his hands as free from blood,
Judas restored the pence and did repent him:
 Both they within thy sight condemned stood,
 Oh Peter then what booteth thy repenting.
 Yes, yes, when I had sinned, I went and wept,
 And that as sacrifice thou didst accept.⁴

The sinner prays, as the Psalmist did,⁵ that his tears may be written in "thy booke of life"⁶ and vows to change all

1. Sonnet 16.

2. Saint Peters Complaynt, p.32.

3. Ibid, p.32.

4. Saint Peters Ten Teares, 1597, (A3v)

5. Psalm 56,8.

6. Saint Peters Ten Teares, 1597, (B4).

his joys into griefs if he may thereby please Christ:

So will I turne my ioyes to bitter gall,
And sighes to teares (so thou be pleas'd withall).¹

The sinner must continue to weep until mercy is given, until he has given sufficient proof of his change of heart:

Lament my soule thy state, a state distrest,
Thou art revolt from true felicity,
Sigh sorrowes forth, let greefes weepe out the rest,
Weepe wretched man repleat with misery,
Let neuer eies giue cheekes a space to drie,
Till teares regaine lost grace in mercies eie.²

He must not expect mercy to be shown until he has wept enough, and the anonymous author of Saint Peters Ten Teares rebukes St. Peter for thinking he had shed enough tears when he is only at the conclusion of his second "tear",

Soft Peter thou has many teares to shed,
thou art too bolde to challenge mercie yet:
Till thou art sure thy sinfull soule is fled,
morne, noone, and night, thine eyes must still
be wet:
Then when remorse hath drawne thy Fountaine drye,
Thy God hath heard thy pittie moouing crye.

It may be hard for the sinner to find enough tears to express the anguish of his soul and he is forced to beg others to weep with him to reveal by the volume of

1. G. Ellis, The Lamentation of the lost sheepe, 1605, stanza 18.

2. Samuel Rowlands, The Betraying of Christ, 1588, (Div), "Peters teares at the Cockes crowing".

A lack of proportion is a natural attribute of the state of repentance and eyes blurred by tears often see things larger than they really are. Even this cannot excuse the exaggeration which frequently renders ludicrous some of the sixteenth century poems on repentance. Demands for oceans of tears and for all men's tears and hysterical self-comparisons with Judas, Cain or Absalom, in all of which the poet, without exception, emerges as the real villain seen beside sham ones, jar the reader's sympathy. Was the poet enjoying his position as the chief of sinners? Did he crave the limelight at all costs? The only plea in his defence which can be offered is again that of urgency. It was of prime importance to stir his generation to repentance and all means must be employed. If a whisper failed, a shout must be used. If a gesture with a hand did not attract attention, the whole body must be contorted in order to emphasize the point being made.

CHAPTER III

The Tears of St. Peter.

"This fall of Saint Peter and other the saintes and friendes of God, set downe in the scriptures, is not therefore that we shoulde vse the same as a cloke to couer our wickednesse, hyding the candle vnder the bed, which should be set vpon a candlestick, measuring the scriptures by our sensualitie: but to this ende that we seeing our owne frailtie and the enemye his power, may walke more warely and treade more sure. And if it be, we doo fall grieuously, we yet dispaire not, but by the same meanes endeauour to rise againe as they did."

Peters Fall: A Godlie Sermon, 1585, Aiii

In 1595 three editions of Southwell's Saint Peters complaynt, With other Poems were published. In the following fifteen years, the period of this study, there were five more, the last two being augmented by poems omitted in the first publication. In addition, a collection of his shorter poems, entitled Moeoniae was printed twice in 1595 and there were seven further editions of Saint Peters complaynt before 1640. The rights to Saint Peters complaynt had been acquired on the 5th of April 1595 by Gabriel Cawood, who had previously published Southwell's prose treatise, Mary Magdalens Funerall Teares, and he brought out his first edition sometime during the same year. There are two other editions of Saint Peters complaynt dating from this year, both published by John Wolfe, who had printed Mary Magdalens Funerall Teares for Cawood. It appears from the evidence accumulated by James H. McDonald in his comprehensive The Poems and Prose Writings of Robert Southwell, S.J. A Bibliographical Study¹ that these were pirated and that Cawood made use of the Wolfe edition when printing his own, which was authorised and fuller. McDonald, stressing that "This is conjecture, of course, at best", says:

1. Printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1937.

There is a possibility that C (Cawood edition) may have been, at least partially set up from D (Wolfe edition). Cawood had acquired his right to the book on the 5th of April 1595, shortly after Fr. Southwell's death. All we know for certain is that he brought out his edition in 1595. Depending upon the popularity of the author to secure an instant acceptance of the poems, Wolfe may have rushed his edition on the market (and there are many marks of hurried printing in the book) without a licence. Cawood, however, had the right to the book, and, though Wolfe got his book out first, Cawood still had an advantage: he could publish a more complete book, and one that was licensed. He had, therefore, only to take Wolfe's edition, make his alterations, add the poems he desired to add, and give the Wolfe edition, with all its alterations and additions, to his printer. 1.

Cawood then published two further editions and an augmented edition in 1602. Further editions were published by William Leake, who acquired Cawood's copies upon his death, William Barret and John Haviland, who subsequently held them. Nor was Southwell neglected in Scotland. Two editions, the Waldegrave and the Wreittoun, were published in Edinburgh. The first, the Waldegrave edition, which McDonald conjecturally dates 1599, was thoroughly edited, certain alterations being made in the text to suit Protestant readers. The Catholic printers were naturally proud of Southwell's work and also not unaware of its popularity. The St. Omers editions of 1616 and 1620 were edited to give a greater unity of subject to the collection of poems and prose.

The striking popularity of the poetical works of the young Jesuit martyr, dealing as so many of them do with the theme of repentance, would give them a prominent place in a study such as this even if they were not outstanding in merit as well. Something of Southwell's popularity must, of course, be attributed to the gentle humour and courage which were so evident at his trial and at his execution on the twenty-first of February 1595 (O.S.) and which have charmed his biographers and critics ever since. Something must also be attributed, at least in considering the early editions, to the printer's eye for topical and sensational matters and the public's thirst for them. Southwell was a notorious Jesuit, who had evaded capture for six years, who had never given way under the most severe torture as Robert Cecil himself was later to testify:

They boast about the heroes of antiquity...
but we have a new torture which it is not
possible for a man to bear. And yet I have
seen Robert Southwell hanging by it, still
as a tree-trunk, and no one able to drag
one word from his mouth¹

and who had died bravely and calmly. No doubt the desire to read the poetry of such a man, to find out what he had to say for himself, motivated the buyers of the first editions of Saint Peters complaynt. Interest in Southwell's poetry as poetry must also have played its part, for his

1. Quoted in Christopher Devlin, The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr, 1956, p.288. Cecil was one of the examiners of Southwell shortly after his capture.

influence upon almost all the religious poets of the period is an indication of the admiration and envy with which the professional men of letters regarded him. His influence upon the secular, and greater, poets of the last decade of the sixteenth century has perhaps been over-estimated by his enthusiastic Catholic critics¹ and lies outside my immediate range, but the frequent copying of stanzas, quatrains or even couplets from his shorter poems and from "Saint Peters complaynt" into the commonplace books alongside such admired poets as Raleigh, Spenser, Jonson and Donne indicates that his verse was to the taste of the Elizabethan poetry-lover.²

The continued re-printing of Southwell's poems long after his execution on that February morning had been forgotten by all but the Catholics, must be attributed to this fact, namely, that their worth was recognized by the poetry-reading public of their day. Southwell's acute awareness of the paradoxes of the Christian faith and the

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1. In such articles in the Month as Thurston's "Father Southwell, the Popular Poet" (Vol. 83, 1895, pp. 383-399) and Devlin's "Robert Southwell and Contemporary Poets" (N.S. Vol. 4, No. 3, 1950, pp. 169-180 and pp. 309-319). The latter incorporated this article in Chapter 16 of his Life of Robert Southwell, 1956. The theory that "W.S." of the St. Omers edition of Southwell's "To my louing Cosin" is Shakespeare (to whom Southwell was very distantly related) has been squashed by Grosart and Prof. Praz.
 2. In such manuscripts as the following which I have examined: Harl. 6910; Chetham MS Mun. A. 3.47. MS. 8010.

dramatic way in which he often expressed them made his poetry very acceptable to the age of metaphysical verse which followed his own. This same quality caused the next age to neglect him. The only poems of Southwell which were reprinted in the eighteenth century were "Upon the Image of Death" and "A Vale of Teares", both of which may be said to have had a "gothic" appeal to readers of the generation of Walpole, Gray and Mrs. Radcliffe. These were included in the Appendix of The sad shepherd, a fragment by Jonson, edited with continuation and notes by Francis Godolphin Waldron in 1783. Waldron comments that "A Vale of Teares" will, for its descriptive imagery, I dare say, be acceptable". He also prints "Times goe by turnes", "Scorn not the least", "Content and rich" and "Loves servile Löt"¹. He defends his choice by appealing to the greatest critic of his age:

should it be wished that I had selected some of his pieces which are purely devotional, I will recommend the consideration of Dr. Johnson's comprehensive periods on that subject; which are to me 'satisfying reasons'

Waldron appears to have been something of a bibliographer, as he lists, though with what he terms "my rambling irregularity", the Leake edition of Saint Peters complaynt, Moeoniae and the 1596 edition of Triumphs over Death, the prefaces to which he describes. The next editor of Southwell

1. Pp.238-242. The printing of these last four poems here is not noted by McDonald in his Bibliography

was not fortunate enough to see one of the early editions and acknowledges his debt to Waldron in a tone of moral self-satisfaction:

The three little pieces by Robert Southwell, which I have printed, were first brought forward to the notice of general readers of poetry, by the editor of Ben Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, in his notes, from whence I have taken the liberty of extracting them. Obligations of this kind are but too commonly, to the disgrace of literature, very industriously & ungratefully suppressed.

"The three little pieces" which Henry Headley printed in his Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry were "Times goe by Turnes", "Scorn not the Least" and Loves servile lot"¹. Headley praises their "moral charm" and offers to "make it his business to collect and republish the better part of Southwell's poetry", if his anthology meets with success. Apparently it did not do so, for there are no further editions of Southwell in the eighteenth century, which remained oblivious of his religious, and best, poems.

The nineteenth century, with its great interest in everything belonging to the age of Shakespeare, saw several editions of them, however, notably by Walter (1817), Turnbull (1856), Grosart (1872) and D. Stewart (1876), the last three being allegedly complete editions. Grosart, in the words of L.F. Powell, who wrote the Preface to McDonald's Bibliography, was "the only editor who has made

1. 1787, Vol.II, Pp2,5 and 81. The last poem was not noted by McDonald.

any serious attempt to correct the text". In the present century there have been two selections of Southwell's poems published, in The Pembroke Booklets in 1906 by J.R. Tutin and in The Book of Robert Southwell, priest, poet and prisoner in 1926 by C.M. Hood. Both of these were uncritically edited. Southwell has always been a popular subject for large anthologies.

Southwell's work was read, as he intended it to be, in a devotional context during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Evidence of such use in the century following his death is supplied by the inclusion of stanzas of Saint Peters complaynt in Elizabeth Grymeston's Miscelanea Meditations. Memoratives, first published in 1604 and reprinted three times, in 1605 or 6, before 1609 and between 1615 and 1618.¹ This book, which includes in the prose stanzas from Southwell, Verstegan and Englands Parnassus skilfully adapted to suit their context, was intended as she tells us in the preface, "To her louing sonne Bernye Grymeston", in the event of her own fast-approaching death and that of her husband:

I leaue thee this portable veni mecum for thy Counsellor, in which thou maiest see the true portrature of thy mothers minde, and finde something either to resolve thee in thy doubt or comfort thee in thy distresse; hoping, that being my last speeches, they will be better kept in the conseruance of thy memorie; which I desire thou²wilt make a Register of heauenly meditations.

1. For details about the problem of dating the later editions, see The Library, 4th Series, Vol. XV, 1934, Ruth Hughey and Philip Herefor, "Elizabeth Grymeston and her Miscellanea"
2. (A3^V). The original is in italics. (pp 161-91)

The book which contains chapters on such topics as "No greater crosse than to liue without a crosse" and "That affliction is the coat of a true Christian", is of a Catholic nature and was intended as a manual of instruction. Chapter II is entitled "Morning meditation, with sixteene sobs of a sorowfull spirit" in the list of contents on signature A2verso and is thus amplified in its heading in D4verso:

Morning Meditation, with sixteene sobs of a sorowfull spirit, which she vsed for mentall prayer, as also an addition of sixteene staues of verse taken out of Peters complaint; which she vsually sung and played on the winde instrument.

These "sixteene staues of verse" are very well adapted to their context. They are printed in italics after the prayer which Elizabeth Grymeston had composed. Her method of using Southwell's verse may be seen from this example where the third stanza of "Saint Peters complaynt":

Giue vent vnto the vapours of thy brest,
That thicken in the brimmes of cloudie eyes:
Where sinne was hatch'd, let teares now was the nest:
Where life was lost, recouer life with cryes.
Thy trespasse foule: let not thy tears be few:^{1.}
Baptize thy spotted soule in weeping dewe.

becomes:

Preserue my body from eternall death,
reserue my soule from euerlasting damnation:
let me neither vngratefully remember thy
benefits, nor vngratiously forget thy seuer
iudgements: for albeit, there be no folly
which hath not had his seate in my minde, and
left his footstep in my actions; yet for that
thou lookest for my amendment, that I may haue
they fauour, grant me they fauour that I may haue
amendment

1. Cawood edition, 1595, p.1.

Giue vent vnto the vapours of my brest,
That thicken in the brims of cloudy eies,
Where sin was hatch't let teares now wash the nest,
Where life was lost, recouer life with cries:
My trespas foule, let not my teares be few:
Baptise my spotted soule in weeping dew. ¹

Selections from the Miscelanea are to be found in MS Harleian 1709, a common-place book kept by Thomas Chaffyn, a Wiltshire constable of the early seventeenth century. Ruth Hughey and Philip Hereford in their article on the Miscelanea conclude:

It is not without significance that we find what was apparently a devoted use of the Miscellanea by the unknown Wiltshire man, Thomas Chaffyn. He is indicative perhaps of the type of audience Elizabeth had.

Evidence of the continued reading of Southwell's poetry in a devotional context - and reading by Protestants as well as Catholics - comes from an unexpected quarter. In the journal which Dr. Johnson kept of his tour of Wales in 1774 and which was never prepared for publication by him, there is the following entry under seventh of August:

Observations.

Bit and bridle Ps.32. Southwel
 Discit injustus. Ps.36 has no relation to the
 English (Notes on versions of the Psalm and on
 the practice of repetition in prayer).
 Southwells thought of his own death.
 Badius on Erasmus. Infinitum debet.q.

1. 1604 edition, E.

The editors of the Yale edition of Johnson's Works from which I take this quotation¹ note that Psalm 32 was one of the Psalms appointed for the previous day:

Psalm 32 Johnson had perhaps read on Saturday, as it is one of the Psalms appointed for that date, as Ps.36 is for the next day. His reference is: 'Be ye not as the horse, or as the mule, which have no understanding: whose mouth must be held in with bit and bridle, lest they come near unto thee'(vs.9). Rev.Robert Southwell, the Jesuit poet who went to the scaffold in 1595, aged 24,² uses a faintly similar phrase in Saint Peters complaynt: 'A rack for₃ guilty thoughts, a bit for wild' (line 376).

"Southwell's thought of his own death" they point out, most probably refers to "Upon the Image of Death" and the note concludes:

Few of Southwell's poems had been reprinted since 1636, and except in some Roman Catholic circles he must have been almost unknown at this time. It is most surprising to find Johnson reading him.

Similar observations on this passage are in the Hill-Powell edition of Johnson⁴, where the interested reader is referred to Janelle for information on Southwell. No surprise is expressed, however, in this note.

It may well be expressed, however upon finding Johnson reading Southwell, not only as the editors of the

1. 1958, Vol.I, pp.193-4

2. Southwell was, in fact, 33 when he was executed. I do not know why the editors made this mistake as their dates in the Index are correct.

3. Footnotes to pp.193-4 .

4. 1950, p.444 and note.

Yale Johnson point out, because of the scarcity of his poems but also because of Johnson's views on devotional poetry. The great critic who found such poetry "cannot often please" and found it no aid to devotion:

From poetry the reader justly expects, and from good poetry always obtains, the enlargement of his comprehension and elevation of his fancy; but this is rarely to be hoped by Christians from metrical devotion.....Repentance, trembling in the presence of the judge, is not at leisure for cadences and epithets. Supplication of man to man may diffuse itself through many topics of persuasion; but supplication to God can only cry for mercy

yet remembered Southwell when he was engaged in his own devotions. A verse of the proper Psalm for the day recalled to his mind a line of Southwell's longest poem and the one most full of those objectionable "cadences and epithets" and that in turn reminded him of another of the Catholic poet's works, which must have had a particular appeal for the morbid Johnson. That Johnson was using Southwell in a devotional context is not stressed by the Yale editors nor do they point out that Johnson must have known Southwell very well indeed for such a tenuous connection to occur to him. This is not one of Southwell's more famous lines. It is, to use their comment, most surprising.

Southwell was much admired at the turn of the seventeenth century. We know from his conversations with

1. Life of Waller, Lives of the Poets, "Everyman" edition, 1956, Vol.I, pp.173-174.

Drummond of Hawthornden that Ben Jonson had a high regard for him and coveted "The Burning Babe", saying "

That Southwell was hanged yett so he had
written that piece of his ye burning babe
he would have been content to destroy many
of his.

Edmund Bolton shared this opinion and listed Southwell among the chief writers of the age:

Never must be forgotten St. Peter's Complaint,
and those other serious Poems said to be
father Southwells; the English whereof as it
is most proper, so the sharpness,¹ and Light
of Wit is very rare in them.

In later criticism, however, Southwell passed unnoticed for some time. Interest in his work was mainly bibliographical. Waldron and Headley, as we noted, offered perfunctory comment on the poems they chose to reprint and their efforts were noted by Thomas Park in an article signed T.P. in The Gentleman's Magazine in November 1798² but he added nothing fresh. Criticism of Southwell as a poet can be dated from 1821, when an anonymous article on "Robert Southwell's Works" appeared in The Retrospective Review.³ The unknown writer, who has not been identified by Fr. McDonald, comments very justly on the topics of Southwell's verse, on his character revealed in his writings, on the force of his creative energy and the passion of his prose:

1. Quoted by McDonald, p.134.

2. pp.933-5

3. Vol.iv, pp.267-280.

Indeed, persecution and martyrdom, torture and death, must have been frequent subjects of his contemplation...Life's uncertainty and the world's vanity - the crimes and follies of humanity; and the consolations and glories of religion are the constant themes of his writings, both in prose and verse; and the kindness and benignity of his nature, and the moral excellence of his character, are diffused alike over both.

He maintains that Southwell, in addition to:

a charm...which in some measure supplies the place of genius...had genius too; in addition to the moral beauty, which we both see and feel in his works there are constant traces of a fervid and poetical imagination.

This short appreciation set the tone for many more in the succeeding years of the century. Turnbull, in his edition of Southwell of 1817, had not indulged in literary criticism, but had told the story of his hero's life in terms of such enthusiasm as to rouse the scorn of the distinguished American critic, James Russell Lowell. In reviewing Turnbull's edition in "Smith's Library of Old Authors" in My Study Windows, Lowell, in a tone which must frankly be called bad-tempered, professed to find Southwell even more tedious than Wither, because he

in his "Saint Peter's Complaint" makes that rashest and shortest-spoken of the Apostles drawl through thirty pages of maudlin repentance, in which the distinctions between the North and North-East sides of a sentimentality are worthy of Duns Scotus. It does not follow, that, because a man is hanged for his faith, he is able to write good verse. We could almost

match the fortitude which quails not at the good Jesuit's poems with his own which carried him serenely to the fatal tree.¹

With a final and somewhat ungentlemanly sneer at the unfortunate Turnbull's religious views, he dismisses Southwell's poetry:

we cannot but think that he (Turnbull) has shown a credulity that unfits him for writing a fair narrative of his hero's life, or making a tolerably just estimate of his verses. It is possible, however, that these last seem as prosaic as a necktie only to heretical readers.

Grosart, ever the champion of the down-trodden or neglected poet, leapt to Southwell's defence the following year in his edition of the poems. He praised the short poems for "their condensation, their polish, their élan, their memorableness" but found "Saint Peters Complaynt" "rather a succession of separate studies...than a single rounded poem". With all the fervour of a defending counsel he traced Southwell's good influence in many poets, likely and unlikely. One draws the line, though Grosart did not, at Burns. He discredited, however, the theory that Shakespeare was to be identified with "my louing cosen". It was with "profound regret and pain" that he replied to Lowell's criticism but he did so with

1. 1871 (2nd edit.), p.217.

a very fair criticism of "Saint Peters Complaynt":

with admitted tedium, "Saint Peters Complaynt" sounds the depths of penitence and remorse, and utters out emotion that flames into passion very unforgettably, while there are felicities of metaphor, daintiness of word-painting, brilliancies of inner-portraiture scarcely to be matched in contemporary Verse.¹

He also cited the views of other critics of Southwell, including George Macdonald who pointed out that "Saint Peters Complaynt" gave the impression of monotony because "the pauses are so measured with the lines as to make every line almost a sentence". Macdonald made the penetrating criticism, too, that many of the shorter poems are "pervaded by a sweet and delicate tone of holy humour", a point which no-one else had noted and which has still not been fully explored.

Apart from a brief appreciation by Philip Williams in 1902,² the next notable critic of Southwell was J.R. Tutin who in a brief preface to his selection of the shorter poems³ stressed Southwell's literacy theory and the importance he attached to religious verse as the true use of poetry. Tutin was the first to comment on

1. "Memorial-Introduction", p.xcv.

2. The Osceotian, 3rd Series, Vol.3, No.1, Dec. 1902, p.p. 2-13. "The Poetry of Robert Southwell, S.J."

3. Pembroke Booklets (First Series), v, 1906.

Southwell's influence on the lesser religious poets of his age and to speculate on his effect on a great religious poet, "perhaps we may even trace it in the more remarkable work of his successor, Donne". It is this aspect of Southwell which has recently been explored by Professor Louis Martz¹, in his fascinating study of the influence of Jesuit methods of meditation upon Southwell, Donne and Herbert.

One other minor, but good, criticism of Southwell must be noted. John W. Hales in his article on Southwell for Ward's English Poets speaks with enthusiasm of his "rich and fertile fancy" and comments on his longest poem:

It is undoubtedly the work of a mind of no ordinary copiousness and force, often embarrassed by its own riches, and so expending them with a prodigal carelessness. Thus Southwell's defects spring not from poverty, but from imperfectly managed wealth. Like many another Elizabethan, he was wanting in art; his genius ran riot.

Meanwhile, the Catholics had begun their work for Southwell's verse with a series of articles in the Month in the early years of the century by Herbert Thurston. His able criticism on the sources of the poems and their influence

1. The Poetry of Meditation, New Haven, 1954.

2. 1911, Vol.1, pp. 479-481.

on other Elizabethan poets was the first thorough critical appraisal of Southwell and marks the beginning of the interest in his work which continues to grow. Thurston's work is echoed in the treatment of Southwell's poetry in Devlin's biography.

The greatest work on Southwell was done by the French scholar, Pierre Janelle, who explored his work in relation to the background of the Jesuit studies and literary theories of his time.¹ This proved most valuable, particularly in understanding Southwell's views on the correct use of poetry and his sometimes over-strained use of conceits. If I do not now give a summary of Thurston's and Janelle's criticisms, it is because they are basic to any study of Southwell and I shall be referring to them again during the course of this study.

The survey of Southwell criticism emphasises that he is now recognized as the major religious poet of the Elizabethan age. In this study I am chiefly concerned with Southwell's own treatment of the theme of repentance - a major one in his work - and with his influence upon lesser poets, who attempted to copy the style or the subjects he had made popular. Any consideration of his

1. Robert Southwell the Writer: A Study in Religious Inspiration, Clermont-Ferrand, 1935.

style is therefore bound up with the imitation of it by less gifted men.

Southwell was in many ways an innovator. His preface reveals his consciousness of that. It has the same note of challenge as the Preface to Lyrical Ballads two centuries later, though the aims of the poets are in sharp contrast. One of Southwell's greatest gifts to later poets was the introduction into English verse of a new "patterne of repentance". Saint Peter had made his appearance in sixteenth century literature before the publication of Southwell's poem, but it had been very perfunctory. Byrd's Psalms, Sonnets and Songs of Sadness and Piety, published in 1588 included an anonymous poem "If that a sinner's sighs be angels' food" in which the repentant sinner compares himself with the Apostle:

That went with Peter forth most sinfully;
But not with Peter wept most bitterly."

He maintains that he has even more cause to weep than he because:

I see
My sin, to greater heap than Peter's grow,
Whereby the danger more it is to me.¹

This is but a mention and we find no full treatment of the denial before Southwell's. It is interesting to note

1. Reprinted in E. Arber, English Garner, 1879, Vol.2, p.88.

that Southwell and Byrd met about this time, when the Jesuit had to flee from London and took refuge at a country house in Buckinghamshire, where Byrd was also a guest.¹ Unlike the other famous New Testament penitent, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Peter had not been a favourite with mediaeval writers. The life of the Magdalen was a suitable subject for allegory and for discussion of the contemplative life. St. Peter's story, by contrast, was that of a normal, impetuous man, who in a moment of cowardly panic denied his master. If this very ordinary quality in St. Peter failed to stir the Middle Ages, it was most probably what attracted Southwell and later poets. Here, if anywhere, was every man, every sinner.

In theological treatises, as we saw in Chapter II, St. Peter is a prominent example of evangelical, or true, repentance. In the same way, he features in sermons such as Arthur Dent's popular A Sermon on Repentance, where his ready recognition of his sin at the sign of the cock's crowing and his tears for it are praised:

Likewise S. Peter though infirmitie hauing denied his Lord and Master Christ, & being pinched of his own conscience, and wakened with the alarme of a poore Cockes crowing, went out of the court

1. See Devlin, Chapter 8, p.115.

of Pilate, with a heauy heart, wepping bitterly,
and euer after stoutly professing Christ, euen
vnto death.¹

Other preachers, such as the unknown minister who preached
"before the queenes most excellent Maiestie" in 1585,
devoted the whole sermon to St. Peter. In this one,
Peters Fall. A Godlie Sermon, the preacher stressed in
the title which it was given in its printed form that the
Apostle was to be an example to all his readers:

In which Sermon we haue to consider of these
three Circumstances. First of the person,
secondly of the euill wherein he fell, and
thirdly of the occasion. Wherein euery faithfull
Christian may see before his eyes, the patterne
of vnfeyned repentance. Whereby we may take
heede of the falling into sinne againe.

He uses St. Peter as an anatomical specimen of repentance
rather than penetrating into the person who animated the
bones. We are to learn from his analysis of sin and
repentance as exemplified in St. Peter, but not to submerge
ourselves in his situation. It was left to a much later
preacher to put words into the Apostle's mouth and to try
to convey by this means his thoughts after his denial.
The monologue is given in very simple terms:

1. 1615 edition, p. 6 . The first edition of this sermon
was in 1582. There were twenty further editions, the
last being in 1638.

I a rebellious sinner to deny him that framed me, and by his truth redeemed me: and was I so wicked, if all the world were offenders yet I would not be offended; yea, I was ready to lay down my life for Christ my Lord....

and his sorrowful words owe much to the Penitential Psalms: "Troubles have compassed me round about; my heart is vexed and troubled, my sins are always before mine eyes..."¹

Such treatment is very far behind Southwell's in Saint Peters Complaynt, which aroused such a great response among the poets, Catholic and Protestant alike, that St. Peter, for the next fifteen years became a very popular figure in religious verse.

Southwell's stay in Italy when he was Prefect of Studies at the Roman College from 1578-1586 introduced him to contemporary Italian poetry and he in turn brought into English religious verse the gorgeous baroque colouring and heightened sentiment which were watered down in the imitations of his contemporaries but which reached their full and final strength in the poetry of a fellow Catholic, Richard Crashaw. A recent critic of the Italian influence on Renaissance verse in England, A. Lytton Sells, points out that:

Except for the works of Robert Southwell - and this exception is all important, as it affected

1. This sermon, A Godly Sermon of Peters Repentance, 1663, is ascribed by the B.M. Catalogue to John Hart, but I am unable to trace it in either STC or Wing. Quotations are from sig. (A4v).

the greatest of the religious poets - it (religious poetry) does not seem to have been directly inspired by Italian models.¹

The Magdalen theme had been popular throughout Europe in the Middle Ages and the impetus given to it by Southwell's treatment owed at least partial inspiration to Italian models but probably an equal amount to its centuries-old tradition. The Passion narratives and poems on the sorrows of the Virgin are equally the product of the flowering of the fine lyrics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries on the subject and the Latin divine epic. The translations of the Penitential Psalms and the religious sonnets were influenced more by French developments from Italian than directly by Italian models. It is only in the treatment of St. Peter that a direct Italian influence can be traced. After Southwell's Saint Peters Complaynt, St. Peter's story became an obvious subject for a long poem on repentance, rather than a mere point of reference derived from the theologians. It is no exaggeration to say that Southwell introduced St. Peter into English religious verse and all subsequent treatment, as we shall see, owed something to him.

1. The Italian Influence in English Poetry, 1955, p. 307.

Southwell's treatment of his Italian source was closely examined by Professor Mario Praz in 1924 in an article which remains the standard criticism of the subject.¹ It had been recognized for some years and particularly noted by Thurston in one of his articles in the Month² that Southwell's long poem was somehow derived from Le Lagrime di San Pietro by Luigi Tanzillo, but Thurston was puzzled by the differences in the treatment of details in the two poems. Tanzillo wrote Le Lagrime as something of a recantation of his earlier licentious verse. It was extremely popular and is known to have been circulated in manuscript as early as August 1559 and a fragment of it was first printed in 1560 at Venice under the name of Cardinal de' Pucci. It was subsequently reprinted under the name of the real author in six anthologies published between 1571 and 1582. The first complete edition containing 910 stanzas divided into fifteen "canti" was issued in 1585. In later editions up to 1606 the poems were divided into thirteen "Pianti" and ^{were} ~~was~~ published with Emilio Valvasone's Le Lagrime de la Maddelena. The standard edition of it is that of Tommaso

1. "Robert Southwell's 'Saint Peter's Complaint' and its Italian source," Modern Language Review, Vol. XIX, 1924, p.273.

2. Month, Vol. cvi, 1905, pp.318-321.

Costo of 1606 which comes nearer, in Professor Praz's opinion, than any other to Tanzillo's original manuscript.

Southwell's poem exists in four different versions which seem to indicate the stages between direct translation and the final published form. The earliest treatment, headed "The Peeter Playnt" is found only in Stonyhurst Manuscript A.V.4 in three and a half pages in Southwell's autograph. There are many omissions and alterations and while it begins as poetry, in rough alternately rhyming lines, it tails off into prose just before the third page. It is a narrative account of St. Peter's thoughts after his denial but given in the third person, except for Christ's words which are given in direct speech. A comparison with Tanzillo's poem showed Professor Praz that Southwell was translating very closely from the 1560 fragment and not from the complete version.

Two other versions of the "Complaynt" exist in manuscript and are listed in McDonald's bibliography. Only one of these was known to Professor Praz and appears to represent the penultimate stage of the poem's growth. The other is found only in a manuscript in the collection of Sir Leicester Harmsworth, to which Fr. MacDonald had

access. This manuscript is bound up with a copy of the Wolfe edition of Saint Peters Complaynt and the compiler seems to have taken great care to correct the faults of that edition and to supplement it by other poems of which he must have had a manuscript copy. There are in fact more poems in it than are found together elsewhere and, in McDonald's view, this manuscript is one with particular authority, some of the poems "representing Fr. Southwell's recasting of earlier efforts". Among these he counts the short form of the "Complaynt" unknown to Professor Praz which he sees as a recasting of the third short version. The poem in the Harmsworth Manuscript is in quatrains, while the other short version, found also in three other manuscripts, namely Stonyhurst MS.A.V. 27, B.M. Additional MS 10422 and B.M. Harleian 6921, is in six-line stanzas similar to the printed version. In view of the use of a rough quatrain form in the earliest draft in such lines as:

The champion stout which did with othe auowe
Amyds a thousand pyckes and bloody blades
At his deare masters syde to yeld the ghost
Percyuyng that he conquered of two mades l

1. McDonald, Appendix B, p.144.

it seems more likely that the quatrain form is earlier than the sixline stanza version.

A change has taken place even as early as this. Already Southwell has ceased to follow his Italian original closely and is now writing his own poem inspired by it. The most significant alteration is that St. Peter speaks in the first person and the tone is lyrical, not heavily narrative. The first step towards the portrayal of agonized sinful disciple has been taken and it is a long stride. The poem begins with two anguished questions from the Apostle and, in the play upon the word "life" which Southwell could never resist, involves the reader in the situation at once:

How can I live that have forsaken life,
And dasht with dreade denied my sovereigne Lord?
What can I loke for but debate and strife,
Who to forswear the truthe could oathe affoord?¹

St. Peter contemplates to the full his overthrow through the agency of the maid's questioning and describes it in terms of a battle, in which he, the boasting champion, sustained defeat. He then turns to Christ and links himself to the Jews and to Judas and all who hurt Christ.

1. McDonald, Appendix A, p.141.

What beast, he asks, could have done a worse thing to Him?

A great advance, as can be seen, has been made on the rough translation. St. Peter himself now speaks to us, his tortured mind, as yet bereft of any hope of forgiveness, concentrating only on himself and Christ, the hurter and the hurt, and contorting itself painfully in order to view those two figures from all possible angles. In the next version, found in three other manuscripts in addition to the Harmsworth one, and known to Professor Praz, a further change has taken place. The poem is now written in six-line stanzas and while it is based upon the same thoughts as the shorter version, it amplifies them, rendering them in a much more complex and paradoxical manner, though it is still not as elaborate as the printed version. The stanzas of this version become in the complete published poem stanzas 10, 11, 28, 29, 14, 17, 30, 21, 22, 20, 23 and 131. It will thus be seen that this twelve-stanza version ends on a note of prayer, a humble hope of forgiveness which Southwell retains in the full version but which was lacking in the earlier forms:

Wth mercye Iesu measure my offence
 Lett deepe remorse thy due revenge abate
 Lett teares appeace when trespass doth incense
 Lett myldnes temper thy deserued hate
 Lett grace forgive lett love forgett my fall
 with feare I crave wth hope I humbly call.

A consideration of this version made Professor Praz certain that Southwell knew more of Tanzillo's poem than the fragment which he translated so closely. He found that Southwell appeared to have been inspired by at least seven of Tanzillo's Canti, I-IV, IX-X and XV. The Lacrime was a well-known poem at the time Southwell was in Rome and he must have known it in its longer version. Professor Praz argues that he knew the 1585 edition only as the later editions show alterations and recasts, whereas Southwell knew the corresponding passages in their earlier form. His article concludes with a general comparison between the two poets and their treatment of their subject:

(Tanzillo's poem) is a failure both from the religious and from the artistic point of view, But Southwell's Complaint, notwithstanding all its defects, leaves an impression of earnest religion and, in many places, of high lyrical inspiration.

The major alteration which Southwell made as to write his poem entirely in the first person. Tanzillo wrote his as a narrative. St. Peter, after his denial, which is told in detail, wanders disconsolately round the familiar places where he once went with Christ and in a series of monologues contrasts his state in those happier times with his present self-inflicted misery. Southwell

preserved the unities. His St. Peter remembers former incidents in his life with Christ but he does not visit the places concerned. Southwell ignored the narrative sections of the Italian poem and all the places where Tanzillo's influence can be traced are to be found in the monologue sections. He thus brings us very close to St. Peter, so close in fact that in the concluding stanzas, poet and subject seem to be absorbed into each other and St. Peter becomes Southwell, or every sinner, praying for forgiveness.

The progression of the poem up to this hope of final forgiveness is very slow and dignified, hampered by the weight of elaborate embroidery which Southwell throws around the bare outline of the Gospel narrative. A speedy progression was not his intention. His aim was lyrical rather than narrative and he is more interested in the working of the Apostle's mind than in the things which happen to him. The reader is expected to be familiar with the whole of St. Peter's story up to the denial, as any reader of those days would be, and to be therefore able to enter into his thoughts, which are more important than the events which produced them. His St. Peter finds

enough cause for lamentation in recalling his past life without having any prophetic foreknowledge of what is to be the end of it.

Lyrical emotion is difficult to sustain for so many stanzas - "Saint Peters Complaynt" has one hundred and thirty-two stanzas - and the subsequent disjointedness has caused some critics to regard Southwell's longest poem as his greatest failure. The chief and most virulent critic, as we have seen, was James Russell Lowell, who did not mince his words about the "maudlin repentance" dragged out to such a length.

Accusations of long-windedness and over-elaboration of religious topics are chiefly justified by Southwell's inability to resist a conceit, which may be said to have constituted for him "the fatal Cleopatra" which a pun was to a greater poet. This causes the stanzas to stand out like separate highly-polished jewels and the chain which makes them into a necklace is frequently so fine as to be wellnigh invisible. A close examination shows, however, that it does exist and that the whole poem has a definite structure, certain stanzas in particular being very firmly grouped together.

The general structure is, of course provided by St. Peter himself and by the memories of his former life which aid his penitential thoughts. These divide into two strands: there are the events which occurred some time ago in his past life with Christ, and there are the events which happened a shorter time ago and which led directly to the great sin of his denial. He remembers his boastings at the Last Supper, his sleep during the Agony in the Garden and his impetuous gesture at Christ's capture. He also remembers other events of the past, his walking on the waves and the Transfiguration and he contrasts his attitude with that of the blind beggar, who loved Christ and was faithful to Him, having received only one benefit:

The borne-blind begger, for receiued sight,
Fast in his faith and loue, to Christ remain'd,
He stouped to no feare, he fear'd no might:
No change his choice: no threats his truth distain'd
One wonder wrought him in his dutie sure:
I, after thousands did my Lord abiure.¹

Each of these events in his life now seems to his tortured mind to have an allegorical significance. He was not hurt when he attacked Malchus in the Garden because

I was reseru'd both halfes at once to spill.²

The waves on which he walked were like his "staggering minde" and his fear then was excusable, now it is not:

1. P. 4.

2. P. 7.

Stout feete might falter on that liquid floare,
 But here, no seas, no blastes, no billowes were,
 A pufte of womans winde bred all my feare.¹

At the Transfiguration, he wished to build three temples:

And now, my mouth hath thrise his name defil'd,
 That cry'd so loud three dwellings there to build.²

and he interprets in a similar way the fact that he fell
 asleep in the Garden three times

Presage, how him my tongure should thrise deny.³

The events which led up to his denial are
 examined with even greater penetration. The woman who
 let him into the hall becomes the "portresse of the doore
 of my disgrace", while Johm who led him there is now seen
 as his "guide into this earthly hell" where Peter was so
 soon to prove himself "a fiend among the diuels".⁴ The
 cold weather finds a corresponding chill in the hearts
 there "benum'd with hellish frost" while the fire by which
 Peter stood is at once suggestive of hell, a contrast to
 the cold of his own heart and warmth bought at too high a
 price:

1. P. 7.

2. P. 8.

3. P. 9.

4. P.10.

O hatefull fire (ah that I euer saw it)
 Too hard my hart was frozen for thy force,
 Farre hotter flames it did require to thawe it,
 Thy hell resembling heate did freeze it worse.
 O that I rather had congeal'd to yse:
 Then bought thy warm'th at such a damning price.¹

The cock is apostrophied^s in the same way as the sign by which Peter's sin was revealed to himself:

the daylie clocke to strike the time,
 When stinted eyes shall pay their taske of teares
 and the "iust rebuker of my crime."

Well might a cocke correct me with a crow:²
 Whom hennish cackling first did ouer-throw.²

These two strands of past time by which St. Peter links his meditations together are reinforced near the conclusion of the poem by two strands of future time. First of all the sinful disciple imagines his future standing with various people who were close to Christ. The Virgin will not see his sorrow when he confesses his sin for his countenance cannot reveal grief's full depth and she cannot love what her Son must hate. No more dare he go to Bethany, for he would "infest that sanctified ayre".³ Lazarus would seem to him now "a messenger from hell:

1. P.11.

2. P.12.

3. P.25.

That my prepared torments comes to tell".

To James and John he must be a rotten twist in that "triple corde

Of three most louing and best loued friends."¹

The devils whom he cast out in Christ's Name now return to him in triumph over him.

With this thought he turns again to the present time and describes the effects of sins, the "circkling griefes"² from which there is no escape. The only relief he can find is in the "iuiice ... of Iesse flower"³ but the memory of the forgiveness of Old Testament sinners brings him to his knees in a final ardent prayer for mercy and a look into the future which dares tremblingly and timorously to glimpse forgiveness and a fresh start:

Upon this fine chain is strung a series of meditations suggested by the event which St. Peter is recalling and its relevance to his present state of mind. Awareness of this made Grosart concede that the poem was "rather a succession of separate studies ... than a single rounded poem." Close examination of the poem, however, reveals that, while this is basically true, the meditations

1. P.26.

2. P.29.

3. P.30.

follow each other very naturally in the sequence of thought of accepted analyses of repentance. The chain may be fine but the pearls are carefully graded.

The poem begins with a lengthy conceit in which the soul of the sinful disciple is seen as a ship launching out "into a maine of teares". Tears and grief can be the only remedy for his sin and he exhorts himself to "Baptize thy spotted soule in weeping dewe". He begs all to weep with him for "Of euery teare my crime exacteth tole".¹ So far we have not been told what has caused this great need of tears but a hint is given in the eleventh stanza where St. Peter remembers his former boastings and contrasts his ingratitude with the love of the "borne-blind begger". Upon this memory hang two meditations. The first is on life and death, eternal life and eternal death, which gives rise to a word-play, with which Southwell was fascinated and which he continually used:

Die, die, disloyall wretch, thy life detest:
For sauing thine, thou hast forsworne the best.²

The second arises from this, from the realization of the way in which he has undervalued Christ's life. He analyses

1. P. 3.

2. P. 4.

the reward he has given Christ, his Master, for all His teaching. He, the stream, has polluted Christ, the sea. He has rendered Him a poor harvest for the seed He had sown. He has not borne witness to the meaning of his two names. Above all, he has added to Christ's torments and his tongue has injured Him, "launst him deeper than a thousand swordes."¹

Memories of the walk on the waves and the capture in the Garden emphasise the misery of his state of mind and further memories of the Transfiguration and the Agony in the Garden intensify his sense of sin. He bitterly rebukes himself for his cowardice and as he at last admits the principal cause of his sin, he no longer shies away from recalling the occasion of it. He begins to probe it carefully and to torture himself by examining each detail. This leads him to meditate on several topics, the ease with which opportunities for evil arise and the temptations of bad examples. The cock reminds him how God uses small things to correct great faults and he remembers Goliath's fate and Pharoah driven to despair by a swarm of gnats. Above all, he finds bitter food for his grief in the realization that he has joined the ranks of those men who

1. P. 6.

were led to sin by women and the favourite mediaeval diatribes against women come easily to the Jesuit poet.

The climax of the poem is reached as he remembers the look with which Christ turned to him after the denial. In a long, and at times, almost hysterical meditation on the eyes of Christ, he prays once more for tears. The central core of his grief has been recognized, his alienation from Christ because of his sin. No shame can conceal it, and he can find no consolation in comparing himself with Old Testament sinners. Even Cain was better than he for he

kild a riually with pretence of good,
In hope Gods doubled loue alone to haue¹

and Absalom's "foule faults" in comparison "are brightest sands, to mud of Sodome lakes." He begs for the tears of famous Biblical weepers, for Agar's because "wretch I feele more then was feard of thee" and for those of the mothers of the Holy Innocents whom "A happy storme did free from feare of sinne."² He contrasts his state with those "infant Saints" and also with the young man in the Garden who dropped his robe and fled:

1. P.23.

2. P.24.

Once naked grace no outward garment knew,
 Rich are his robes whom sinne did neuer stryp,
 I that in vaunts displaid prides fayrest flags,
 Disrob'd of grace, am wrapt in Adams rags. 1

Donne, another poet who was oppressed by a sense of sin, perhaps remembered that powerful image when he wrote his "Hymn to God, his God, in his last sickness."

The memory of the young man running naked down the Garden brings St. Peter back to a consideration of Christ's capture and trial and he imagines how the friends of Christ will react to the news of his denial. He imagines too that the "dispossessed devils" now leap into his soul and "Triumph to see mee caged within theyr mew,"² He hears their mocking words:

Our rock (say they) is riuen, o welcome hower,
 Our Eagles wings are clypt that wrought so hie:
 Our thundering Cloude made noise but cast no shower,
 He prostrat^elyes that would haue scal'd the sky;
 In womans tongue our runner found a rub,
 Our Cedar now is shrunke into a shrub.

The contrast of this hellish state with the glimpse of Heaven he had at the Transfiguration is forced upon him and he mourns that the temple of Christ which was within him is now shattered by sin. At last he sees sin for what it really is and he tries to describe its effect upon his

1. P.25.

2. P.26.

soul in a series of vivid images. Sin sends griefs and pains ever circling round the body. It makes him an apprentice bound to "trade sorrowes ware"¹ in his soul which is the "shop of shame" and shows him how close at hand his goods are

I wealtheiest am when richest in remorse;
To fetch my ware no seas nor lands I range.²

He describes how he goes to sorrow's house and there applies for admittance and how he is put into the jail there and sleep deserts him.

He is now so sunk in sorrow for his sins that his state can only be compared to a body ready for burial:

A selfe contempt, the shroud: my soule, the corse:
The beere, an humble hope : the herse cloth, feare:
The mourners, thoughts, in blacks of deepe remorse:
The herse, grace, pittie, loue, and mercy beare.
My teares, my dole: the priest, a zealous will:
Penance, the tombe: and dolefull sighes, the knill.³

From the depths of his contrition he looks up to Christ and sees Him clearly:

Christ, health of feuer'd soule, heauen of the mind,
Force of the feeble, nurse of Infant loues,
Guide to the wandring foote, light of the blind,
Whom weeping winnes, repentant sorrow moues.

Glimpsing a faint hope of mercy he prays:

1. P.29.

2. P.30.

3. P.32.

Father in care, mother in tender hart:
 Reuiue and saue me slaine with sinfull dart.

The light of hope grows brighter as he recalls the forgiveness of an Old Testament sinner, Manasseh, who won grace with "plaints and teares." He makes the next step on the journey towards forgiveness by confessing a desire for amendment,

A poore desire I haue to mend my ill;
 I should, I would, I dare not say, I will.

All the outward signs of repentance are there, "Prone looke, crost armes bent knee, and contrite hart"¹ and like a beggar "at pitties gate I vlcered lye". By the time we reach the fervent prayer for mercy in the last two stanzas, it is true to say that we have forgotten it is St. Peter who has moved through all the stages of repentance and is kneeling there at Christ's feet. He has become every sinner, poet and reader alike:

With mildnesse, Iesu, measure my offence:
 Let true remorse thy due reuenge abate:
 Let teares appease when trespassed doth incense:
 Let pittie temper thy deserued hate.
 Let grace forgiue, let loue forget my fall:
 With feare I craue, with hope I humbly call.

Redeeme my lapse with raunsome of thy loue,
 Trauerse th'inditement, rigors doome suspend:
 Let frailtie fauour, sorrowes succour moue,
 Be thou thy selfe, though changling I offend.

1. P.33.

Tender my sute, clense this defiled denne,
 Cancell my debts, sweet Iesu, say Amen. ¹

This movement from the objective to the subjective, as Professor Martz has shown, is traditional in the treatises on meditative methods with which Southwell would be familiar and is particularly well-illustrated in Puente's treatise.

The careful analysis of the progress of repentance in the soul of a sinner up to the final prayer for mercy in which we are persuaded to identify ourselves, made a powerful impact upon Southwell's contemporaries. As we have seen, the examination, or "anatomy" of a penitent soul, its psychological workings in fact, was a subject of great interest to the Elizabethans who crowded to hear the sermons of Henry Smith, Richard Greenham, William Perkins or Arthur Dent. It was Southwell who first put poetry to the same use and by holding up a mirror in which a notable sinner revealed himself impressed the need for repentance even more forcibly upon his contemporaries. All the long poems which follow his, even though they may, like The Penitent Publican or The lost sheepe have been written by Protestants, and even though the debt was never openly acknowledged yet owe much in their general structure to Southwell's poem.

1. pp. 33-4.

It was he who first treated poetically the subject of repentance as the theological treatises had been treating it for some time.

Lily B. Campbell would place Saint Peters Complaynt and all the other long religious poems which followed it, in which a sinner tells of his sin and his progress towards repentance, among the progeny of the Mirror for Magistrates. Certain differences must be noted. In none of the poems under consideration does the sinner appear as a ghost to the poet, and in some a narrative technique is employed and the first person is not used at all. The appearance of the sinner is not described though his actions are particularly stressed, for the correct penitential attitude is of artistic as well as of theological importance. The emphasis in these poems in every case is not on the sin which has been committed but on the effects which it has had in the soul of the sinner. The sinner is not telling us to beware of sin by his example but urging us to follow in the steps of his penitence and in the best poems we are so close behind that at the end we step into his place and make his prayers ours. The popularity of the Mirror for Magistrates helped to build the popularity of the penitential "complaint", for Southwell was undoubtedly

using the habit readers had formed of looking for instruction in such monologues. He was supplying for the political instruction intended for the ruling few, instruction in penitence intended for all.

Professor Campbell has noted that ghostly lamentations of the Mirror type were very popular in the last decade of the sixteenth century, among them being Daniel's Complaint of Rosamund, Anthony Chute's Bewtie Dishonoured and Drayton's Piers Gaveston, while Churchyard republished in 1593 the parts he had written thirty years previously for The Mirror for Magistrates.

In defining their poems, the religious poets find such words as "mirror" and "pattern" continually to hand. Southwell makes St. Peter in his fifth stanza call himself "the mirror of mishap." Collins intended his Penitent Publican to be "a patterne of true penitence".¹ Joseph Sweetnam, another Jesuit poet, found St. Mary Magdalen a "Rare Patterne of Pennance and most worthy Myrrour of Repentance." The writers on the Crucifixion held similar views. The popular preacher, Richard Greenham, maintained that the Passion was "the perfect anatomie of an afflicted

1. "To the Right Honourable, Grave, Vertuous, and Religious Lady, the Lady Katherine Hastings," (A3v).

conscience" and John Davies of Hereford subtitled his long poem on the subject, Christs Crosse: Containing Christ Crucified, described in Speaking-picture. The long religious poems are rather the product of the reading-habit formed by The Mirror for Magistrates than its direct offspring. Southwell does not state in his crusading preface that he has come to overthrow historical poems of the Mirror type but undoubtedly by their popularity cannot have escaped his notice and Saint Peters Complaynt started a fashion for long poems in which the chosen "mirror" illustrated the process of repentance.

The popularity of The Mirror for Magistrates is seen both by the number of editions it passed through forty years after its first and by the adaptations of its theme which were produced at the end of the sixteenth century. One of the most important of the latter was The Mirrour of Mutabilitie by Anthony Munday, published in 1579. Munday discards the usual technique of introducing a ghost to tell his woeful tale and simply prefaces each story by a prose description of the character. The book is in two parts, the first links its seven tragedies with the seven deadly sins, while the second deals solely with Biblical characters. Munday uses throughout the six-line stanza which Southwell

uses for Saint Peters Complaynt and which was to become the standard one for religious poems after 1595. Whether Southwell took it from this "Mirror", or from Breton, who was particularly fond of it, using it in his Toyes of an Idle Head (1582) and his Bower of Delights (1591) is not a matter of great importance. The pentameter sestet was a common metre for long poems, particularly narrative poems. The purist might heed Puttenham's advice and use rhyme-royal for dignified subjects, as the authors of The Mirror for Magistrates usually did, but the Saint Peters Complaynt stanza was a common one and was used by Shakespeare in Venus and Adonis. Some poets, notably the Protestant ones such as Lever, Collins and Ellis, preferred to write in rhyme-royal, as if disclaiming any influence from the greater Catholic poet. In general, however, it may be said that the poets who followed Southwell in writing religious verse and who had no theological allegiance to stress, followed him in his use of stanza as well so that Saint Peters Complaynt stanzas became the customary verse-form for religious topics during the following decade.

It is possible that Southwell took for his own use a popular verse-form and that in the same way he took a popular title. It will be remembered that the Italian

poem from which Southwell derived his inspiration was entitled Le Lacrime di San Pietro and a similar tearful note was preserved in the French versions of it, such as Malherbe's Les Larmes de S. Pierre (1587), and Robert Estienne's poem (1595) of the same title. Southwell did not translate the title as literally as they did - that was left to one of his imitators - but he took up a title which suggested the love-poetry which he intended to sweep away and used one of its titles, as he was to use some of its conventions and its language in this and other poems, for a completely different purpose, a religious one. Breton, among others, published in two of his early volumes of amorous poetry, a "Complaint of Cupid" and a "Complaint of a Forsaken Louer".¹ The title is another instance of Southwell's adaptation which set a fashion and religious poems after 1595 were commonly published under the title of a "Complaint" or a "Lamentation" or simply as "Tears". It is doubtful whether such poems as "Marie Magdalens Lamentations for the Losse of her Maister Iesus, The Lamentation of The lost sheepe, Adams Complaynt or The Teares of a Sorrowfull Soule would have been written if

1. Arbor of Amorous Demises, 1597.

Southwell had not first written his long poem. It is even more doubtful that they would have been given such titles if they had. "The literature of tears", as it is called by critics, which grew up on the Continent as a result of the Counter-Reformation, was introduced to England by the Jesuit missionary and found there, particularly in religious verse, a congenial home for the next fifteen or twenty years.

The exact date when Southwell wrote Saint Peters Complaynt is not known. The dating of all Southwell's verse is a very conjectural matter. The only known facts are that he wrote nothing in prison, contrary to the romantic picture painted by Grosart as documents of his arrest tell us that he was not allowed pen and ink. It seems obvious from the lay-out of Saint Peters Complaynt and Moeoniae as well as from the preface of the former that he had prepared his poems for the printer with care. Devlin suggests that he may have written most of them during his early years in England when he was chaplain to the Countess of Arundel living in comparative security in Arundel House in the Strand and able to go on journeys to the Catholic houses throughout England as he did in the winter of 1588. Certainly he wrote nothing after his arrest in 1592. It is clear from the use

he made of Tanzillo's poem, as demonstrated in Professor Praz's article, that he knew the 1585 edition. The rough drafts may have been started before he came to England and the finished version completed in the quieter periods of his life at Arundel House. Conjecturally, "Saint Peters Complaynt" can be dated 1588-1592 and, while it seems probable that it was known and admired by some few readers almost as soon as it was written, (the copying of Catholic verse was a great comfort to the recusants), for the purposes of this study, the date of its first publication is regarded as marking the beginning of its influence upon religious verse.

The minor stylistic details which the religious poets found worthy of imitation must now be considered. The conceits with which Southwell embroidered his theme impressed them by their ingenuity and their ease. The ingenuity could be copied, the ease was more elusive, The Holy Roode by John Davies of Hereford is the prime illustration of the strain a lesser versifier experienced when he took "Saint Peters Complaynt" as his model.

One notable feature of Southwell's use of the conceit is his fondness for clustering several together in

Ah life, the maze of countlesse straying waies,
 Open to erring steps, and strow'd with baits,
 To winde weake sences into endlesse strays,
 A loofe from vertues rough vnbeaten straights;
 A flower, a play, a blast, a shade, a dreame,
 A liuing death, a neuer turning streame.¹

The frequent use of such meditations clogs the movement of the poem and has caused critics to regard "Saint Peters Complaynt" as an uneven, unwieldy, static poem. While it must be admitted the poets of the next generation who took this device from Southwell were wiser in making such strings of conceits into complete short poems, as Herbert and Vaughan did in "Prayer" and "Sundays", their dramatic appropriateness in the long poem should not be overlooked. The stanzas quoted above, for example, occur at the point where St. Peter is reflecting on the power the fear of death has had on his words and actions. A better example of this dramatic use of the "definition" stanza comes near the end of the poem, where the grief-stricken disciple reviews the benefits of sleep and then, like Clarence, paints the contrasting anguish of his own nights:

Sleepe, deaths allye, obliuion of teares,
 Silence of passions, balme of angry sore,
 Suspense of loues, securitie of feares,
 Wrathes lenitiue, harts ease, stormes calmest shore,
 Sences and soules repriuall from all cumbes,
 Benumbing sence of ill, with quiet slumbers.

1. Pp. 4-5.

Not such my sleepe, but whisperer of dreames,
 Creating strange chymeraes, fayning frights:
 Of day discourses giuing fansie theames,
 To make dumme shewes with worlds of antick sights,
 Casting true griefes in fansies forging mold,
 Brokenly telling tales rightly fore-told.¹

Not every poet who imitated Southwell used his "definition" stanza so dramatically. Francis Sabie uses it in Adam's monologue in "Adams Complaint" when the father of mankind is searching for fit words to describe his fault.

O haplesse Adam (quoth he) vnkind father,
 Vnnaturall Parent, childrens fatall foe:
 From whence all mankind doe such curses gather:
 Author of death, first bringer in of woe
 No sooner fram'd of thine al-making God,
 Then purchasing his sin correcting rod.

Later in the poem, Sabie endeavours with less aptness to describe the transitory nature of life. In several striking phrases he conveys the danger and misery of this life where Southwell only suggested its beauty and pathos:

O wretched man! O life most transitorie!
 Deceiptfull world, foule sinke of filthy errors:
 Eye-pleasing shades of vaine delightfull glorie
 Deepe gulf of sinne, vast dungeon of terrors,
 Receptacle of wofull tribulations
 Grand treasure-house of all abominations.

O sea of sorrowes, laborinth of woes,
 Vale full of cares: abysses of imbecilitie:
 Thief-harbours house, field full of armed foes,
 Stil-turning orb, true map of mutability.
 Affording man as many false yl-willers,
 As woods have trees, as trees have Caterpillers.²

1. P.31.

2. (C3v).

John Bullokar in A true Description of our Sauours Passion
published as late as 1622 shows Southwell's influence in
his description of Judas:

Ah Iudas, sinke of sinne, and earthly shame,
 First lucklesse lambe that straid from Christs
 deare fold,
 Monster of mankind, vile reproach of fame;
 Sequestered from all grace, most impious bold:
 Blind reprobate (alas) what hast thou done,
 To buy hel fire with sale of Gods deere Sone?¹

This shows a partial development of the "definition" stanza, where the poet devotes only part of the stanza to a list of conceits and therefore does not detach it from the main line of his argument. A similar use is seen in Fletcher's Christes Bloudy Sweate, where Christ takes his disciples apart for the Last Supper:

When with the small remainder of his stocke,
A remnant of the worldes vn-numbered son's, (sic)
A little remnant, a poore simple flocke,
This pastour with those sheepe together run's...²

Bullokar has a more Southwellian use of the stanza in his description of Christ in His Agony:

There shalt thou see the way of patience,
The Sun-bright lampe of burning charitie,
The perfect patterne of obedience,
The mirrour of profound hūmility,
The root of loue, the goale of vertues race,
The salue of sinne, and fulnesse of Gods grace.³

1. (A~~0~~V)

2. P.6.

3. C.

Breton in The Passion of a Discontented Mind uses the stanza in his digressions from his main theme of repentance. A meditation on the insidious effects of bad habits is clinched by the following:

Ill working Vse, deuourer of all grace,
The fretting moath that wasteth soules' chiefe
 blisse,
The slie close thiefe that lurkes in every place,
Filching by peece-meale till the whole be his...l

Like Southwell, who devoted four stanzas to the attempt,²
Breton tries to define sin:

O sinne, first parent of mans euer woe,
The distance large that seuers hell and heauen;
Senses confounder, soules chiefe ouerthrow,
Grafted by men, not by the grafter giuen
Consuming canker, wasting soules chiefe treasure;
Only to gaine a little trifling pleasure.

The most famous stanzas in Southwell's poem are those on Christ's eyes: "the Lord turned and looked upon Peter." The poet strives to excel each previous stanza in revealing the love, wisdom and beauty of the eyes and their effect on the cowardly disciple. If at times the result of the attempt is bathos, "The matchles eyes, match'd onely each by other"³ or the distastefulness of over-elaboration of the imagery of the Song of Songs:

1. A3.

2. $\mathbf{E} \cdot (\neg \mathbf{E} \mathbf{V}) \cdot (\mathbf{B} \mathbf{V})$

3. P.16.

O turtle twins all bath'd in virgins milke,
Vpon the margin of full flowing bankes:
Whose gracefull plume surmounts the finest silke,
Whose sight enamoreth heauens most happie rankes,
Could I forswear this heauenly paire of doues,
That cag'd in care for me were growing loues,¹

the ingenuity pleased his generation. Christ's eyes become in turn treasure-caskets, comets, mirrors, pools, suns, spheres, little worlds, cisterns and turtle-doves, while they speak to Peter of infinite value, wisdom and refreshment and cause him to feel keenly a sense of exile. The beauty of some of the stanzas was plain to any reader but not an easy model for the versifier:

O Pooles of Hesebon, the bathes of grace,
Where happy spirits diue in sweet desires:
Where Saints reioyce to glasse theyr glorious face,
Whose banks make Eccho to the Angels quires;
An Eccho sweeter in the sole rebound,
Then Angels musick in the fullest sound.²

John Davies of Hereford emphasizes the look Christ gave Peter in his account of the Passion but stresses particularly, not its beauty, but its effect on Peter:

Those glitt'ring Sunnes (his bright transpiercing
eies)
On Peters eies, as on two Fountaines, shine;
By whose attractive vertue Drops arise,
Then downe distill in showres of Angels wine...³

1. P.19.

2. P.17.

3. The Holy Roode, (B4v).

Christopher Lever glances disparagingly at Southwell in the opening lines of A Crucifixe:

There is a griefe, which farre exceeds the skill
Of many learned spirits to define:

but remembers him when he meditates on Christ's eyes. Like Davies he is more concerned with their effect on the beholder, in this case, himself, than with their beauty. The metaphor of the stars is a conventional one but is here used with emphasis on its scientific properties rather than its physical appearance:

His holy Eyes (O sacred lamps of light!)
The bisie searchers of all mens distresse:
Whose seeing is not letted by the night,
In naked formes they all things can expresse;
They haue all knowledge, and all holinesse.
These Planets that are mouers in this Heauen,
Haue better Constellation then the Seauen.

(Lord Iesus) let thy holy Eyes reflect
Their influence vpon my earthen state:
Thy heauenly presence is a faire aspect;
There doth my soule delight to speculate.

Verstegan contrasts the beauty of Christ's face with the foulness of Peter's sin without emphasizing the eyes:

Foule face of myne, that that faire face beheld,
And could my so wel knowing it out face...¹

An interesting variant is found in Saint Peters Ten Teares where the disciple calls on Christ to look at his eyes and note their redress from weeping:

1. P.81.

See sweete Messias, see thy seruants eyes,
 Whom thou commandedst once to feed thy flock:
 So bleared with the stormes of teares that rise,
 and sighs which at my vexed conscience knock.¹

and gazes at the stars and thinks they are Christ's eyes -
 a reversal of normal procedure:

O glorious starres, me thinkes you are his eyes,
 That stained with pittie to behold my paine.²

Other features of Southwell's poetry became the
 stock-in-trade of any writer of verse on the theme of
 repentance, whether he was dealing mainly with St. Peter
 or not. One is the invitation to grief, tears or shame:

Come sorrowing teares the ofspring of my griefe,
 Scant not your parent of a needfull aide.³

and

Come share the liuery of offending mindes...⁴

This was copied by the anonymous poet of Saint Peters Ten
Teares:

Come hands the obseruers of my hearts complaining,
 knock at my melting bosome with your languish:⁵

and by Samuel Rowlands in his poem on St. Peter:

Come sharpest greefs imploy repentant eies,
 Taske them as bitter drops as ere were shed,
 Send teares to earth, and sighs vp to the skies,
 This instant houre a Soule and Sorrows wed,

1. (A4v).

2. (A4).

3. P.20.

4. P.22.

5. A3.

Sweet teares and sighs, at dolours deare
requests,
Come you & yours my harts right welcom gests.¹

The appeal to all tearful eyes to pay their toll to the penitent

All weeping eyes resigne your teares to me...²

was echoed by Breton in *The Passion of a Discontented Mind*:

If any eye therefore can spare a teare,
To fill the well-springs that must wet my cheekes,
O let that eye to this sad feast draw neare:
Refuse me not, my humble soule beseekes;
For all the teares mine eyes haue euer wept,
Were now too little, had they all bin kept³

and by Ellis in The Lamentation Of The lost Sheepe

Oh who wil giue me teares, that I may waile
Both nights and daies, the dangers I haue past?⁴

Southwell's conceit of the shipwrecked soul with which his long poem opens may be the source of the seafaring metaphors which sound through the religious verse of the time:

Launch foorth my Soule into a maine of teares,
Full fraught with grieve the traffick of thy mind:
Torne sayles will serue, thoughts rent with
guilty feares:
Giue care the sterne: vse sighes in lieu of wind:
Remorse, thy Pilot: thy misdeede, thy Carde? (sic)
Torment thy Hauen: Shipwracke, thy best reward.

1. (D ii,j).

2. P.3.

3. (A3v).

4. (F3v), 68.

The skilful use of it by "G.E." in "Adams Calamitie & misery" has already been noted in Chapter I:

Strike saile my Muse and launch not in so far
beare of aloofe & hold thy barke at baie...

The sea is stormy in the elaborate metaphors in Saint Peters Ten Teares:

See how my sorrow swimmeth aboue my teares,
in danger to be drencht in Sathans sea:
Blow foorth thy mercie for my spirit feares,
no word but thine can make these waues obey.
Lend me thy hand, as once thou thoughtst no scorne:
When Peter was in danger of a storme.

Looke ruthefull on the shipwrack of my heart,
Where not a tackling nor a string is left:
The Cabbins and the Mast, a sunder part,
and sorrow hath my haplesse Vessell cleft:
Conduct me to the Hauen of my rest,
where I may ease my ouerburthened brest.

This sea of mischiefe hath such Mermaids songs,
that ~~chaunt~~ it like the world to witch my minde:
And to my bottome such huge monsters throngs,
that seeme to my beholding so vnkinde
That I do feare some Whale will swallow me,
Like Jonas lot, because he fled from thee.¹

The soul is in an equally dangerous situation in The Penitent Publican:

Like to a mastlesse shippe vpon the Sea,
Tost too and fro, my force of forward windes:
That euery houre lookes to be cast away,
Yet lo (at length) she happie harbour findes...²

1. (Bv) - B2.

2. D3.

and in Saint Marie Magdalens Conversion:

Much like a crasie weather-beaten boate
 Who hauing all his sayles and tacklings loste,
 Amid the surges of the seas doth floate,
 And too and fro with euerie gust is toste:
 So waues my anxious soule mid'st stormy feares
 No harbor can shee finde no calme appeares.¹

It becomes more peaceful when used by Samuel Rowlands,
 whose penitent thief is "retyr'd from danger,

Vnto the harbour of a Christian rest,"²

and by Francis Sabie, whose Adam is cheered at the end by
 the promise "be most sure thou shalt arriue the port".

Voyages and victories at sea made nautical metaphors readily
 accessible to the Elizabethan poet but Southwell's arresting
 use of one in his first stanza gave them an added attraction
 for the writer of religious verse.

Other notable stanzas of "Saint Peters Complaynt"
 were remembered and adopted by others. One was the vivid
 picture of St. Peter knocking for admittance at sorrow's door:

At sorrowes dore I knockt, they crau'd my name;
 I answered one, vnworthy to be knowne;
 What one, say they? one worthiest of blame.
 But who? a wretch, not Gods, nor yet his owne.
 A man? O no, a beast; much worse, what creature;
 A rocke: how **cald**? the rocke of scandale, Peter.³

1. B2.

2. (E iijv).

3. P.30.

The skill in rendering fluent dialogue within his stanza's framework is equal to that of Pope in his use of conversation within the heroic couplet in "The Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot." The picture was altered by all his imitators from the allegorically daring one of the sinner at sorrow's door to the more conventional compassion's door or mercy's gate. It is so used by Simion Grahame in "The Sorrowfull Song of a Conuerted Sinner" in The Anatomy of Humours but with the connotation of sorrow:

I at compassions dore hath begg'd so long,
That I am hoarce, and yet can not be heard
Amids my woes, sad silence is my song,
From mirthlesse - me, all pleasure is debard

by Lever in A Crucifixe:

Do not thy mercy gate against me locke,
For I will euer at thy Mercy knocke ¹

and by "I.C." in Saint Marie Magdalens Conversion

But bankrout-like, thou hast mispent the stocke,
And now asham'd at mercies gate doest knocke ²

Verstegan remembers the scene which follows the disciple's admittance: he is locked in sorrow's jail where his grief is, rather surprisingly, given in one line:

1. P.9v.

2. B3.

In sorrowes iayle, thus captiue did I ly,
 And there lament, and there my case complaine,
 And there did pittie ouer-heare my cry,
 And did in my behalf accesse obtaine,
 To sue to him whome I deny'd to know,¹
 To let him know my grief for doing so.¹

In the stanza beginning "Loue is my debt", he is remembering Southwell's picture of St. Peter as a merchant trading sorrow's wares:

Thus gripes in all my parts do neuer fayle,
 Whose onely league is now in bartring paines,
 What I in grosse, they traffique by retayle,
 Making each others miseries theyr gaines;
 All bound for euer, prentizes to care,
 While I in shop of shame trade sorrowes ware.²

The anonymous author of Saint Peters Ten Teares recalls the "dispossessed devils" who returned to torment St. Peter are termed "vgly guests"³ by him. He expands this suggestion in "The sixth Teare" to a description of the state of the penitent and forgiven soul:

My table is thy holy Testament,
 my meate the sentence of saluation:
 Which sweete preserues, dispaire do quite preuent,
 and feede my soule with contemplation.
 He cannot surfet, that tasteth still on this,
 Nor be distempered with so sweete a dish.

My company at this my reuerend feast,
 are purged thoughts from all impuritie:
 My hall a place where sinne aboundeth least,
 amongst my guests is free immunitie,

1. P.81.

2. P.~~29~~.84 .

3. E.

My mirth is singing hymnes vnto that name
 All knees must bend at, when they heare the same.

Not only conceits but actual phrases were taken from "Saint Peters Complaynt" by other religious poets. Verstegan echoes, though much less forcibly, Southwell's favourite play on "life" and "death".

Deare loue, my dying soules restaurati~~on~~^{oe},
 Lyf of my lyf, which did me now restore,
 To lyvely strength, which I did lack before.

John Davies of Hereford echoes Peter's poem on his name ¹ and his sinful state, "Soule-wracking Rocke, (Faiths Rocke of ruine) Peter". Davies also repeats Southwells pun on 'women, woe to men', as does Sabie in "Adam's Complaint". Breton, in The Passion of a Discontented Mind uses the phrase "wretched caitiff" by which St. Peter refers to himself. Sin, to Breton and to "I.C." is a siren as it is to Southwell.

Other features of Southwell's verse which were assiduously copied, principally by the Catholic poets, Grahame, Davies and Verstegan, were his emphasis on Peter's downfall being caused by fear of "A Maidens easie breath"² and the notion of his tongue wounding Christ. Alliteration was a constant feature of Southwell's work.

Sad subiect of my sinne hath stoard my minde³ and

1. P.8

2. P.8

3. P.2

Fidelitie was flowne, when feare was hatched.¹
 Other religious poets who were prone to it include Grahame, Breton and Rowlands, Catholic and Protestant alike. The Protestant poets, in general, do not imitate Southwell's style so frequently. They are content with copying the general structure of the poem, its analysis of repentance and its personal emphasis, its stress on the need for tears and its descriptions of the outward signs of penitence.

It is, however, a Protestant poet who reveals the closest imitation of Southwell's style and content. It is not written on St. Peter and reveals many interesting variations on the conventions of verse on repentance² but its likenesses to Southwell's poem are very striking. Joseph Fletcher prefaces Christes Bloodie Sweat (1613) with an epistle, "To such as shall peruse this Booke," which echoes all the strictures on contemporary verse Southwell used twenty years before. Here, however, they lack the fervour of the missionary, though Fletcher, with a disarming parade of ignorance of his model, flatters himself that he is unique in his use of verse:

And I, to cleere (as I might) verse, from the
 soyle of this vnworthinesse, haue herein (at
 least) *proued*, that it may deliuer good matter,
 with fit harmonie of words, though I haue erred
 in the latter³.

1. D, 8.

2. See Chapter VII

3. In italics throughout

Later he complains again of the waste of poetic talent, "To paint the grosenes of vnlawfull loue"¹. It is, however, soon seen that he knew Southwell's poem well. The second page contains a description of the distressed soul which is directly inspired by the opening of "Saint Peters Complaynt"

My griefes, teares, sighes, y(e) rocke, seas,
windes vnfa'in'd
Whence shipwrackt soules, the land of safety
gayn'd.

In a later section he imitates the dialogue-stanza used so effectively by Southwell. Here it is more jerky. The wicked soul who has not known Christ approaches the gate of Heaven and is questioned by the angels "who as Porters guard the gate":

Here now the soule is baffaild whiles they chide,
What are ye? soules opprest: but whither presse ye?
Into the court of God here to abide,
What sicke? yes sicke: whom seeke ye to dresse ye?
Christ our physition: who sent ye to him?
Our faith: what faith? such faith as come to wo
him.

and so on for two more stanzas concluding with the soul's unsatisfactory answers to this interrogation and its banishment:

Hence soules away, ye are too late deluded, 2.
Thus are the wicked soules from heaven excluded.

Fletcher repeats Southwell's outcry against women and

the smiling gins
Wherewith they catch insnard men³

1. P.13.

2. P.38.

3. P.15

and his address to the reader in his preface, "Deare eye that daynest to let fall a looke,"¹

Deere eye what-soe're thou be that shall₂peruse,
The burthen of those lamentable lines?

He knew other poems in Saint Peters complaynt and echoes the title of one of them:

And ever as I liu'd, I died alive ³

Most significant of all is his rhapsody on the Bloody Sweat in which he strives to emulate Southwell's outstanding passage on the eyes of Christ. Here the comparisons are even more strained than in Southwell's worst stanzas. Christ's Sweat is like Jordan where Naaman washed, like Bethesda where the sick were cleansed, like Siloam where the blind were made to see. More extravagant flights follow and it is compared to infinite beauty, a song:

Come hither, heare is musicke in this sweate, ⁴
Words sung to God, spoke with a zeale so strong...

a banquet, glory, strength, refreshment after battle and bread. It would be difficult to find a more distasteful imitation of Southwell's most conceited style.

It remains to consider the poems which, under Southwell's influence, deal at length with St. Peter and his denial. John Davies of Hereford devotes a large passage to an account of this in The Holy Roode, disproportionately

1. (A3v) In italics

2. P.8.

3. P.3.

4. P.20.

large in view of the fact that he barely mentions Judas. He embroiders it with Southwellian conceits on Christ's eyes and the influence of women, as we have seen, but never enters into the disciples thoughts as Southwell did. Samuel Rowlands in his series of poems on the Passion has one on 'Peters teares at the Cockes crowing', which is in the form of a monologue by the disciple in the stanza of "Saint Peters Complaynt". The emphasis in this short poem is, as the title implies, on the need for tears to show true repentance and the rebuke which the crowing of the cock administered. It is thus unified and concerned entirely with Peter and his thoughts. Verstegan, with characteristic ebullience, calls his poem "Saint Peters Comfort" and probably intended it as a sequel to Southwell's. His short poem begins where Southwell's long one ends. St. Peter briefly recapitulates the situation. As soon as he left the hall, where Christ had gazed at him, he was seized by sorrow and put into her jail. Pity hears him and sues to Christ, Who, looking into St. Peter's heart, sees his true contrition, forgives him and returns to him the virtues and powers he possessed before. Grief, however, must still remain, scar of the wound and debt to the love, but St. Peter is now strengthened to perform his task for Christ. Here Verstegan the controversialist triumphs and inserts the one reference to Matthew 16.18, "upon this rock I will build

my church," we have in all the poems on the disciple:

Then in my mouth truthe must for euer liue,
And though I dy; succession wil supply,
Vndying truthe, vnto posteritie.

In this thought he finds comfort and in rendering praise
for it the poem ends.

The most interesting poem on the repentance of
St. Peter is Saint Peters Ten Teares published by William
Jones in 1597. It was reprinted five years later as
Saint Peters Tears with the original heading of each separate
poem as "The first Teare", etc., omitted but with no
variation in the text. The author of the poem has never
been ascertained. In the early days of Southwell scholarship
when any anonymous religious poem was suspected of being
his work, it was occasionally attributed to him. No other
candidate has stepped forward. Thurston found the poem
very reminiscent of Saint Peters complaynt.¹

Upon close examination it will be seen how
erroneous was the attribution to Southwell. The poet
prefaces his work by a manifesto against Southwell's
technique of tampering with secular poetry and angrily bids
the "Imaginarie Muses" to "Restraine your haughtie metaphorick
lines". His only guide is the Holy Spirit, "The gladdest
messenger that **eu**er came". It is as though the poet intended
his poem to correct any wrong impressions "Saint Peters Compl-
aynt" might have created. He reverts to the Italian original

1. Month, Vol.83, 1895, pp.383-399. "Father Southwell, the
Popular Poet".

in his title and structure, for it will be remembered that in editions up to 1606 Tanzillo's Le Lagrime di San Pietro was divided into thirteen "Pianti". Southwell strictly preserved the unity of time. His St. Peter only looked back. He had no fore-knowledge of the rest of the Gospel story. In Saint Peters Ten Teares in contrast, the poet makes certain that the reader does not forget that the Resurrection and Ascension will crown the sad events of the Passion and that St. Peter will be forgiven and entrusted with the task of feeding Christ's sheep. Such anticipation is seen in the first stanza of "The third Teare":

See sweete Messias, see the seruants eyes,
whom thou commandest once to feed thy flock...¹

and the bewildered and cowardly disciple is credited with an understanding of the Atonement:

Therefore doe I view thy rare and wondrous² deeds,
and thinke how dearly thou redeem^{est}st man.

The poet uses some of Southwell's devices but gives them a new twist. This was seen in his use of the stanzas on Christ's eyes, where the procedure established by Southwell is reversed. It can be demonstrated again in his stanza on sleep. While Southwell's St. Peter sleeps the restless, nightmare-riddled (and more psychologically accurate) sleep of a conscience-troubled sinner, this St. Peter longs for sleep, for then he dreams of Christ:

If I but sleepe I dream of this diuinenesse,
O let me sleepe and neuer wake againe:

1. (A4v)
2. (B3v)

For once awake, such is our sinfull blindnesse,
 We cannot see the purenesse of the same. 1.

Confirmation of the poet's defiance of Southwell's model is found in the general tone of the poem. "Saint Peters Complaynt" is the poem of an anguished sinner who longs but dares not hope for forgiveness. It is dark with unhappiness. Saint Peters Ten Teares is a much more optimistic poem. It is written in the first person but the disciple from the opening stanza onward is confident of mercy. It begins in the glorious light of a "Splendant morne, like day of resurrection" with a prayer that St. Peter, like the Psalmist in Psalm LXXXIV "in the house of God my soule may keep". This cheerful tone is preserved throughout. St. Peter acknowledges his sin but trusts in Christ's victory:

But since thou woundest him that wounded vs,
 and tread vpon the Serpents spightfull head:
 Thy force that fiendfull malice did discusse,²
 and all thy Saints vpon that ioy haue fed.

His future life is not wholly to be governed by contrition:

When I haue giuen due sacrifice of praise
 then vp I rise, and to they temple goe:
 There I do seeke out thy diuine wayes,
 and walke where thou the seeds of loue doost sowe.
 That fruite I taste of, which dooth make my heart
 Beare chearefull musick in the highest part.

The culmination of this feeling comes in "The tenth Teare" where the disciples longing for Heaven burst forth. He is certain now that he has "runne and woone the golden crowne" and that Christ has led him in His Way to the Heavenly Sion.

1. A4.
 2. 1B

This brake is continually applied throughout the rest of the poem:

But yet sweete Lord ile be incessant still,
Mine exclamations shall disturbe thine eares:¹

and

Come, come, you slacke performers of repentance,
negligent eyes, tis long since you have wept.²

Even when Heaven is reached, the debt is not yet fully paid:

Now one drop more, and then my teares are done, ³.
For grieve hath left me where my ioy began.

The poet is unlike Southwell, and unlike Valvasone, in that his St. Peter confines his memories strictly to that of his denial. He does not mention the other events in his life, with the exception of his faltering when walking on the waves which is symbolic of his present spiritual state. He does not even comment on the maid's question or the cock's crowing. The denial is sufficient and the reader is not made over-conscious of that, as it is only mentioned three times. This gives Saint Peters Ten Teares a personal quality. The mask slips often and reveals the poet-sinner underneath. Unlike Southwell he has not penetrated St. Peter's thoughts so deeply that he has lost himself in them but he describes his own life, his constant need for repentance, his longing for union with Christ and his certainty of his election under the thin disguise of the most popular literary penitent of his day.

1. B.2

2. (B4v)

3. (C.3)

I used the word "election" advisedly, for the major difference between this poet and Southwell is that the one is a Calvinistic, the other a Catholic. St. Peter's certainty of his salvation is so often stated that it appears to be a deliberate correction of Southwell's attitude. Penitence is necessary, this poet says, but a sense of proportion must be preserved; St. Peter, and therefore I myself, will be pardoned in the end. At its worst this insistence on the doctrine of election jolts the whole structure of the poem; at its best it inspires the following stanza:

Faire Vine, thou bleedest aboundance for my sinne,
 ripe Grape of life, let me but taste the sweete:
 That I may haue my soule refreshed within,
 or let me shade me, if thou thinke it meete.
 How can the brandes of Hell once scortch¹ my head,
 If by that Vine my life be ouerspred.

Other touches of a severe Protestant outlook are to be found in his scorn of outward observances:

O Lord regarde my poore submissiue minde,
 that bends it selfe when others bowe their knees:
 Yet oft their hearts to wonder thou doest finde,
 beholde ile bend when none but Iesus sees.

.....

I make no glorious shew now I do pray
 I blowe no trumpets with the Publicans: 2
 But secretly my secret thoughts bewraye,
 least ostentation breed my open shame.

He looks at other's sins as well as his own and bids the stars

-
1. B3.
 2. Perhaps this is a slight error on the poet's part, for it cannot be ascribed to the compositor as it is the rhyme-word.

O then but looke on Peters lamentations,
As thou doost note the wickednesse of nations. 1

Finally his Protestant sympathies are shown in his account of the denial. He not only said that he did not know Christ but he even swore that he did not:

I did not onely say I knew thee not,
But (Lord) I did forswear thy blessed name:
Which is vnto my conscience such a blot
That in my forehead stands an endlesse staine. 2

Samuel Rowlands, himself a Protestant, seems to have known this poem as well as Southwell's. In the directness of "Saint Peters teares at the Cockes Crowing" there is much that is reminiscent of Saint Peters Ten Teares and his emphasis in the other poems on the Passion on the contrast of light and darkness within and without may owe something to "The second Teare"

Come night the sable garment of a sinner
Which **euery** pure repentant heart puts on 3

In Moeniae, the second volume of Southwell's poems, issued in the same year as Saint Peters complaynt, there are two more poems on the theme of St. Peter's repentance. They are entitled "S. Peters afflicted mind" and "S. Peters remorse."⁴ Each is written in the first person and is a short lyric spoken by the distressed disciple, who presumes now, as he did not presume in the long poem, that

1. (A4)

2. (A3v)

3. (A3v)

4. Pp. 18 and 19.

the reader knows the event which has caused his grief. It has been suggested by Janelle that Southwell may have been experimenting with different kinds of metre in order to win over to his cause varying classes of society. The three poems on St. Peter would confirm this assumption as they are deliberately varied in metre and language as well as in approach.

"S. Peters afflicted mind" is the more interesting of the two. In it the disciple is in the depths of his penitential grief; the "beames of mercy" have not yet beaten "on sorrowes clowde"¹. It is written in ballad metre and the vocabulary is simple in keeping with this, but upon examination, it proves to be a deceptive simplicity. Four different conceits are entwined in the poem and each is a shadow, as it were, of a more elaborate conceit in the longer poem. St. Peter regards himself as a sick man, "My body but a lazars couch" and we recall the line "Lazar at pitties gate I vlcered lye"² of "Saint Peters Complaynt"; as an orphan, "Forlorne and left like Orphan childe" and we remember:

My comfort now is comfortlesse to liue,³
In Orphan state deuoted to mishap;

as a wounded man

My wounds with mortall smart,
My dying soule torment,

-
1. "Saint Peters Complaynt". p.21
 2. P.33.
 3. P.30.

which is an extension of the metaphor of the sick man,
 "My sores, I lay in view to mercies eye", and as a condemned
 prisoner:

And prisoner to mine owne mishaps
 My follies I repent

which is reminiscent of the lengthy picture of St. Peter
 in sorrow's jail. In the light of these four images, St.
 Peter views his state and concludes:

My heart is but the haunt
 Where all dislikes do keepe:
 And who can blame so lost a wretch,
 Though teares of blood he weepe?

The companion-poem, "S. Peters remorse",
 illustrates the next stage on the journey to forgiveness,
 the sinner appeals for mercy. This poem is written in the
 fourteener, a metre which Southwell, who was slightly out
 of date in some of the fashions he followed, took from the
 poets of Tottel's Miscellany, and their successors and
 used in such poems as "The Burning Babe" and "A child my
 choyse." "S. Peters remorse" is a companion-piece to
 "S. Peters afflicted mind" in more than one sense, for,
 while the first poem echoes the longest poem in Saint Peters
 complaynt, the second echoes the other short lyrics in the
 volume. In this, a gnomic utterance, again taken from
 Tottel's Miscellany takes over from the more conceited style:
 and a heavy use of alliteration is found:

If doome go by desert,
My least desert is death¹.

and

But on a wretch to wreake thy²wrath
Can not be worth thine ire.

Both these are features of the lyrics in the first volume.
Phrases and images of these poems are echoed here.

But in so high a God,
So base a wormes annoy

recalls the charming picture in "Scorne not the least"

There is a time even for the wormes to creepe:
And sucke the dew while all their foes doe sleepe.³

The lines

Well may I frie in flames
Due fuell to hell fire,

recall the startling line in "A Burning Babe", which was,
however, not printed with Southwell's poems until the Cawood
augmented edition of 1602: "In fiery heats I fry".

The vague echoes of the riddling style of many of his other
lyrics meet in the last line incorporated in the title of
one of them:

I was, I am, I will remaine,
Thy charge, thy choise, thy child

In the St. Omers edition of Southwell's poems in 1615, an
effort was made by the editor to give greater unity to his
lyrics, and so they are grouped round the two chief penitential

1. P.19.

2. P.20.

3. P.43.

figures of St. Peter and St. Mary Magdalen. The attempt is not wholly successfull. Renaming "Dauids Peccani" "Saint Peters Peccani" or "Looke home" "S. Peters Returne home" or "Life is but losse" "Saint Peters Wish" or joining together "Scorne not the least" and "Times goe by turnes" under the title of "Saint Peters Comfort" does not make these "Wisdom poems" more applicable to St. Peter's condition than to anyone else's. The dramatic situation which gives an urgency to "Saint Peters Complaynt" but which is watered down in the less successful poems in Moeoniae has here evaporated altogether. The attempt is interesting, however, in showing that exactly twenty years after the first issue of Saint Peters complaynt the poets preoccupation with St. Peter as a "patterne" of repentance was still felt to be a matter of importance in literature.

CHAPTER IV.

The Tears of the Magdalen.

"Sith I haue lost my myrth, I will make much of my sorrow,
I haue no ioy but in teares, I may lawfully shed them."

Southwell, (Mary) Magdalens Funerall Teares. 1602.p.16.

The supreme "patterne" of repentance cited by all the theologians is St. Mary Magdalene. She is an even more obvious example than St. Peter and is the first Biblical penitent to spring to the mind of anyone treating of the subject. She came during the Middle Ages through the writings of the Fathers to be regarded as the patron saint of sinners.

The story of the Magdalen as told in Scripture has had a great appeal for all imaginative people for centuries. This is mainly due to its dramatic quality. She was a woman who never did things by halves and the extreme nature of her conversion interests us by its very absoluteness. From being a great sinner, she turned in one move to a life of complete saintliness, attaining in a very short time a degree of sanctity which very few can hope to achieve. She became one of Our Lord's foremost disciples and one who was particularly commended by Him and who showed Him complete love and devotion, even at the cost of danger to herself. When the disciples fled after Christ's capture we yet find among the group of faithful women at the foot of the Cross the loving figure of St. Mary Magdalene, and it was she who was privileged first to see Christ after His Resurrection and to hear from Him his prophecy of the Ascension.

Not only is her life a study in extremes and has therefore a dramatic interest, but the action by which she marked her change from secular to divine love is related in detail in the Gospels and is arresting in its grace and dignity as well as in its symbolical significance. The anointing of Our Lord's feet with precious ointment, the bathing of them with her repentant tears and the wiping of them with her luxuriant hair remains with us as a beautiful picture, whether we consider it has any allegorical interpretation or not.

The Magdalen is therefore an interesting figure to the artist because she is a study in two entirely opposite conceptions of the supreme quality, love, because she is revealed in the two periods of her life as staking her all upon the conception of love prevalent in her spirit at that moment, and because her change from one to the other was as drastic as it was dramatic and was marked by an action striking in its beauty and significance.

Her appeal is felt not only by the poets but also by the artists. When the great painters of the Renaissance were commissioned to decorate the walls and ceilings of the churches of Italy with scenes from the Bible to be not only beautiful but also instructive to those who viewed them,

they were often attracted to the figure of this lovely, tearful penitent and to the scenes in her life. Paolo Veronese paints her anointing Christ's feet in the house of Simon the Leper, while the guests murmur at the extravagance and the stately pillars point up to a threatening sky. El Greco's emaciated but sweet-faced saint gazes up into a sky streaked with lightning. Titian's Magdalen covers herself with her flowing hair and we see that her eyes are still wet with tears. She is painted at the foot of the Cross, with Joseph of Arimathea by the tomb, at the raising of Lazarus or adoring the risen Christ. Most often she is a solitary figure, symbolising the contemplative life, reading, weeping or carrying her box of ointment. The Spanish and Flemish schools as well as such artists as Giotto, Perugino, Crivelli, Correggio, Guido Reni and Carracci, found her an absorbing subject. In literature there has always been an interest in her. She is a favourite theme in mediaeval literature and as late as the mid-seventeenth century she is still to be found in religious poetry. Donne, Herbert and Vaughan all have poems about her and Crashaw in particular had a special devotion to her. There is a difference in the approach

of the poets of the two periods and in order to understand how the change came about from the objective view of the Middle Ages with its prime interest in hagiography to the intense, ecstatic and entirely personal devotion of such a poet as Crashaw, we must examine the verse on the Magdalen theme in the transitional period, the Elizabethan.

First, however, we must know something of her story and the tradition surrounding it. From the Gospel narratives we learn that a woman called Mary Magdalene was one of the followers of Christ¹ and that she was one of the group of women who stood "afar off" at the Crucifixion² and who anointed Christ's body before the entombment.³ St. Luke, with his professional interest in Christ's miracles of healing, tells us of her former demoniac possession:

And certain women, which had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils...⁴

From St. Mark's Gospel we learn the same fact and also that Christ after His Resurrection appeared first to Mary Magdalene.⁵ St. John gives the details of the appearance

1. Matt. 27.55-6; Luke 8.1-3. (AV. throughout).

2. Mark 15. 40-41.

3. Luke 23. 55-6.

4. Luke 8. 2.

5. Mark 16. 9-11.

in the Garden in a long account in chapter 20 and tells us of Mary Magdalen's sorrow over her missing Lord and her mistake at "supposing him to have been the gardener" and then the wonderful realization of the truth, the prophecy of the Ascension and the message to the disciples, which earns for the Magdalen her title of "apostola apostolorum". In John, too, we find that the group of women are reported as standing "by the cross"¹ and not "afar off" and that there are only three of them, the Virgin Mary, Mary, wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.

The story of Mary Magdalene is linked with that of another Mary, Mary of Bethany and it is here that the tradition surrounding her accumulated. Was the Mary who anointed Jesus's feet with ointment and washed them with her tears and whose sins were forgiven, the same Mary as the woman who was commended by Him for her love of contemplation? It is a difficult question of Biblical exegesis depending upon the tense of the verb "anointed" in John 11.2 and the account of the incident in Luke 7. Were there two anointings or one? Were there three women involved, "the sinner in the city", Mary of Bethany and Mary Magdalene, or were they all one and the same person?

1. John 19. 25.

Without indulging in any unnecessary Biblical exegesis,¹ it must be noted that there was much discussion of the matter in the early Church and East and West were divided in their conclusions. The Eastern Church, following St. John Chrysostom, maintained that there were three women but the Western held the view that they were really the one woman, Mary Magdalene, sinner and saint, who loved much in two entirely opposite ways. To sum up, it is probably most satisfactory to say that as far as Biblical scholarship is concerned, the question of her complete identification with "the sinner in the city" and with Mary of Bethany can never be fully resolved but as far as art is concerned the identification, in the West at least, is complete. The woman who sat at Christ's feet and was commended for choosing the better part is the same woman in art and literature who washed those same feet with her tears as a sign of repentance and fell in adoration before them on the morning of the Resurrection.

During the Middle Ages, the popularity of the Magdalen was widespread. Her position as the patron saint of sinners meant that everyone at some stage or other during their lives came under her jurisdiction. Litanies

1. For a full discussion, see R.L. Bruckberger, Mary Magdalene, (trans. H.L. Binsse), 1953.

are extant in which the sinner beseeches her:

Cui dimissa sunt peccata multa,
Ex lebete facta phiala,
De luto luci reddita
In vos translata gloriae,
Margarita praefugida
Mundi lampas
Ardore charitatis succensa
Domino gratissima,
A Jesu multum dilecta ¹

A Little Office of St. Mary Magdalene is also extant, attributed to Charles II, Count of Provence and King of Sicily, which contains appropriate prayers grouped round the events of her life with suitable hymns and psalms, particularly the Penitential ones.²

In rank, St. Mary Magdalene was classified with the Apostles because of her presence at the Resurrection and her life was especially popular with hagiographers as it was more prone than that of any other saint to stir up religious fervour. The Middle Ages added many details of her life which it would be impossible to verify from the accounts in the Gospels. Not content with finding one woman where the Eastern Church found three, they also confused her with the woman taken in adultery and, as far as the ballads were concerned, with the woman of Samaria

1. P.M.-M. Sicard, Saint Marie Madeleine, La Tradition et la Critique. Paris, 1910. Vol.III "Histoire de son Culte", Appendix IV.

2. Op.cit. Vol.III, Appendix III.

as well, and were inclined to read "Magdalene" whenever the Gospel simply read "Mary", though few would go as far as did Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem, in one astonishing passage where he confuses the Magdalen with the Virgin. It was commonly agreed that Mary Magdalene's parents were called Cyrus and Eucharis, that they were very wealthy and that upon their deaths Lazarus inherited the lordship of Jerusalem, Martha the "castle" of Bethany and Mary that of Magdala. It was also widely believed that Mary Magdalene was to be married to St. John and even that it was their wedding-feast that Christ attended in Cana, and that it was because St. John left her on this occasion in order to follow Christ that she turned to sinful ways. After the Ascension, according to the legend, during the persecution of the Church in Jerusalem which we read about in Acts, the family from Bethany were set adrift in an open boat with no rudder or sails, but by God's mercy they were cast ashore at Marseilles. Here St. Mary Magdalene performed various miracles, restoring to life the Queen of Marseilles, and finally retired into the wilderness of Sainte-Baume in Provence where angels fed her and transported her every day into the air to hear celestial music. In the accounts of these days frequent confusion is found with the

story of St. Mary of Egypt, another ascetic. Controversy raged over the exact site of the Magdalen's tomb, but the strength of the French claim gave her legend even greater popularity in France than it enjoyed elsewhere in Europe.

The chief source for subsequent treatment of the legend of the Magdalen's life is to be found in the Legenda Aurea written by Jacobus de Veragine about 1275 and published by Caxton in a free English translation in 1483 as The Golden Legend. That it was a very popular story can be seen by the number of versions of it we have in prose or verse in most of the vernacular European languages during this period. In England it is found in the South English Legendary, in a fourteenth century Scottish version, in the Legendys of Hooly Wummen of Osbern Bokenham and it is even thought that Chaucer may have followed the fashion because of the reference by Alceste in the Prologue to The Legend of Good Women, where in defence of Chaucer she is listing his works:

He made also, goon ys a gret while,
Origenes upon the Maudeleyne.

One of the main aspects of the mediaeval treatment¹ is that the simplicity of the Gospel narrative

1. For a full discussion, see John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXVII, Number 3, Baltimore, 1950. Helen M. Garth, "Saint Mary Magdalene in Mediaeval Literature."

is lost in fanciful and even sentimental details. The writer himself is not involved in this, however, as Crashaw is. It is as though he exhausts his own response to the patron saint of sinners by elaborating as much as possible on the details of her life known to him from the Biblical narrative or conjectured from legend. He does not enter into the feelings of the Magdalen except in so far as they heighten the dramatic possibilities of the particular situation she is in at the time. His chief interest is in her story as an absorbing study in extremes and it is not therefore surprising that she was a very popular figure in mediaeval drama. Her story is fully treated in all the great cycles, as also in the Cornish Mystery Plays and in the Digby Mysteries, where one long play in fifty-one scenes deals with her life, as told in the Legend, in great detail. Even when mystery plays about the saints lives were giving place to morality plays, with their interest in showing by means of allegorical characters the psychology of the human spirit in a testing situation, the Magdalen was not forgotten. Lewis Wager, a "lerved clerke", wrote a morality play, The Life and Repentance of Marie Magdalene, which was printed in 1566-7.

It is a fully developed morality play with its use of allegorical figures and its lifelike Vice and all the amusing scenes such a character can create. It is interesting chiefly in showing the swing of interest in the Magdalen from a recital of her life, mostly derived from legend, to a discussion of the meaning it held for the spectator. Wager is not concerned with the miracles connected with her, but solely with her repentance and with the theological significance of the Biblical account of it. His Protestant sympathies are shown in the way in which he emphasises in a long theological discussion at the end that Mary's sins were forgiven not because of her love but because of her faith.

Loue: But Christ, whose nature is mercy to haue,
 Came into this worlde sinners to saue,
 Which preached repentance, synnes to forgeue,
 To as many as in hym faithfully dyd beleue.
 By the word came faith; Faith brought penitence;
 But bothe the gyft of God's magnificence.
 Thus by Faith onely Marie was iustified,
 Like as before it is playnly verified:
 From thens came loue, as a testification
 Of God's mercy and her iustification.¹

A similar note had been heard in the Chester plays but had not been as fully developed as it was here, where the author's aim was definitely one of reform, of pointing a

1. Lines 2022-2031. From the edition by Frederick Ives Carpenter. The Decennial Publications. 2nd Series, Vol.I, Chicago, 1902.

moral by a story from Scripture to a backsliding generation.

When we turn to the mediaeval lyric we find a surprising dearth of lyrics on the Magdalen theme. In Carleton Browne's anthology of fifteenth century religious lyrics, only five have any reference to her and then it is only a reference in passing. Her repentance and Christ's mercy to her are instanced in two poems¹ and in another the anointing is glanced at.² There are two prayers to her in keeping with the litanies written for her³ but no direct treatment of her story. Most surprisingly, a poem dealing with the mourners at the Cross does not mention her at all.⁴

It is therefore not in the mediaeval religious lyric that we must search for the origins of the Elizabethan poetic treatment of the Magdalen but rather in the development of the drama, where the miracle-play with its straightforward relation of the saint's life led to a consideration of the meaning of certain incidents in that life and an emphasis on the lesson for the auditors to learn from it and apply to themselves.

1. P.155; p.165.

2. P.131.

3. P.199; p.202.

4. P.144.

Another aspect of mediaeval treatment of the Magdalen must be noted first. The Fathers had stressed her allegorical significance, for she was an ideal subject for their method of reading the Scriptures on four levels of meaning, literal, moral or topological, allegorical and anagogical or mystical. Her name lent itself to their elaborate etymological analyses and such themes as brightness, sorrow and bitterness were attached to their discussion of her. The ointment she carried was interpreted in various ways, as good thought by Bede, as chastity by Chaucer's Parson, as medicine for her soul or oil for the lamp of faith by St. Peter Chrysologus.

As a penitent she represented the Church, but she also represented other aspects of its life, mourning at the Cross and rejoicing at the Resurrection. More than anything else, however, she represented the Church's attitude to its Lord in her loving trust in Him in all stages of her association with Him in His earthly life. In this respect the Middle Ages saw in the story in which her stillness is contrasted with Martha's bustle the absorbing issue of the different merits and attributes of the active and the contemplative life. Martha and

Mary are the two great "types" in the New Testament, as Leah and Rachel are in the Old, of these two ways of life. Most of the devotional treatises, whether they are of a practical nature, such as the Ancrene Riwle, or intended to instruct beginners in contemplation in the various stages of the mystical life, such as The Cloud of Unknowing, treat of this particular aspect of the Magdalen theme. It can be summed up in one word, "love"; it was for love of Christ that Mary sat at His feet and it was for love of Him that she stood by the Cross, wept at His tomb, came to the garden early in the morning. She is therefore the greatest example not only of a repentant sinner but also of a lover of Christ. Because of this, all the erotic imagery of the Song of Songs was associated with her and she was thought of as the spouse of the Song, who in her turn is any contemplative soul who loves Christ more than any other creature.

Love and tears, the two main features of Mary Magdalen's life, were what attracted Southwell to her, but we must consider his prose-treatise, Mary Magdalens Funerall Teares, as giving an impetus to a fashion rather than starting one. Jandele writes:

Southwell's choice of the doleful lamentations of Mary Magdalen for semi-poetical treatment was not a matter of mere chance, nor was it merely the consequence of his personal preferences. He was but following in the wake of numerous contemporary writers, and complying with contemporary fashions; for the theme of Mary Magdalen's remorse, and of remorseful tears in general, was then highly popular in the devotional literature of Italy, France and Spain.¹

Among the works on the Magdalen which he lists are poems by Aretino, Policieti, Tasso and Valvasone in Italy, an anonymous La Magdelene repentie (1597) in France and the Breve Suma de la admirable conversion y vida de la gloriosa Magdalena (1598) in Spain. Valvasone's poem, Le Lagrime della Maddalena was printed in 1587 with Tanzillo's poem on St. Peter. It seems therefore likely that he knew Valvasone's poem as well as the latter.

Southwell was, in Janelle's cautious phrase "to all appearances, the first to introduce into England the post-trentine literature of 'Tears'".² We have seen what an impact his poem on St. Peter had; the effect of the prose-work on the Magdalen must be considered here, and later chapters will explore the reverberations these two "tearful" books by a popular writer had on the topics of religious verse for at least the next fifteen years.

1. P.189.

2. P.190.

Janelle's discussion of Southwell's source¹ must be briefly given before the nature of his treatment of it and its effect on English verse are discussed. In the library at Stanyhurst Janelle found a manuscript containing some Italian devotional works. The sixth which Southwell translated and then expanded into Mary Magdalens Funerall Teares is attributed to St. Bonaventura. It seems possible from some of the forms used in copying this fourteenth-century work that the copyist may have been a resident at the English College, Rome, where Southwell was Prefect of Studies. Southwell, attracted by the theme of Valvasone's poem, began to translate this treatise on the same topic. Three drafts of his translation are extant, the first two being in manuscript at Stanyhurst and the last being the published work. The first draft is a very faithful rendering in a slightly more ornate style than the original and intended, judging from its opening, to have been read as a sermon on the saint's day. It breaks off because of the translator's dissatisfaction with it and the other draft is only a fragment of 17 lines. When he made his final attempt he preserved the framework

1. Pp.184-189.

of the original and most of the phrasing, but expanded it and added many of his own thoughts on the subject, improving it greatly. The Italian is not a very skilful piece of work, a string of meditations on the story in St. John's Gospel, and is in the form of a dialogue between the writer and sundry Biblical characters who discuss Mary's tearfulness a little too freely and a little too repetitively.

Southwell's prose, on the other hand, is extremely polished, even Euphuistic at times, and the argument is very closely reasoned and logical. The intention is to stimulate the intellect not the emotions and at times the turn the argument takes is almost shocking in its ingenuity. Beginning with his favourite play upon "life" and "death" and "love", the author goes on to describe Mary's coming to the tomb, her demeanour and her thoughts, and above all, her tears. From then on there ensue dialogues between the author and Mary, the author occasionally putting words into Mary's mouth to give greater effect to his own argument, "But sayest thou". Narrative, preceded by quotation from John tells of the coming of the angels, the

appearance of Christ and Mary's mistake, the recognition and Christ's command and finally the meeting with Christ when she is with the other women. Most of the book is taken up with the dialogues between Mary and the author. Christ at His appearance is given words and the author several times addresses Him. At the end, as if realising there has been an audience to this drama, or perhaps disputation would be a better word, the author turns to the reader and urges him to take Mary as his mirror. I used the word "disputation" because the ingenuity of the discussion with Mary is very much an intellectual exercise and at times the author plays "advocatus diaboli" in his endeavour to persuade Mary to give up her tearfulness and realise that Christ is risen. He grows impatient with her as she refuses to admit the message the angels give by their presence and, in an effort to convince her, they discuss such matters as the meaning of love, whether she is in fact weeping for her self, whether his bidding her stop weeping is an infringement of her liberty, the practical issue of the means anyone could employ to take away the body and her foolishness in thinking she could remove it. The author appears to be omniscient when

speaking to Mary but when Christ appears, he takes her side and expresses bewilderment too, until in the final section he becomes the teacher pointing to the lesson for us all in what we have just read.

Southwell's appeal is therefore to the intellect and to the soul in that way. What interests him is Mary's love for Christ, and as he states in his preface "To the worshipfull and vertuous Gentlewoman, Mistresses D.A.," (Dorothy Arundel), he has deliberately chosen this account of Mary's love to teach men, who these days have forgotten the fact, that passions are lawful only if applied lawfully:

For as passion, and especially this of loue, is in these dayes the chiefe commaunder of most mens actions, & the Idol to which both tongues and pennes doe sacrifice theyr ill bestowed labours: so is there nothing nowemore needefull to be intreated, than how to direct these humours vnto their due courses, and to draw this flood of affections into the right chanel. Passions I allow, & loues I approoue, onely I would wish that men would alter their obiect and better theyr intent.¹

It is Southwell the missionary speaking once again.

Mary Magdalens Funerall Teares was very popular at the turn of the century. It was first published in 1591 and McDonald in his Bibliography lists five subsequent

1. (A ~~ii~~2v)

editions before 1610 and five after that date. Southwell himself tells us in his Preface to the reader, that he had been forced to print it because there were so many manuscript copies in circulation. Janelle justifies its popularity by saying,

Its subtlety is neither deep nor abstruse; it makes easy reading for the homeliest of perusers, and never strays beyond the simplest and most obvious psychological facts.... Besides, Southwell's preciousity is not recondite. His simple imagery was such as to provide literary pleasure to unsophisticated readers.¹

In this study we are concerned with the prose-work only as it affected the verse of the time. Its general influence will be seen later in this chapter in the many poems on the tears of the Magdalen published during the period but its particular influence can be seen in Mary Magdalens Lamentations for the losse of her Maister Iesus.

This poem was published anonymously in 1601 and again in 1604, with some verses to the author, signed "W.F.", begging him to disclose himself and to

Cherish thy Muse in hope of better dayes,
wrong not thy worth in keeping close thy name.²

1. P.195.

2. A iii.

Whether the poet ever did obey this request is not known, no other editions being recorded, but what is certain is that the poet had based his poem entirely upon Southwell's prose-work. It seems strange that W.F. appears to be unaware of this fact, as he praises the originality of the poem, defending it from Puritanical critics who frowned on any emphasis on the Magdalen as a tendency to a pre-Reformation devotion:

Which hast conceited Magdalens complaint
So well, that no precisian can diffame,
Or blot the honor of this blessed Saint.

The work is ascribed to Breton in a note pasted on the fly-leaf of the second edition, but it is almost certainly not by him, as he was not in the habit of versifying prose by another writer, nor is the subject treated in his customary fervent manner. The other poet with a claim to its authorship is Gervase Markham to whom it is ascribed by the British Museum Catalogue, the Dictionary of National Biography and Grosart. We know from the D.N.B. that Markham was a hack writer, who had no scruples about copying from his own work and issuing identical books with different titles, so it is doubtful if he would worry about copying Southwell's work. Usually, however, his

name or his initials appeared on the title-page. Grosart sees in an extant letter of Markham's professing to "abhor" poetry a reason for this anonymity. In the religious poem, The Teares of the Beloved, printed the previous year and telling the Passion story through St. John's mouth, which has Markham's initials on its title-page, the preface, "to the Christian Reader", contains the sentence

I offer my harsh and vntuned Muse, which being
as my talent is, slender and simple, so accompt
of the first part, that I may not be discomforted
in the second.

This Grosart,¹ and Thurston,² see as a reference to the coming publication of Mary Magdalens Lamentations, Certainly the Resurrection story may be taken as the second part of the Passion narrative. The Short Title Catalogue, on the other hand, is very cautious and leaves it anonymous, and I should prefer to agree with it. Mary Magdalens Lamentations is in tolerable verse and the adaptation from Southwell's prose work has been very skilfully done, so skilfully that, if it is Markham's, it shows a great advance on the very pedestrian Teares of the Beloved and his other contribution to the fashion for religious verse, Sions Muse,

1. Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies Library. Vol.III, 1871.

2. Month, 83, Jan-April 1895, Pp.383-399. "Father Southwell the Popular Poet."

a rendering of the Song of Songs. The reference at the end of the "Preface", which Grosart wishes to see as an allusion to Spenser, who had died two years previously, seems to be on the contrary the poet himself taking his bow:

If you will deigne with fauour to peruse
Maries memoriall of her sad lament,
Exciting Collin in his grauer Muse,
 To tell the manner of her hearts repent.¹

"Colin" may be a generic term for pastoral poets taken from The Shepheards Calender, but I think that even this would not necessarily refer to Markham's practical treatises on farming and the breeding of horses.

Southwell's intention as revealed in his preface was similar to that he had in writing Saint Peters Complaynt. Seeing here passions misdirected, as there he saw poetry misused, he endeavours to correct by example. The intention of the poet of the Lamentations is different. He looks around him and sees repentance neglected, time wasted in idleness and no-one shedding the tears of true contrition. Therefore he is showing us Mary Magdalene, the lover of Christ, but in his poem, pre-eminently, the sinner, whose repentant behaviour we should imitate. With a lack of

1. (A iiiijv).

knowledge of contemporary religious verse, which we must assume to be feigned for the purposes of advertisement, he laments:

Yea soule-confounding sinne so far hath crept,
Repentant sighes are reckoned for toies,
And Maries teares contemned, long have slept,¹
As jems unpriz'd, which corrupt age destroies.

Mary, he says in this preface, is an example to women in particular, but also to us all:

And Marie shoves us when we ought to beat
Our brasen breasts, and let our robes be rent,
How prostrating, to crepe unto the seat
Of that sweet lambe, whose bloud for us was spent:
And that we should give way unto our woes,²
When the excesse no fault or errour shoves.

Because he has a different purpose from Southwell, the poet has not versified Mary Magdalens Funerall Teares haphazardly, nor followed the prose slavishly. Many of Southwell's most daring passages he has omitted, not, one feels, because he does not understand them nor because he does not approve of them, but simply because they do not intensify his theme of repentance. Such passages as Southwell's powerful description of the soul in the body,

It is now enwrapped in a masse of corruption, it
shall enjoy a place of high perfection: wher it
is now it is more by force than by choise, and

1. (A iij^v). In italics.

2. (A iiij^v).

like a repining prisoner in a loathed gayle.
 But there in a little roome it should find
 perfect rest, and in the prison of death, the
 liberty of a ioyfull life...¹

or his teaching,

O Marie know the difference betweene a glorious
 and a mortall bodie, betweene the condition of
 a momentary & of an eternall life ²

are omitted as are some of his devil's advocate speeches rebuking Mary for her vehement grief. These would distract the reader from his intended picture of Mary the penitent sinner. Certain passages, chiefly those spoken by Christ to reveal His glory, which in their beauty should appeal to a poet are also left out for the same reason.

The poet does not follow the same order as Southwell gives. Not only does he pick and choose what parts he will turn into verse, he also picks and chooses the order in which he will do so. Southwell's work is in a continuous flow, punctuated only by Biblical quotation and narrative passages, which as it were indicate the scenes but do not mark the fall of a curtain. The poem, on the other hand, is very definitely divided into seven separate "lamentations" and a conclusion. The first of

1. P.20^v.

2. K ii.

these, "At the Tombe of Iesus", after a very indifferent rendering of the paradoxes of Southwell's opening, suddenly takes up the versifying with the passages which are on pages 20 and 21 of Southwell with some return to passages on page 19. In this section she is mourning Christ's loss and comparing her former state with Him to her present desolate one. The second which is more specifically for the loss of His body leaps back to the first few pages of Southwell again, while the third which is her dialogue with the angels -- the author does not speak in his own person in the poem; it is a soliloquy, but certain sections of the author's part in Southwell are cleverly turned into quite natural comments for Mary to make -- is taken partly from the ninth page of Southwell and partly from the twenty-ninth and thirtieth. The fourth is her remembering Christ's words about the better part which she had chosen and follows Southwell's thirteenth and fourteenth pages and then omits a passage and goes on to the twenty-fourth but returns to the sixteenth for one stanza. The fifth "lamentation", about the appearance of Christ as a gardener, follows Southwell fairly straightforwardly but the sixth, her recognition, reveals that the poet has omitted about

forty pages of Southwell's argument. The seventh, Christ's forbidding her to kiss His feet follows Southwell closely, missing out only a few sentences, mainly of Christ's speech, while the conclusion, where Jesus hails Mary and the other women as they go on their way is identical with Southwell's conclusion, but even here there are slight omissions and alterations of the order of sentences in the prose.

Where he does take from Southwell, the poet follows him very closely in his versifying. Such a passage as Southwell's

Thou art the altar of mercy, the temple of truth,
the sanctuarie of safetie, the graue of death,
and the cradle of eternal life.
O heaven of my eclipsed sunne, receiue vnto thee
this silly star that hath now all lost all
wishedlight...¹

becomes

Thou art the Altar of all mercie meeke,
The Temple of all truth, the Grave of death,
The Sanctuarie vvhich lost soules doe seeke,
The Cradle of eternall living breath,
Oh sweetest heaven of my eclipsed Sonne,
Receive this silly star, whose light is done.²

This is a very close rendering, altering the original only slightly to meet the demands of the stanza-form. In general

1. P.21.

2. B ij.

the poet gives one stanza for one sentence of Southwell which he is using. Occasionally he has to expand it slightly to fit into the line, as where Southwell's:

But let my hart dissolue into sighs, mine eies
melt in teares, and my desolate soule languish in
dislikes:¹

becomes

Ah let my heart into sad sighs dissolve,
Let eies consume their flouds in brinish teares,
Let soule (cares captive) in dislikes resolve,
To languish still (sunke with despaire and feares.)
Let all I have endure deserved paine,
That penance due, sins losses may regaine.²

Even more occasionally he adds a completely new thought, as where Southwell's, "No, no if Mary had thee"³ becomes

No, no if that I had the Virgins boy.⁴

The alterations are not those of a Protestant rectifying Southwell's verse which we saw so clearly illustrated in the differences between Saint Peters Ten Teares and "Saint Peters Complaynt". On the contrary, such a passage as the following is very faithfully rendered:

No, no, though I have been robbed of the Saint,
I wil at the least haue care of the shrine, which
though it be spoyled of the most soueraigne
hoast, yet shall it be the Alter where I will
daily sacrifice my heart, and offer vp my teares,

-
1. P.22.
 2. B iij.
 3. (Cv)
 4. (D iiij).

as

And to this shrine Ile sacrifice my heart,
 Though it be spoiled of the soueraigne host,
 It shall the altar be and sacred part,
 Where I my teares will offer with the most,
 My teares destilled from my hearts deepe paine,
 Which going out, my sighs shall blow againe.¹

The couplet gives the clue to the poet's aim in his alterations. He is not concerned with discussions on the nature of love or liberty with which Southwell intersperses his dialogue. His appeal is to feelings, not intellect. He is correcting Southwell's prose in the light of Southwell's own verse. He feels that the prose work cannot be versified simply as it stands but must be tailored to fit in with the requirements of the poetry of repentance which Southwell himself initiated. This is the reason for alteration of Southwell's order and his omissions - and his additions, too, for one of the most revealing of them is a familiar description of a penitent's attitude:

It comforts me to send forth dryrie plaints,
 To fill the aire with my uncessant cries,
 To volley forth a sea of sad laments,
 With liquid teares to moisten still mine eies:

1. (B iiijv).

Yet neither plaints, nor cries, laments nor teares,¹
Can serve, can ease, can salve, can shew my feares.

Complimentary echoes of Southwell's own verse are in that stanza. The opening of "Saint Peters Complaynt" brings in the third line and the second implies the whole of "A vale of teares".² The poet of Marie Magdalens Lamentations was well schooled in the poetry of repentance. The verse flows very smoothly considering it is so close at times to the original prose and we must conclude that the man who wrote it was no mean versifier.

Most of the poems dealing entirely with the Magdalen are lengthy ones like the Lamentations, but an exception to this is Richard Verstegan's "A Complaint of S. Marie Magdalen. At her not fynding Christ in his sepulchre."³ This is written in simple ballad metre, with a steady rhythm, because Verstegan intended his poems to be sung, as he asks the "Vertuous Ladies and Gentlewomen Readers" to set them to music, "yf it shal please you to obtaine of some skilful Musitian, such requisite tunes, as may vnto them be best fitting." The poem is a dramatic

1. D iij.

2. Meoniae, 1595, p.27.

3. (F7)

4. A2.

monologue and is confined to the moment when she meets Christ and supposes him to be the gardener. There is no reference to the angels nor does Mary realise her mistake at the end. The language is very simple, but deceptively so, for the poet is attempting several intricate applications of one thought, first to various details of her actual situation and then to the details of her spiritual situation. In such a stanza as this, it is effective:

Perhaps it may him moue,
His presence to imparte,
To see how moistning these dry stones,
I therewith dry my harte.

In others it results in a repellent preciousness;

Yee windowes of my face,
That serue mee not to see,
Serue now of water stild of wo,
The conducts for to bee.

and

Good Gardener that arte here,
To kepe this garden place,
Lo how I water al thy plants,
With raine falne from my face.

At times he attempts a Southwellian play upon such words as "life", "death" and "love" but the result is, as with Southwell's worst poems, a reminder of the tedious riddling of some of the gnomic verse of Tottel's Miscellany:

Here lyf late seemed dead,
Here dead I seeme aliue,
It is my death him thus to misse,
That may my life reuyue.

The poem reminds us that the Magdalen is remarkable for her tears, not only because she wept as a

sign of her penitence but also because she wept when she missed Christ's body from the sepulchre. This time they were tears shed by love for Him and not specifically tears shed for herself, but with the Magdalen repentance and love are so inextricably mixed that we cannot separate them. She loved Christ when she anointed His feet and wept because she had not shown that love by her past behaviour.

Some Elizabethan poets were more interested in the later expression of the Magdalen's love than in the earlier one, and wrote on the theme of her mourning by the sepulchre rather than her tears at Christ's feet. We should expect from his prose work that Southwell would be such a poet and this is the case. When he attempts a poem on the subject of her repentance he writes in his worst manner but when treating the Passion or Resurrection¹ is inspired, as Professor Martz has pointed out, to write some of his finest lyrics. "Mary Magdalens Blush"² describes her conflicting feelings as her conscience moves her toward repentance in the imagery of an archer shooting his arrows into her heart, but this time, instead of the customary arrows of earthly love, they are arrows of divine love, and the imagery of a thief entering into her soul through her senses, perhaps not a wholly fitting conceit. The poem is elaborate in its play with these two conceits and its versification is jerky:

1. Op. cit., c.5, p.180f

2. Saint Peters Complaynt, 1595, p.37

O sence, O soule, o had, o hoped blisse,
 You woee, you weane, you draw, you driue me back.

In contrast, "Mary Magdalens complaynt at Christes death"¹ is very carefully constructed after the manner of a Jesuit meditation, beginning with a fine elaboration of Southwell's favourite life-in-death theme,

Sith my life from life is parted:
 Death come take thy portion.
 VWho suruiues, when life is muredred,
 Liues by meere extortion.
 All that liue, and not in God
 Couch their life in deaths abod.

It continues with the thought of Mary's dependence upon Christ's life likened to that of the stars and the sun, and streams and springs. The next stanza is a beautiful request to "true life" to turn away from death and come and live within her. Shadows cannot satisfy when the truth has been known but has now gone. Her life was lived in her love:

VWith my loue, my life was nestled
 In the somme of happinesse;
 From my loue, my life is wrested
 To a world of heauinesse.
 O, let loue my life remoue,
 Sith I liue not where I loue.

What, she asks, set free her soul from this prison, and then with a striking final turn she addresses the spear that pierced Christ's heart and sums up the whole poem, with its intricate thought of life and love, ending on a note of triumph, life may have gone but love remains:

1. Ibid. F2.

Spightfull speare, that break'st this prison,
 Seate of all felicitie,
 Working this, with double treason,
 Loues and liues deliuerie:
 Though my life thou drau'st away,
 Maugre thee my loue shall stay.

The management of the rhythm and the carefull wording of the paradoxes of the thought in this poem show Southwell, the fore-runner of the metaphysicals, at his best.¹

This aspect of the tears of Mary Magdalene is related to the thought of her as typical of the contemplative life, the lover of Christ who longs only for union with Him. There is only one poem which deals specifically with the mediaeval exposition of Mary and her sister as "types" of the active and contemplative life and that is a sonnet by John Davies of Hereford, which merely states the exposition and does not elaborate it.² The poet who does elaborate the idea of Mary as the contemplative, and who writes of her more constantly than any other religious poet of the period, is Nicholas Breton. He is not interested in the other examples of repentant sinners treated by the other poets. In the same way that he continues to write placid, pastoral, typically Elizabethan verse throughout the last years of his long life when such verse had ceased to be fashionable with the turn of the century, he ignores the prevalent interest in St. Peter and goes on demonstrating

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1. In the St. Omers edition, 1615, where "Saint Peters Complaynt" and selected poems are printed with "Mary Magdalens Funerall Teares", an attempt at unity is made by re-naming "Lewd Loue is Losse," "S.Mary Magdalens Traunce" and "From Fortunes reach," "S.Mary Magdalens Wittes Pilgrimage (1605?) / Farewell"
 - 2.

his devotion to that sinner of whom it was said, "Much is forgiven her, for she loved much".

The great output of Breton's religious verse has been neglected, and unjustly neglected, since it was first written. Much work has been done by antiquarians of the nineteenth-century on Breton's life and the question of his religious affiliation; Grosart edited his works, verse and prose, secular and religious, in 1879, and in recent years, the difficult question of the canon of Breton's works has been resolved by Jean Robertson,^{1.} but any appreciation of him as one of the greatest of Elizabethan religious poets has been noticeably lacking. The best criticism of this aspect of Breton's work is to be found in the fifteen page synopsis by Joseph Burns Collins in his survey of Elizabethan mysticism and then his subject left him little room for more than a brief resumé of each of Breton's poems.² The Oxford History passes over these poems in parenthesis and prefers to discuss John Davies of Hereford.

Before we come to the chief heirs of Spenser's religious and moral allegory (and without lingering over the fluent productions of Breton's sacred muse), we must³ give a paragraph to John Davies of Hereford.

The reason for this neglect may be found in the present admiration for the metaphysicals which finds in the lesser Elizabethans a pictorial emphasis which conflicts

1. Poems by Nicholas Breton, Liverpool, 1952.

2. Christian Mysticism in the Elizabethan Age with its Background in Practical Methodology, Baltimore, 1940, Pp175-

3. P.85.

with the later stress on the work of the intellect. When this love of pictorial effect in language is found in religious poetry, the products are open to the accusations of formlessness, hypocrisy and lack of thought. Yet Breton's religious poems are not as formless as Professor Bush's comment implies. It is true that he is fond of lists, of lengthy comparisons, and that his verse suffers from a steadiness of rhythm, brought about mainly by repetitive sentence construction, but nevertheless it is smooth-flowing and pleasantly melodious. He is not a diffuse writer who meanders along without quite knowing where his next verse will lead him. On the contrary, an examination of Breton's religious poems reveals that he started with a definite plan and kept to it, even though at times a favourite topic will lure him into dwelling on it a little longer than the proportions of the work should allow. An excellent Poeme, vpon the longing of a blessed heart: which loathing the world, doth long to be with Christ, printed in 1601, fulfills the promise given to Lord North in the dedication of being "a little volume of the vaine delight^es of the worldly, and the better longinges of the godly" and beginning with the line,

What life hath he that neuer thinkes of Loue?
continues by analysing verse by verse the lives of men of

all degrees and trades who live only for love of this world and then contrasting them with men of the same rank and occupation, scholar, farmer, sailor, musician, among many others, who live and work for the love of God. Then follows a passage on the longing of such souls for union with God and for the day when Christ, "That high day light, wherein the heavens doe liue"¹ will reappear. A realization of his own unworthiness sweeps over the poet and the poem ends with a prayer for penitence.

All by the prayer of true penitence,
Where faith in teares attendeth graces time,
My Soule doth hope in mercies patience,
My heart all cleansed from my sinfull crime,
To see the springing of Auroras prime,
In those bright beames of that sweete blessed Sunne
Of my deere God, in whome all blisse begunne.²

In this volume there follows a poem called "What is Loue" in which Breton tries to define divine love a little more closely. He does it by giving us several definitions of love, such as "Some thinke it is a babe of beauties getting", and rejecting them all:

In Christ his side, the faithfull soule may see
In perfect life, what perfect loue may be. 3.

The other two poems which follow continue this thought. The first, "Solus in toto laudandus Deus", treats of Christ's redeeming love and the last, "When the Angels all are singing", contrasts the writer's "foule infected spirite"

1. D.4.

2. (D.4v)

3. (E2^v)

with the joys of Heaven for which he longs but knows himself to be at the moment unworthy.

In other poems the structure can be seen even more clearly. The Pilgrimage to Paradise, printed in 1592, is an allegorical poem about the journey of man through all the temptations and dangers of this life until he comes to a church which in Breton's poem is at once a church and also the Heavenly Jerusalem. The Countesse of Penbrokes Loue, printed with it, is also carefully constructed. The Countess, weary of the joys of this life, and longing for she knows not what, rejects one by one the gifts and entertainments offered her by the world and, left alone at last, gives utterance to her longing for the love of God.

Any feeling of diffuseness we may get from Breton's poems is doubtless because he always writes of the same themes. He does not seek for novelty nor does he seem to regard the fact that we may have read this idea before expressed in a slightly different way. He always seems to be searching for an expression of his thought which will satisfy himself and never succeeding because his subject is above all human expression. Of his sincerity there can be no question, for he repeats the same thoughts so often and so fervently. He has made the theme of repentance

peculiarly his own. No other poet of this period treats it quite as Breton does.

A poem which very well expresses Breton's thought, and which also illustrates his unobtrusive but careful constructive powers, is The Soules Harmony, printed in 1602. This is a series of sonnets, printed in three quatrains and a couplet on facing pages. At first sight they appear to be separate poems, but closer examination shows that the thought of each is a continuation of that of the one before and the whole read together as one poem gives Breton's favourite topics very concisely. It begins, after acrostics on God and Jesus Christ, with a poem about the joy of the angels who see Christ and receive His love in full measure. The theme of Heaven is constantly found in Breton, but is not the idyllic place of the Heavenly Jerusalem ballads, where all earthly joys are perpetuated, but a place described, not in pictorial detail, but impressionistically in terms of light and music and angels' voices. The result is strangely moving and gives the impression of a man who longed for Heaven so much that he could not presume to describe it, just as we find it hard to describe in exact detail to anyone the features of a

loved person or place and our feelings about them, but must be content with a few outstanding impressions, which in their utterance show our love but do not satisfy us so that we are continually trying to give a better description. The longing for Heaven is in this way a continual topic in Breton's poems.

The next sonnet asks God why the poet is not there with the blessed but here "amid the world of woes" and continues with a dawning consciousness of his sinful state, which is intensified in the next sonnet, ending with submission to Christ:

What can I doe, but cry, Sweet Iesus, saue me:
For I am nothing, but what thou wilt haue me.

The next prays that his tears of penitence may win him God's mercy so that he may sing His praise, but this is followed by a prayer to be saved from despair,

Behold, sweet Lord, these bleeding drops of loue,
That melt my soule in sorrow of my sinne.

Then follows a prayer of a perfectly purified soul, and the next sonnet draws Breton's recurring contrast between those whose souls are contaminated by the world and those who love God. In his use of this idea there is a link with Breton, the gentle satirist, and Breton, the mystic, shows

himself, like so many of his kind, a shrewd observer of human activity and a spectator, at times an amused one, of men's foibles. The next sonnets deal with sin and mercy, the fact that all earthly things are as dross compared with heavenly ones and a prayer that man would think only of these. Then there is a slight break while the poet drops the sonnet form in favour of a sixline stanza as a more lyrical form appropriate for praise and prays for angelic assistance in praising God. Reverting to the sonnet form he confesses that it is hard for men to express God's glory and prays again for power to praise Him and ends with a return to the consideration of his earthly state and a realization that he must have patience just as the Biblical characters had,

No Iob, nor David, Cripple more in grieve:
Christ giue me patience, and my hope reliefe.

To such a man, filled with love of God and with longing for a departure from this world, where knowledge of his Loved One must forever be imperfect, to the Heavenly Jerusalem, where union would at last be achieved, and yet behind this ecstatic longing, having a deep sense of his own sin, the figure of Mary Magdalen had a special appeal.

To Breton, conscious of his own unworthiness, discontented with the fragile delights of this life and wistfully longing for Heaven, she was himself in a finer form. She was the sinner whose repentance was accepted, whose love for Christ was rewarded by His love in return, whose tears for His loss were Breton's tears, and who was finally given the joy of seeing Him, just as Breton prayed for a sight of Him in Heaven. Her ecstasy is an intensification of his and so all other penitents, in spite of his deep sense of penitence, have no attraction for Breton. Contemplation, at times merging into ecstasy is his main theme. The words which he gave as title to one of his poems, "the rauisht soule", are frequently repeated in others and "loue" or "passion" is a favourite word:

The contents of his prose statement of beliefs Diuine Considerations of the Soule, Concerning the excellencie of God, and the vilenesse of man are described in the epistle to the reader as

Matter enough for the good consideration of a contemplatiue sperit, which looks towards heauen ... longing to bee there.

"Gloria in excelsis Deo" is his favourite motto and frequently found at the end of his poems, but the praise is always

accompanied by the shadow of unhappiness at his sinful state.

In The Longing of a Blessed Heart the Magdalen is prominent among the examples of those who longed for Christ, a "type" in fact of the longing Christian soul:

When Mary Magdalene, so full of sinne,
As made her heart a harbour of ill thought,
Felt once the grace of God to enter in,
And driue them out that destruction sought.
Her soule was then to Iesus loue so wrought,
As that with tears in true effect did proue
The pleasing longing of the Spirits loue.

In grieve she went all weeping to his graue,
Longing to see him, or alieue or dead:
And would not cease vntill her loue might haue
Her longed fruite on which her spirit fed:
One blessed crumme of sweet heauenly bread
Of Angels food, but of her Lord a sight;
Whose heauenly presence prou'd her soules delight.¹

Her constancy in loving is a prevalent topic of Breton's as we can see from his little book of prayers, dedicated to Mary Sidney, Auspicante Jehoua. Maries Exercise, printed in 1597, where Mary's tears before the sepulchre are made the subject of a prayer for constancy,

I reed oh Lord of Mary Magdalens great grace,
who being a great sinner yet by a great repentance,
receiued a great measure of thy mercy sweetly
was shee blessed, that hauing once begon to seeke
thee could neuer leaue till she found thee, &
hauing once found thee, dið so deere/loue thee
that in the depth of hir loue, shee had no ioie
to liue from thee.²

1. (Dv)

2. (Diiiv)

Mary in her sitting at Christ's feet is also made the subject in this book of prayers for humility and contemplation.

In The Countesse of Penbrokes Loue, published at Oxford in 1592, Breton imagines the Countess expressing the longing of the soul for Christ,

To liue with thee, oh euerliuing loue,
 Oh let me die, that I may liue no more,
 Till in thy loue, I may the life approue,
 That may confesse I neuer liu'de before:
 Life is but death, where, thy loue shineth neuer,
 Onely thy loue, is happy life foreuer.¹

The speaker gradually loses the personality of Mary Sidney and puts on that of Mary Magdalene, so much so that we are not shaken when this identification is stated,

Looke on thy Mary with her bitter teares,
 That washed thy feete and wipte them with her
 heares,²

and the speaker is also a sharer in Mary's traditional asceticism, "my flesh, bare skin, and bone".

The subject is treated in the prose work, Mary Magdalens Loue, printed in 1595 with A Solemne Passion of the Soules Loue, which is dealing with Breton's favourite theme. Jean Robertson has conclusively proved that the

1. (Lii^v)

2. (Mii^v)

prose treatise is by Breton¹ in spite of Grosart's doubts about the rather Catholic nature of its fervour being out of keeping with Breton's Protestantism. The one poem which Breton wrote entirely on the Magdalen theme is disappointing, as he does not identify himself with the speaker, but merely retells the Gospel story of the Resurrection very simply with Mary's lament given as a soliloquy. The form is interesting, however, as it is written as a dream-vision, a favourite mediaeval form, whose popularity was renewed by the A Mirror for Magistrates. The beginning has all the charm of Chaucer's favourite convention:

My thoughts amaz'd, I knowe not how of late,
Halfe in a slumber, and more halfe asleepe,
My troubled senses, at a strange debate,
VWhat kind of care should most my spirite keepe,
Me thought, I sawe a silly woman weepe,
And with her weeping, as it seem'd, so pleas'd,
As if her heart had with her teares been eas'd.

He goes on to describe the setting in the best manner of the dream-vision:

The place, neere which she sate, was like a graue,
But all vncouer'd, and the bodie gone:
VWhere, in her care, she nothinge seem'd to craue,
But that stolne body how to looke vpon.²

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1. MLR, 36, Oct. 1941, Pp.449-59. "Nicholas Breton's Authorship of 'Marie Magdalens Loue' and 'The Passion of a Discontented Minde'."
 2. Div.

Her lament is then given, the angels and Christ appear, she expresses her joy and wishes all would weep with such grace. She vanishes and the poet only then realises who she is and ends by endorsing her prayer:

Marie, quoth he, Oh Maister, blessed voice,
From which my heart receiues so sweet a sound,
As makes my soule in rauisht ioy reioyce,
To thinke to liue, that I my Lord haue found:
Oh let my sinnes be in thy teares so drown'd,
That in ioyes, my soule be euer weeping,
To haue thy presence in my Comforts keeping.¹

This verse is typical of Breton's treatment of the Magdalen theme, an intensely personal treatment, which involves him in difficulties of expression. One feels that he is groping towards what the metaphysicals achieved but that the expression of infinity is double difficult to a poet writing in the Elizabethan pastoral tradition and juggling with abstract words, when he has not yet discovered the power of paradox.

The Elizabethan writers on the Magdalen were too greatly influenced by Southwell's verse to be interested in the mediaeval legends of her life. Repentance, not dramatic extremes, were all important. There are, however, exceptions to this statement whose work deserves a passing glance. One of the most notable is S. Mary Magdalens

1. (Fiii^v).

Pilgrimage to Paradise, published, most probably at St. Omer, in 1617. It is the work of the Jesuit, John Sweetnam, though published only under the initials, I.S.¹ Sweetnam's preoccupation with the life of the saint may be due to the fact that as a Catholic, he would have more respect for pre-Reformation literature and would retain an interest in hagiology. The work is written in prose, interspersed with verse on the most important events in Mary's life. It is written as a seven day journey, from earthly things to heavenly, each "day" being an incident in the saint's life. Sweetnam makes use of the legend and tells of the persecution in Palestine and of Mary's voyage to Marseilles and her sojourn in the desert where she was miraculously fed by angels, of her death and the wonders performed at her tomb. He also discusses the question of her status in Heaven and the meaning of the title of "mother" given her by the Church in accordance with the vision of St. Catherine, to whom the Virgin appeared telling her God would have her acknowledge the Magdalen as her mother. The author's intention is patently dialectic:

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1. Identified thus in S.T.C. and in Gillow, Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics, though the B.M. copy has "~~John~~ Smeaton" written on the title-page in a seventeenth century-hand.

Joannes

And if any should be found who are not deuout vnto her, it procedeth either of Pride, that they acknowledg not themselues sinners, nor thinke to stand in need of such a Patronesse; or else of Ingratitude, not to be myndfull of so louing a Mother, giuen them by the Holy Church; or lastly of Ignorance, that they know her not to be the mother of all sinners: which ignorance I will easily pardon if heerafter they will amend.¹

Sweetnam refers to the names of her parents as given in the legend and also the mediaeval interpretation of her names, "for what is Blessed Magdalen, but a strong Castell or Tower of defence"² and he uses the standard identification of her with the Spouse of the Song of Songs. He is ingenious in his exegesis and tells us that her name is only revealed in the later anointing in St. John "for sinners indeed haue no names, as St. Chrysostome noteth"³ and he is severe to anyone who doubts that she is the same person as Mary of Bethany, no doubt with a glance at the heated controversy of the mid-sixteenth century begun by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis in Paris in 1518 and in which St. John Fisher joined. Sweetnam is not wholly a belated mediaeval author, as he emphasises the reason for his writing about this particular saint.

1. Pp. 138-9.

2. P. 65.

3. P.(68v)

She is to him and, he hopes, to all his readers "a Lookinglasse of Pennance, and Mirrour of Repentance" and he dedicates his book to her, "To the Rare Patterne of Pennance, and most worthy Myrrour of Repentance...".

His verses are written upon the Resurrection story, her penance in the desert and finally a "Dialogve Betwene A Deuovt Sinner and his Patronesse Saint.." The poems are his work, as phrases in the prose portion are repeated in verse. In the first poem, the line

And to her wonted place his feet she hies
echoes the prose "running to her wonted place, his feet."¹
The first and the last poems are written in rhyme-royal and the second in the "Saint Peters Complaynt" stanza. The subject and treatment of the second poem bear a striking resemblance to Southwell's "A Vale of Tears", which Sweetnam may well have known, but in general his style is more suggestive of Giles Fletcher at his most florid. Such verses as

VWhen Christ that Orient pearle, and shining sunne
VWas drownd in VVesterne streames vpon the Crosse,
Then Magdalen her flouds of teares begun
To shew her loue, and to bewayle her losse:
Thus gold appeares, when purified from drosse.
How at the monument she did deplore,²
Shall be her monument for euermore...

1. P.109.

2. (G5^v) p.104.

and endure a short period of penance to ensure the great reward which she found.

Yett if those graces GOD to me impart,
Which he inspyr'd in thy blessed brest withall,
I may fynde heaven in my retyred hart;
And if thou change the object of my love,
The wyng'd affection, which men Cupid call,
May gett his syght, and lyke an angell prove.¹

Another poet whose interest in Mary Magdalene was primarily in her early life and who therefore does not deal fully with the "tear" theme is Thomas Robinson, whose Life and Death of Mary Magdalene is one of the last saints' lives to be written in English. This poem was edited in 1899 for the Early English Texts Society by H. Oskar Sommer who dated the manuscript (B.M.Harleian 6211) 1621, but, as he was unable to discover anything about the writer's life, it may have an earlier date of composition. The poem, which is divided into two parts, is a very allegorical one, owing much to morality-plays, such as Wager's. In its use of such abstract ideas as Pleasure and Melancholy, it reminds us of the early Chaucer but its lavish description owes much to Spenser and shows the author to have been of the school of the Fletchers. Mary

1. Spirituell Sonnettes to the Honour of God and Hys Sayntes by H.C. From a MS in the Harleian Collection (no.7553), printed in T.Park, Heliconia, vol.II, 1815.

is pictured among the attendants at the court of Pleasure and her life there is described in flamboyant terms. She is roused from this wicked existence by Conscience who, after other methods have failed, takes her to hell¹ where she meets Melancholy and is forced to imitate him. Nemesis then appears and sends the seven devils of the Gospel story into her to torture her. In the second part of the poem, Mary meets Christ who is walking in the flowery fields and he casts the devils out of her. A paraphrase of the Song of Songs is used to describe Christ as it is in Giles Fletcher's Christs Victorie and Triumph. Mary at last finds peace and is led to the courts of Wisdom, into whose tower she is admitted by the door-keeper, Humility. She is then led to repentance and she laments her former sin. She learns contemplation and seeks out Christ in the house of Simon and anoints Him. She is pardoned and goes away rejoicing and shows her true penitence by following Christ and by the rest of her life. The other incidents in the Gospel story are given very briefly. In this curious treatment of the theme the poet is living neither in the world as we know

1. Sackville's contribution to A Mirror for Magistrates is unique in including a journey to hell.

it nor in the world of allegory, but in a strange domain in between the two from whence he can step easily into either, just as Mary can move from the house of Repentance to that of Simon. The poet's interest is the same as that of contemporary religious poets, in the psychology of Mary's conversion which he expresses in the clearest way he can and in the only terms he knows, those of allegory, but in practice the result is not metaphysical but highly pictorial.

Another poem which owes something to the morality-play is Saint Marie Magdalen's Conversion written by an unknown man who reveals only that his initials were I.C. and that he may have been a Jesuit because of the emblem on the title-page and at the conclusion of the poem.¹ This poem the Short Title Catalogue conjectures to have been printed at Douai in 1603. In it, at the moment when Mary is begging for mercy, her soul "within her holds a² parliament" and personifications of her state of mind argue the point among themselves:

Hope doth perswade her sad Contrition,
Will for offences begge Remission

Strong Opinion certifies this and is supported by "free-borne will"

Only distrust and euer-douting feare
Her springing hopes doe crosse with dread dispayre

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1. Thurston (Month, Vol. 83, 1895) suggests Joseph Cresswell as the author. Gillow does not support this view.
 2. (B3v)

In the end Hope wins and she goes to anoint Christ's feet.

This poem is a combination of several ways of treating the theme. There is the allegorical way, used to the full by Robinson, which this poet uses slightly but effectively. There is also the direct narrative technique. The poem begins with an account of Christ's healing miracles and the poet comments that His mercy was shown most to Mary Magdalene. The description of her which follows is in the mediaeval tradition of the beautiful rich lady, but the poet is not betrayed into enlarging this unduly:

Shee needed not the ritch mans golden ring,
That all desires, seldome well gott, good,
Shee needed not the Herauldes deifing,
To make her gentle of vngentle bloud,
Shee needed not the painters white and red,
Nature those colors in her face had shed.

Apart from that execrable second line - the poet's sense of rhythm is not very acute - there is a commendable brevity about this description, and the poet drives it home by contrast:

Sinne made her want, in midst of her store,
Sinne made her seruile in her libertye,
Of all good graces sinne did make her poore,
And ritch in nothing but in misery,
Her soule was subiect to a thousand euilles,
Her body combred with as many Diuilles.

Christ drives out the demons and again the best colours in which to paint her are contrasts:

Her Lawles lustes she chaing'de to lawfull loue,
 Her many pleasures to one chief delighte,
 All other ioyes shee did from her remoue,
 And only ioyed in his blessed sighte,
 Who best deserued to bee loued most, I.
 Sauinge her soule from death, by sinne beinge lost.

It is interesting that "I.C." does not write the whole poem in this style but in occasionally moving into direct speech from his narrative. Mary Magdalene begins in the best moralising vein of Tottel's Miscellany with a shuddering glance at the speciousness of pleasure,

O how haue I deceaued beene (quoth shee)
 With the false shew of counterfeyt delight?

One of the charms of this poem is that "I.C.'s" Magdalen is not just a figure on which to hang the trappings of repentance, whether his own or imaginary, but a life-like character. She continues in a very human way by mourning the fact that she left her home and her family in her pride. We are reminded of the prodigal son, though no mention is made of him.

By a natural turn of thought she begins to consider the nature of sin, which she defines in a homely and telling phrase as "hels best frend"

She then, extending the thoughts suggested by this use of the "definition" stanza, confesses that she has been sin's partner and enticed others to sin, and in fact "sinnes-selfe I am growne". There follows a very original, and very human, thought, namely that people who know her as such a notorious sinner will not believe she has really

I. (A.4)

repented and she will have to stand all their scorn and
their pointing to her in the street, where some

Monster-like me to their children showe
and others watch her from their windows

Me thinkes I see some from their windowes looke,¹
And with their fingers pointing out my shame.

In this portion of his dramatic monologue, the unknown
poet shows his debt to contemporary historical poems,
notably those of Daniel and Drayton, which are enlivened
by such natural touches.

He cannot sustain this insight for long and there
follows a diatribe against sin in general and the fact that
all men sin even though they will not confess it. This
passage reads like the work of any other righteously indig-
nant sixteenth-century poet, whether he is speaking in
his own person or not. Mary goes on to describe the
conflict in her soul in the favourite simile of "a crasie
weather-beaten boate"

She resolves to go to Christ and, again very
naturally, imagines what He will say to her. He will tell
her she has no excuse, particularly because she has
committed a sin so appalling to an Elizabethan:

But I did giue thee natures ornament 2
Beautie, which thou hast lauishlie mispent

1. (B^V)

2. (B2^V)

She is a Jew which gives her even less excuse for not attending to His commandments and He has not punished her for a long while, so that now at the last minute she thinks He will be lenient. Her state is described in a line reminiscent of St. Peter craving admittance to Sorrow's house in Southwell's poem,

But bankrout-like, thou has mispent the stocke,^{1.}
And now asham'd at mercies gate doest knocke.

She imagines herself begging for mercy, her speech interrupted by tears, and then follows the debate within herself which we have previously discussed.

Her anointing of Christ is simply related. As she is about to perform this action, the author pauses and addresses Christ, praising His mercy shown to her, which makes quite certain that the reader appreciates the significance of this action,

O what are we (o Lord) that thou should'st way,
Our dutious service at so high a rate, -
All that we borrow, Iustice bindes to pay,
We owe thee all; from thee we all did take,
How comes it then that thou so well accep^{'sts},
If we discharge the tent'he of our due debts?

What did shee giue thee; but a cruse of oyle,
Which now shee had no further cause to vse?
Shee will no more her well form'de visage foile,
And Natures workmanship by arte-abuse,
But thou did'st weigh the loue wher^e with shee gaue
it,
Which made thee graciously vouchsafe to haue it.

1. B.3.

The description of the anointing is followed by a passage in praise of silence, a subject not found in any other poem on the Magdalen, but no doubt suggested by that further story of her sitting at Christ's feet, which makes her a symbol of contemplation. Silence, the poet laments, is not to be found anywhere, in courts, cities, or even the countryside,

The woodes the babling Ecco entertaine,
Which eache iterates and makes one twaine.^{1.}

The rest of the Magdalen's life up to the Passion is quickly told as a proof of her constancy above all her other virtues. Her lament over the dead Christ is again given in the first person. She weeps for him whose blood has been shed for her and following the traditional pattern, surveys His head, face, hands, heart and feet, with a meditation on each part. She describes her love for Christ because of all He has done for her, apostrophises the "vngratefull bloudy-mynded Iewes" and describes the signs in heaven and earth at the death of Christ. There follows an unusual and moving speech addressed to the Virgin, in which she suggests, possibly with the story of her later sojourn in the wilderness at the back of the poet's mind, that they find a suitable place to mourn.

1. (C^V)

Thou art, more like the dead, or deathes palle wife,
Then to the mother of the Lord of life.

Shall you and I (deare Ladie) plight our troth,
And wed our selues to sorrowes restles bed,
Our loue and ioye is taken from vs both,
And we are lefte for to bewale the dead,
Wee both lament the losse of him that's gone,
I, a ^{moore} louing Lord, thou, a blessed Sonne.

Shall wee be take vs to a Hermitage,
In some wilde desert vnto men vnknowne,
And there weare out the remnant of ourage,
Filling the wide woodes with our ceaseles moane,
Lette me take part of this thy heauy cheare,
And for ech sigh of thine ile spend a teare?

Fellowes in misery lessens sorrowes waight:
But I vnworthy am to be thy mate,
I haue a spotted soule with sinnes full freight:
But thou a Virgine art Immaculate;
Thou art assin'de vnto a Virgines keeping,
I will alone betake my selfe to weeping. 1.

This long passage is typical of the poet and also of most of the Elizabethan religious poets. There are some lines of extreme beauty and power such as the moving variation on the Ruth-Naomi theme

And wed our selves to sorrowes restles bed
but the poet cannot sustain this and drops into very mediocre or even downright bad verse after such a flight. The Elizabethan religious poets are fore-runners of Vaughan in more things than choice of subject-matter.

The Entombment is quickly described

Which in this weeper breedes newe cause of
~~weeping~~ crying

and is followed by another lament in the first person in

which Mary addresses the Cross and resolves to "sett thee for an object fore myne eyes", a stanza which contains the Catholic teaching of the significance of the crucifix. She passes the day in weeping, only going home when "duskie nighte had darkend all the sckye" and goes next morning to the tomb, where the incidents there are swiftly described. Her lament over the loss of Christ's body is very brief and confined to an apostrophe to the supposed thieves and, an unusual touch, an envious outcry against them because they possess what she most longs for. The poem ends with a short description of her joy at seeing the risen Christ, but the poet adds a sort of envoi. This is a prayer to Christ, the Creator and Ruler, of infinite wisdom and mercy, to give him grace to do as Mary did. Here the application of the poem is to be found:

Shee wash'de thy feet^e with teares her eyes had shed,
 To clense her soule thy bloud thou did'st perfuse,
 Shee powr'de her precious oyntment on thy hed,
 In her thou did'st Caelestiall grace infuse,
 Shee for thy absence did great sorrowe take,
 Thou with thy presence did'st her ioyfull make

Giue grace (O Lord) to me vnworthy one,
 To imitate this blessed Saint of thine,
 Fill thou myne eyes with teares, my hart with moane,
 That I may w^aste those greuious sinnes of myne
 But if salt teares vnto myne eyes be scant,
 Bee mercifull (O Lord) for this my want.

Make me (like her) all worldlie ioyes reiect,
 And lett my soule bee wedded to thy loue,
 Thy louing sweetenes lett me not forgete,
 All other fancies from my hart remoue,

And if I do not loue thee as I should,
 Hauē mercie Lord; accept of that I would. 1

The poet has not, as other poets did, merged his own repentant thoughts in those of his chosen character, but he adds at the end an application of this long and dramatic meditation to his own personal spiritual state. He is, as it were, giving the audience the point of the play in an epilogue after the final curtain.

Many of the poets, though in effect identifying themselves with some other penitent, St. Peter, the publican, the lost sheep, yet refer to the Magdalen to help in defining their feelings. Such is the use Thomas Collins makes of the Magdalen theme in his Penitent Publican, where he is speaking of the lasting effects of a true conversion, and cites St. Paul and, in greater detail, St. Mary Magdalen as examples. He describes the anointing and then praises her "thrice happie heares" and "thrice blest teares" and puts himself in her place:

And humbly now (like Mary) Lord come I,
 As sad, and sorie, as e're she could bee:
 And for my sinnes repenting hartily,
 Yet though my teares I cannot powre on thee:
 As Christ to her (oh Lord) do thou to mee.
 Remit my sinnes, and ere I leaue this place,
 Expulse my euill, and fill me with thy grace. 2

Not many poets deal with the contrast between Mary's

-
1. (D.V).
 2. C.3.

former life and her later regenerate days, but on the fly-leaf of S. Mary Magdalens Pilgrimage to Paradise in the same italic hand that has wrongly identified the author as John Smeaton is written a poem which does this. I have been unable to identify the author of this poem, but I should judge from its style and subject-matter that it is most probably contemporary with the Pilgrimage and written by someone who admired the florid style in which Sweetnam wrote his verses. Its metre is shaky but it is a well-balanced poem, but lacks the final couplet which would make it into a passable sonnet. As it is its ending is very lame:

Vpon St. Mary Magdalene Weeping.

The Scene is chang'd, That lovely Grace,
Which sate triumphing in her Face,
Which whosoe're beheld streight found
The Darts of Love his Soul to Wound,
Grief has o're-cast: Those Wanton Eyes,
Whose Glances challeng'd Victories,
Shed penitent Show'rs, and that Hair,
Each Curl of which did prove a snare
To fetter Youth, dishevel'd lyes,
And serves for Towels to her Eyes,
Which over-flow with happy Tears,
Whose Drops gain'd Heav'n, and calm'd her Fears.

Another poet who finds the Magdalen a teacher in repentance is Christopher Lever who, in A Crucifixe, briefly refers to her.

For holy Maudlen doth instruct my teares,
To wash, and then to wipe them with my haires. 1

There are brief references to the anointing in such poems as Saint Peters Ten Teares, where in the fifth "tear" the poet draws the lesson of humility from the story and assures Christ that he will have a similarly submissive mind and will not be hypocritical,

beholde ile bend when none but Jesus sees¹.

A contrast with the hardness of heart of the poet is occasionally drawn, as in The Lamentation of the Lost Sheepe, but one puts down to poetic exaggeration and the desire to occupy the centre of the stage, even at the cost of sincerity, such statement as Ellis's,

But wretched I, that see more sinnes then shee,
Nor grieve within, nor yet weepe outwardly².

and John Davies of Hereford's,

Let me with Marie, who had much forgiv'n,
(Yet I much more) make Them my highest Heav'n

Mention of the feet of Christ in the poems on the Crucifixion often recalls to the poet the particular devotion of St. Mary Magdalen to them and she is mentioned in such a context in Davies's Holy Roode. I have found only one poem which deals entirely with the Entombment and that is an excruciatingly bad one by Samuel Rowlands in his The Betraying of Christ. "The Funerals of Iesus" deals in great and gruesome detail with His burying and mourns in a comically anachronistic way the fact that he had

1. (B2^V)

2. E2.

no "funerall pompe"

Borne to thy grave, without one candles light,¹
Or Clergie, night precedent institute. (sic)

The group of figures around the body is described so graphically that we feel Rowlands must have had some particular painting in mind; if not one of the great Italian paintings (and such things do not provoke comment from Elizabethan travellers) then perhaps some mediaeval representation in stained glass:

At Jesus head laments his pensive mother,
Joseph with Nicodemus at one side
And both the Maries place them at the other.

Rowlands gives us an unusual light on the scene in Simon's house, when he makes Judas remember it with envy of Mary's truth and singleness of heart:

Ah Magdalen sower sorrowes turn'd they sweet,
Well didst thou weepe to wash, and washing gaine,
With hairie towell wiping Jesus feet.
Thy true repentant teares did grace obtain:
While I thy vertues sought to have disgrast,
Tearming that holy worke, A needlesse wast.

Both Calvin's types of repentance, "legal" and "evangelical" are thus placed in close contrast.

The Magdalen theme more than any other of the repentance themes in Elizabethan verse gives wide scope to the poet. He can write of any incident in her life, but at the back of his mind will always be the knowledge that she was a great sinner and is the patron saint of that

1. Hii

category into which all men come. She is used therefore to contrast earthly and heavenly love, to shed light by comparison or by contrast on other notable sinners, or to show in a person the application of some of the parables, such as the lost sheep or the publican, as well as a "Rare Patterne of Repentance". Considered as the latter, her story can be simply told, but there is always at the end an application of her situation to the poet himself which is totally different from the mediaeval treatment. More often the poet speaks through the Magdalen and gives us a dramatic monologue. Sometimes, and in the case of the greatest of the Magdalen poets almost always, he identifies himself with her in her sorrow and her longing. Her tears of love are remembered as well as her tears of penitence. She, more than any other character illustrates the barrier which sin puts up between God and the soul which loves Him, and many find comfort in her share in the Easter story. Her tears mingle with those of many others in the religious verse of the turn of the century and even in the Heavenly Jerusalem poems we are not allowed to forget them, for there we learn that at last

The Magdalen weeps no more.^{1.}

1. A Song of Mary, 1601, Fii

CHAPTER V

The Tearful Parables

'By sinne there is a partitiō made betwene God and man: who is alienated and estraunged from God, and is become the child of wrath, a firebrand of hell, the prodigall child going from his father into a farre country, the straying, nay the lost sheepe.'

William Perkins, Two Treatises,
1595, (A4v).

A modern writer on the Magdalen, Raymond-Leopold Bruckberger, has seen in her the active representation of Our Lord's parables of repentance. She is the lost sheep over whose restoration to his fold the shepherd rejoiced and, when she anointed Christ's feet in the house of Simon the Pharisee, she demonstrated the attitude of the Publican which Christ contrasted with that of another Pharisee, not very unlike Simon, in another of his parables.¹ This identification was not made by any of the Elizabethan writers on St. Mary Magdalene for it narrows the interpretation to one particular penitent instead of extending it to embrace all men. A discussion of the treatment of the parables of repentance by the Elizabethan religious poets emphasises the final stage of complete identification of the poet-sinner with the penitent he is describing which we saw in the treatment of St. Peter and Magdalen. The narrative content of the parables of the lost sheep and the penitent publican is slight and their dramatic potentialities are not much greater, but by their very nature they demand the reader's identification with the central figure. Therefore we do not expect any rendering of them in verse to concern itself with mere narration. In fact all the poets who deal with them stress the personal application. Soon even the slender framework of metaphor which the parable provides will disappear and the lost sheep will come closer to us,

1. Op. cit., p.59.

no longer stating that he is a figure in a parable or pointing to the briars in which his feet are entangled but saying with forceful directness, "Wilt Thou forgive that sin by me begun?"

The parable of the lost sheep is one of Our Lord's shortest. It is given in three verses in chapter 15 of St. Luke's Gospel:

What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it?

And when he hath found it, he layeth in on his shoulders, rejoicing.

And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost.

The apparent simplicity of this parable is increased by Christ's explanation of it given in the next verse:

I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance.

The picture of the individual soul as a sheep and God as the shepherd taking care of His flock is one which constantly occurred to Old Testament writers. It was to them a homely and precise metaphor. David, once a shepherd himself, saw God as the perfect shepherd guiding the sheep to fresh water and good grazing ground even along difficult and dangerous ways.¹ Isaiah extended this idea and saw men in their wilful and foolish evasions of God's direction like a flock

1. Psalm 23.

of sheep without a leader "turned every one to his own way".¹ The final seal of authority was set by Christ's own elaboration in John 10, where He identifies Himself with David's good shepherd and enlarges Isaiah's conception of the common waywardness of sheep and men. All these references to sheep and shepherd were in the minds of those who at the turn of the sixteenth century wrote poems about that figure Our Lord alone mentions, the sheep which was lost but which the shepherd sought and found.

The longest poem using this parable as its inspiration is The Lamentation Of The lost Sheepe by G.Ellis. This was printed by William Jaggard in 1605. There was only one edition and only two copies of it are known, that in the Huntington Library and that in the British Museum. The Christian name of the author is not given in the book. The initials, "G.E." alone appear on the title-page and the dedicatory epistle to Sir Francis Castillion is signed "G.Ellis". William Thomas Lowndes in his Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature (1858) gives the name as "George" but states no reasons for this assumption. The poet may perhaps be identified with the Griffith or Griffin Ellis who matriculated from Jesus College, Oxford, in 1575² and also with the "G.E." who wrote "Adams Calamities, and misery".³

1. 53.6

2. See Appendix B.

3. See Appendix A.

The reason why there was not more than one edition of this poem may be found in the fact that the bulk of it, fifty stanzas in all, was taken from a poem called The Passion of a Discontented Mind, which was first printed in 1601 and attributed to Nicholas Breton. The two stanzas forming the conclusion of each poem are also fundamentally the same. It will be necessary, before discussing the alterations which Ellis made, to consider this poem and the question of its authorship at some length.

The edition of 1601 was printed by Valentine Sims for John Bailly. One copy only has survived and is in Harvard University Library. It is not listed in the STC but is described by Miss Jean Robertson in Modern Language Review, (1941)¹ where she proves it to have been written by Nicholas Breton. It had previously been assigned to him by Thomas Corser in his Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, where he remarked:

Although we have no actual proof that it was composed by him, nor anything to identify it with his name, yet it has all the marks of Breton's style, and is usually attributed to his pen by competent bibliographers. Judging also from internal evidence, and comparing it attentively with others of the same author's acknowledged productions, we believe we are right in ascribing it to him.²

1. Vol. 36, pp. 449-59. The substance of this article was incorporated in her Poems by Nicholas Breton (not hitherto reprinted), Liverpool, 1952, pp. xcii-xcviii.

2. 1867, pp. 42-5.

In this he disagreed with John Payne-Collier who had edited the poem from the 1602 edition in the Bodleian the previous year and had stated that there was not "the slightest evidence to support the position" and preferred to suggest Southwell as a possible author:

The style of what follows is superior to Breton's usual manner. Some of the stanzas are as powerful and eloquent as any that Southwell left behind him, and were we to form a conjecture, we should be more disposed to give it to him, as a posthumous effusion, than to assign it to such a money-making pen as that of the author of The Soul's Harmony or Wonders worth the Hearing both of which, like the work in our₁ hands, made their appearance in 1602.

Grosart, while not going as far as this, yet refused to believe that it was Breton's work and omitted it from his "complete" edition of his works for The Chertsey Worthies' Library in 1879. His reasons were:

The Passion of a Discontented Minde, 1601, has neither his name nor initials nor the mint-mark words of the period, whereby the Breton₂ authorship should have been betrayed.

Corser had also know of this first edition but Payne-Collier appears to have been ignorant of it. Their main arguments against the ascription were that it was printed by a stationer Breton did not normally use, that it was anonymous and that it did not contain any of what Grosart termed Breton's "mint-mark words".

1. "Introduction."
2. "Memorial-Introduction", p.lxxiii.

Miss Robertson assigns it to Breton for several reasons. She proves in her article that Breton was in fact in the habit of employing a great many printers and that the names of Valentine Sims and John Bailey do occur again in connection with other works.¹ Furthermore, Breton published anonymously another work in the same year, 1601, No Whippinge, and had published two years previously another religious poem, The Passions of the Spirit, which, in spite of its anonymity, Grosart had no hesitation in believing to be his work and which he printed in his edition for The Chertsey Worthies' Library as The Countess of Pembroke's Passion. The general feeling of a deep sense of sin is common, Miss Robertson argues, to both these anonymous religious poems and in both the sinner compares himself to St. Mary Magdalene. The verses dealing with this part of his subject are very similar to those on the Magdalen in The Longing of a Blessed Heart by Breton which was also published in 1601. The opening stanzas of The Passion of a Discontented Mind are very like those of three other religious poems by Breton, The Pilgrimage to Paradise (1592), The Passions of the Spirit (1599) and "The Second Daies worke" of The Soules immortall crowne (1605). In all of them the poet invokes the muse of melancholy and tells where she is to be found. Another poem which begins in a similar fashion is "An extreame passion" in

1. In correspondence with me Miss Robertson (Mrs. Bromley) has stated that she wishes to retract this part of her argument.

Melancholike humours, which is also like The Passion of a Discontented Mind in its prevalent mood. The poem contains three verses which are a plea to poets to change from secular to divine subjects and this is also found in No Whippinge, entered in the Stationers' Register a month later. These verses in particular contain several unusual words or word-combinations favoured by Breton and the use of an adjective as a verb which is found in some of his other works. The very use of the word "Passion" in the title suggests several other religious poems known to be by him. It can therefore be concluded that The Passion of a Discontented Mind is most probably the work of Nicholas Breton.

Two other editions of the poem are listed by Miss Robertson. Copies of the edition of 1602, which was printed for John Bailey by Thomas Creede, are to be found in the Huntington Library, the Harmsworth collection and the Bodleian. The Bodleian copy was reprinted by John Payne / Collier in 1866 with some inaccuracy in spelling and punctuation. Any references to this edition in my study are based on the copy in the Bodleian, which is bound up with eight other printed poems and one poem in manuscript, all definitely by Breton. The third edition was printed by Nicholas Okes for Samuel Albyn and copies of this are in the Huntington Library and the British Museum. The latter is the copy I have used for collation with The Lamentation

Of The lost sheepe and from which all quotations are taken unless otherwise stated. For the 1601 edition I have had to rely on the extensive quotations in Miss Robertson's article.

It has not been previously noted that there is a copy of The Passion of a Discontented Mind in Egerton MS 2403. This is a quarto volume containing fifty-seven pages of paper which was acquired in 1876 from the library of Thomas Corser. On the fly-leaf is the inscription "THOMAS WENMAN, BONUS-HOMO TIMENS DEUM IHS(surmounted by a cross) MARIA 1601 (Londini datus die 10 Iully)"and in a seventeenth century hand "W. Stonehouse." The volume contains a long poem in the tradition of the Mirror for Magistrates on the life and death of Mary, Queen of Scots, a number of psalms and hymns, mostly the work of William Hunnis, but which here have Wenman's signature at their foot, and The Passion, which is untitled and is a different, thicker and more illegible secretary-hand than the previous pieces. Reversing the volume is part of a French poem, dated 1601 on Ann Boleyn in yet another hand. The English poems and a specimen of the French poem were edited in 1810 by J(ohn) F(ry) as The Legend of Mary, Queen of Scots and other Ancient Poems. Fry ascribed the authorship of the first poem, which he praised highly, to Thomas Wenman whom he identified with the Thomas Wenman who was Public

Orator of Oxford in 1594. He may also have been related to the Oxfordshire recusant family one of whose family-names was 'Thomas'. Fry noted the lyrics which are by Hunnis and gave references to their printed versions. The third poem he entitled "The Lamentation of a Sinner" but offered no suggestion as to its authorship. He pointed out that the handwriting is that of an older person, but offered no comment on its literary merit, other than to indicate its frequent use of alliteration and its borrowings from Southwell. Its most outstanding feature in his opinion, was "its varied strangeness of orthography." The spelling is grotesque even by the standards of that period. It would appear from the date in the manuscript, 10 July 1601, that the poem was copied into it quite soon after the first edition of The Passion of a Discontented Mind was published. There is no entry of it in the Stationers Register though even if there were, it would not necessarily indicate the month in which the first edition was printed. In view of the change of handwriting, it may have been copied some months after July 1601 but as someone else copied out part of a poem dated 1601, beginning it in reverse with the intention of using up the book, it may be presumed that the copy of The Passion of a Discontented Mind followed quite closely upon John Bailey's first edition of it. It would be a hazardous task to prove that the manuscript copy was made before the printed version

appeared and even more hazardous to suggest that this hitherto unnoticed version may throw any light on the problem of the authorship of The Passion. It is not in Breton's handwriting nor is it in the same fine hand of the man who wrote out "Adams Calamitie, and misery," in Egerton MS 2477 but it is a neat copy with no alterations. That the writer had not copied blindly will be seen later in this chapter when the interesting variations from both Breton's and Ellis's poems will be considered.

It should be mentioned that Corser in his Collectanea Anglo-Poetica¹ describes an eight-page manuscript in Heber's collection dated 1604 and called The Passion of a Discontented Minde. The author gives his name as Henry Calfielde, "Gentleman", but Corser was unable to discover any details of his life. The poem is in the popular six-line stanza and judging by the few stanzas of what Corser terms "this lugubrious complaint", the poem merits his criticism of it as "anything but harmonious" and of "a feeble and querulous tone". Its connection with Breton's work puzzled Corser who had not examined the 1621 edition and therefore was unaware that it was a reprint of the 1601 edition. He thought that the third, and, as far as we know, last edition of The Passion of a Discontented Mind

1. P.236.

might be this manuscript poem enlarged. There can be no doubt that such is not the case and that Henry Calfielde's poem remained in the obscurity it deserved, but Corser points out:

The title of the poem may have been taken from Nicholas Breton's publication under the same name, which had appeared a short time before, in 1601.

Payne+Collier was ready to assign the poem to Southwell rather than to Breton, mainly on the grounds of its poetic worth. He felt it was "superior to Breton's usual manner" but admitted in his closing paragraph:

some portions of what follows are weaker, more languid, and more common-place, than what generally proceeded from his (Southwell's) vigorous intellect.

The concern of the poet "to counteract the effect of the looser love-literature of the day" appeared to support this view. This tendency to underline the conflict between secular and religious verse was, as we saw in Chapter 1, not confined to Southwell, but was used by Breton together with many other versifiers and could serve the poet as an accepted excuse for entering the field of religious verse and attempting to write the kind of poetry which Southwell had made fashionable.

I disagree with Payne-Collier's opinion that The Passion of a Discontented Mind is "superior to Breton's

usual manner". On the contrary, it appears to me decidedly inferior. It lacks the unity which Breton's religious poems normally possess and it has none of that (~~but~~ at times monotonous) melodious sweetness, which is characteristic of his best verse. There is little in it of his customary interest in men and their vocations, and the lively thumb-nail sketches we often find in his religious verse are missing. The poem has not much of his mystical exaltation in it. The one attempt at a description of Heaven is brief:

There is the place wherein all sorrowes dye,
Where Ioy exceeds all ioyes that euer were;
Where Angels make continuall harmony,
The minde set free from care, distrust, or feare:
There all receiue true contentation,¹
Happied by heavenly contemplation.

Joy and the music of angels, two prominent features of Breton's conception of Heaven, are there, but light, which is the third, is missing. He does not sustain his description but goes on to give, in contrast, a description of hell. This is seldom found in Breton's poems; earthly life is usually sufficient in its misery to serve as a contrast for him.

The subject-matter, taken as a whole, apart from Miss Robertson's bibliographical reasons, points to the poem's being by Breton. The three other religious poems by him printed in the same year, 1601, The Rauisht soule, The Blessed Weeper and The longing of a Blessed heart, are all

1. (Bv)

poems in which the speaker is very conscious of the sinful state which separates him from the blessed amid the joys of Heaven. In these three poems a considerable number of stanzas is devoted to describing the state of the blessed but in the fourth he is too oppressed by the weight of his sin to devote more than one stanza to it. It would not be fanciful to see that at the time of writing The Passion of a Discontented Mind the poet was exploring the depths of this intense melancholy and longing.

This poem alone of the four was reprinted the next year and again nineteen years later. The edition of 1621 when collated with that of 1602 reveals no appreciable differences. The first publisher was John Bailey and his rights were taken over by Samuel Albyn who published the third edition.¹ It was not revised when it was reprinted in 1621. Breton was still alive and this, his most doleful and uneven religious poem, suited the temperament of his age. The fact that the title was "borrowed" by a very minor versifier, that another poet had plagiarized the main part of the poem and that a third person had copied it out with some personal alterations is as indicative of its popularity as of the gloomy taste of the time.

1. R.B. McKerrow (General Editor), A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640, Printed for the Bibliographical Society, 1910.

Ellis's poem is entered in the Stationers' Register under Jaggard's name on the 15 May 1605 as The Lamentacon of the Loste Shippe. No other work by this author is recorded but in his dedicatory epistle to Sir Francis Castillion, Ellis claims that he has "(in the like) heertofore pleased many"¹ "In the like"^{may} refer to the dedicating of books he has written to patrons "beeing knowne to be louers of learning and vertue" but to whom the poet was unknown, or to the writing of long religious poems. The other works are presumably lost, if they ever existed at all. This may be merely a trick of Elizabethan book-advertisement, but in W. Carew Hazlitt's Second Series of Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature 1474-1700² there is listed under "G.E." "A Most profitable and pleazant Poeme, worthy to bee red and respected; drawene from the pure fountaine of flowing stream to euerlasting salu(a)con Compiled by G:E:". This is dated by Hazlitt circa 1600 and consists of a poem of nineteen leaves on "Adams Calamitie and misery: cured by Christ's humanytye and Mercy." The subject of the poem, which, if ever printed is now lost, and only to be found in Egerton MS.2477, accords very well with that of The Lamentation Of The lost sheepe and it is possible that Adams Calamitie

1. (Bv).

2. 1882, p.189.

and misery is one of the poems with which Ellis before 1605¹
 "pleased many" .

It must be stated at the outset that Ellis's poem is a better one than Breton's original and that the plagiarism has been skilfully done and for a purpose. The two poems are completely different in their openings. Breton's opens, as we have seen, with a description of the source of "My wailing muse:

From silent night, true Register of Moanes;
 From saddest soule, consum'd with deepest sinnes,
 From heart quite rent with sighs and heauy groanes;

and goes on to prepare us for the prevailing melancholy of the poem:

And to the world brings tunes of sad despaire,
 Sounding nought else but sorrow, griefe, and care.²

The poet then toys with the two words "sorrow" and "grief" and produces a stanza which demonstrates his skill in juggling with words but does not reveal the intensity of his despair nor the cause of it:

Sorrow, to see my sorrowes cause augmented,
 And yet lesse sorrowfull, were my sorrowes more;
 Griefe, that my griefe with griefe is not preuented;
 For griefe it is must ease my grieued sore.
 Thus griefe and sorrow cares but how to grieue;
 For griefe and sorrow must my cares releue.

In the next stanza he likens his condition to that of an

1. For text and full discussion see Appendix A

2. A2.

open wound. It needs stanching with tears but they can only proceed from deep grief and the poet feels his "Griefes come but slacke", which makes him fearful that his wound will never heal and he will die. So far we have received no indication of the cause of the poet's sorrow. Apart from the stress upon the need for tears which may have prepared us for a religious poem, the opening stanzas could be those of a love-poem or an elegy. In the next stanza, however, the religious motive is plainly stated. The poet invokes the aid of the Holy Spirit that he may examine his sins which nothing can eradicate but tears of true repentance:

Thou deepest Searcher of each secret thought,
 Infuse in me thy all affecting grace;
 So shall my workes to good effects be brought,
 ~ While I peruse my vgly sinnes a space:
 Whose staining filth so spotted hath my soule,
 As nought will waste, but teares of inward dole.

It is at this point that Ellis begins copying Breton's poem, incorporating this stanza into his own work. For Breton's arid three opening stanzas, he has substituted eighteen which are not only finer in themselves but form a much more fitting introduction to the poem as a whole. Ellis begins, in contrast to Breton, by looking upward to the source of mercy and truth. The home of Mercy is described with almost Spenserian luxuriance, an anticipation of the opening

book of Giles Fletcher's epic and the early poems of Milton:

Above the Clouds, where spangled troops of stars
Adorne the pretious bosome of the skie,
.....And all the Consort that is tun'de on high.
Send forth their delicate melodious sound,
That make those christal vaults with ioy
rebound.

Within the bright Jmperiall Orbe of rest, (sic)
Where soules of Saints on golden Altars set,
And in the Lambs sweet breath are onlie blest,
Where thousand graces, Millions more beget;
Where daies bright shine suffers no sunne to set.
There MERCE is inthron'de in blessed chaire, 1
Most gorgeous in attire, most heauenlie faire.

Silver-winged Cherubim fly around her and Truth "richly cloath'd in milk-white ornament" stands at her right hand. The baroque splendour of this Heaven and the personification of the Attributes of the Deity are totally unlike Breton's impressionistic descriptions and in the emphasis on colour and all that appeals to the eye are very dissimilar to anything in contemporary religious verse until the publication of Christs Victories and Triumph in 1610.

Ellis moves from this stylised description to
an address to God

Oh thou, that art both MERCIE and TRVTHS-self,
and a prayer for mercy

With thy deare **MERCIE** saue me, saue thy son, (sic)
Who melts with grieffe for what he hath misdona.

1. (B3v), stanzas 1 and 2. The stanzas are numbered in this edition. The printing of "j" for "i" is common.

The situation of the poet is at once made clear and the exalted tone of the initial invocation is maintained in the following stanzas. The next three are prayers to the Holy Name, the Name of God "which MOSES on his forehead bare". The first five lines are the address and the couplet contains the petition. The next six stanzas are on the same plan but are addressed to Christ. The final lines are often an anticlimax but the unity of each separate stanza is well-preserved and the whole is a moving prayer to Christ the true peace, the light, the water of life, the promised giver of life, the eternal and "yet in time a man". Ellis rises occasionally in this part of the poem above the mediocre to something approaching Southwell's sincerity and power, as in the eleventh stanza;

Oh light of heauen thou wast extinck't on earth,
Yet to our soules celestiall life dost giue,
Thy death our life, thy rising our new birth,
Thou with thy heuenly blessings dost relieue:
Thou three daies dead, didst make vs euer liue.
 Thou at whose death obscur'd was th'earth and
 skie
Reduce me to the right, that runne awry.

It is natural for him to go on to consider the state of his soul which he describes in a hyberbolical fashion suited to the grandiose opening of his poem:

I come in cloudes of griefe, with pensiuē soule,
Sending forth vapours of black discontent:
To fill the concaue cirkle of the Pole,
And with my teares bedew each continent...¹

1. (C2v), Stanza 16.

The link with what has gone before is further maintained by a prayer to God whose attribute of mercy is again stressed, and by allusions to the lost sheep parable, which he first used in his ninth stanza in his prayer to the Holy Name:

And (SHEPHEARD) saue thy sheepe that's almost lost.
He has strayed "from the fold of sweet content"¹ and prays
Make me in number, one amongst thine owne.

He vows that he will rival Niobe in her weeping:

That in her life did most extremely rue, 2
And with one griefe another did persue.

This allusion to the most copious weeper of classical mythology is not found elsewhere in the religious verse of the period, even though the poets, anxious to emulate secular verse, often include classical allusions. Usually they are very strained and seldom have the aptness which this possesses. Perhaps, taken in conjunction with Ellis's fondness for Latin mottoes, it may indicate a greater familiarity with the classics than many of the religious poets possessed. Immediately upon this stanza with its emphasis on tears and its personal application follows Breton's fourth stanza with its prayer for the aid of the Holy Spirit in the poet's self-examination.

Ellis's introduction can thus be seen to be far

1. (C2v), 16.

2. C3, 18.

more elaborate and to lead very naturally into Breton's poem. It owes only a few minor points to Breton. In his sixth stanza Ellis uses the metaphor of a wound to describe his sinful state:

I stand in danger of a deadly wound
This was probably suggested to him by Breton's more elaborate conceit of

The wound fresh bleeding must be stancht
with teares.

Ellis is fond of the word "iars" which occurs twice in the opening section:

where heauenly peace abandons breaking iars¹
and

Thou didst² bring gladsome harts in steade of
iarres.

In his copying of Breton's poem he retains the word in his thirty-eighth stanza.³ Another line of Ellis's induction implies that he knew other poems by Breton. In his sixth stanza he prays:

Preserue me (Lord) thy sauing health reueale:
So tongue, so pen, so hart, shal for the same,
Speak, write, sing, laud and praise vnto thy
name.

The last line in particular has a ring very suggestive of Breton at his most ecstatic, but this customary resolve of Breton's to praise the God who has redeemed him is not

1. B3, 1
2. C.10.
3. The Passion, B2.

found in The Passion of a Discontented Mind. His misery is too great.

For the next forty-eight stanzas Ellis has copied Breton but the alterations he has made, slight though they are in many cases, reveal a definite purpose. The major one is the alteration of the structure of the stanza, so that, instead of the popular six-line form, Ellis is using a seven-line one. By this change he meant to give the verse extra dignity. Rhyme royal was approved by the great Elizabethan critics for serious matters, "graue discourses", as Gascoigne defines them.¹ Ellis manages his alteration carefully and does not always insert the additional line in the same place in every stanza. He does not always achieve rhyme-royal either and one stanza, the fourth, is a six-line one, but there is no significance in this and it is most likely a compositor's error.

The customary place for Ellis to insert his extra line is the obvious one, after Breton's quatrain and before his couplet. Usually the sense will allow an extra line here without giving the impression of repetition. Ellis uses this line for several purposes. Often it is to emphasise the previous line by Breton:

That of my sinnes do prostrate heere complaine,²
And for the same poure forth my teares amaine

1. The Making of Verse (1575). Smith, Ip.14.

2. E2, 45. Ellis's insertions underlined throughout.

and

The ANGELS drinke, the blessed SAINTS desire:
(Happie is he that sings in this sweet quier):¹

or to expand and clarify:

But where I am, thither they likewise fly²
Working my soules heart-breaking miserie

and

Haue purchast mercy, and remoued feares,
And brought true hope instead of false despaire.^{3.}

At other times, the additional line stresses the need for tears, as in this stanza on the Magdalen:

O blessed SAINT, and oh most blessed deed:
(For on the teares of sinners ANGELS feede)⁴

or for contrition:

He would repent, and hartie sorrow make,
And for his comfort, true CONTRITION take:⁵

or the mercy of God:

And by his teares found grace and so repented,
For at the same almighty God relented⁶

or the poet's contempt of the world:

To gaine thy fauour whilst my life doth last,
(For worldlings fauours are but as a blast)^{7.}

or the fear of punishment:

From PARADICE; and vnto sorrowe left,
 And former comfort was from him bereft.^{8.}

and again:

-
1. E3. 49.
 2. (D4v), 39.
 3. (Fv) 60.
 4. E2. 46.
 5. (D3v) 36.
 6. E3. 50.
 7. F. 58.
 8. (E4), 54.

Or to what end doe J refer repenting? 1
Why am I not of after-claps afeard?

In each case the sense flows smoothly into the couplet.

It will be seen that Ellis does not always make this extra line rhyme with the one we should expect if he were consistently writing in rhyme-royal. Sometimes the line rhymes with the first and third instead of the second and fourth. In all instances a reason for this may be found. In stanza 57 it is parallelism:

Now doe I cursse the time, J euer went
 In sinnes black path, that leadeth to damnation:
 Now do J hate the houres I haue mispent
 In idle vice, neglecting soules SALVATION,
Now do I grieve I lost that was but lent.
 And to redeeme the time J haue misse-worne,
 I wish this houre I were againe new borne.

In stanza 51 it is the need to emphasise contrition, which Ellis, who appears to have been more of a theologian than Breton, points out as the companion to repentance:

And yet my sinnes in greatnesse and in number,
 Far his exceed. How comes it then to passe,
 That my REPENTANCE should so far be vnder,
 And graces force (deare God) is as it was?
Why is CONTRITION now so far asunder?

In the other instances the unexpected chiming of this extra line emphasises one of the ideas which Ellis is adding to Breton's poem, redemption in stanza 31, the fear of judgement in stanzas 41 and 42, the power of the devil in stanzas 21, 30 and 35, perseverance in weeping in stanza 29.

1. (E3v), 52.

Where Ellis adds his extra line above Breton's fourth line, on the other hand, the reason is not to be found in the need to stress an aspect of repentance which he found inadequately expressed in his original, but simply in the sense and smooth flow of the stanza. This occurs in four stanzas, 23, 33, 53, and 59 of which 23 is a good illustration of my point:

Oh cursed CVSTOME, causing myschiefe still,
 Too long thy craft my sences hath misse-led,
 Too long I haue bin thrall vnto thy will,
Too long I haue bin luld in pleasures bed,
 Too long my soule on bitter sweets hath fed;
 That surfetting with thy hell-poysoned cates,¹
 J now repent faire vertues former hate.

Stanza 26 demonstrates how carefully Ellis has worked over Breton's poem, for there we find half of Breton's fourth line is added to Ellis's fifth and the additional half-line used to intensify the poet's guilt. Breton's third and fourth lines read:

I see that my continuance in this place,
 Cannot be long; and all that I haue done....

Ellis makes this:

I see that my continuance in this place
 Cannot be long: for since my life begunne,
 All I haue said, all that I haue misdome...

Care is shown, too, in Ellis's polishing of some of Breton's stanzas. He had a feeling for parallelism and balance within the limits of his stanza and so Breton's

1. (A3v) in Breton and (C4v), 23 in Ellis. Stanzas 23 and 24 are mis-numbered 19 and 20.

Too long haue I bin alaue vnto thy will
becomes

Too long I haue bin thrall vnto thy will
to balance the next line which is one of Ellis's insertions:

Too long I haue bin luld in pleasures bed.

Breton's pause in

Still vrging this, that death we haue deserued¹
is clumsy and breathless but Ellis makes it smooth and
dramatic by simply inverting it

Vrging this stil, that death I haue deserued.²

I should like to credit Ellis with the alteration of words
to improve the reading, such as "wash" for "waste" in Breton's

As nought will waste, but teares of inward dole³
and "sinne" for "wound" in its first occurrence in

And euery wound as deepe a wound did make⁴

but allowances must be made for the traditional carelessness
of composers. In favour of Ellis's patching, however, it
must be noted that the two inferior readings are common to
both the 1602 and the 1621 editions of The Passion of a
Discontented Mind.

In copying Breton's poem, Ellis has omitted certain
stanzas and altered the order of others. After the first

1. B2.

2. (D4v), 39.

3. A2v.

4. B. This alteration is found in the copy of the poem in
Egerton MS 2403.

stanza he takes, beginning;

Thou deepest Searcher of each secret thought
he omits the next in which Breton laments that the poets
of the time "consume good wit in hatefull Rime".¹ The only
reason for the placing of this stanza here is that it leads
to the generalisations of the next two concerning the nature
of man;

Such is the nature of our foolish kinde
Ellis omits it as being too particular an instance of "fond
worldlings vse". The main alteration of Breton's order
occurs after Ellis's stanza 56. The passage preceding
this, corresponding to Breton's on signatures B4 and B4
verso, is the customary comparison by the penitent of his
own sinful state with those of notorious Biblical sinners,
ending with the usual dismal reflection that he is the
worst of all. In this case, the poet considers that he has
committed more sins than David, that he merits greater
punishment than Adam, who only committed one sin, and that
he is even worse than Satan, who sinned in thought not in
deed. The conclusion of this train of thought is natural:

What will become of me, that not in thought,
In thought alone, but in each word and deed,
A thousand thousand deadly sinnes haue wrought,
And still do worke, whereat my heart doth bleed:
For euen now, in this my sad complaining,
With new made sinnes, my flesh, my soule is
staining.

1. In the quotations Miss Robertson gives in her article cited
above she says that this is the third stanza of the 1601
edition. If Ellis was using this one, it would account for
his omitting it.

Breton follows this stanza by the wish to retire to some cave where

I might my sighes and teares vntroubled haue
and where, above all, he would be free from the temptations
of bad companions. The warnings of wise men on this subject
are unheeded:

But he is held no sotiabie man,
In this corrupted age, that shall refuse
To keepe the cursed company now and then;
Nay, but a foole, vnlesse he seeme to chuse
Their fellowship, and giue them highest place,
That vildest liue and furthest off from grace.

If the just will scarcely be saved, what will happen to such
men? This prompts a fresh prayer for tears, not now for
his sins, but thankful ones for "the dangers I haue past"
and he curses the time he has wasted in sin in the past.
Realising, however, that this is pointless, he resolves
to pray "with hearty true contrition" as the prodigal son
did, and, like an unfaithful wife, coming to her husband,
say

Forgiue me this, it shall no more be so. ¹

He says that he will

Eu'n thus...in sorrowing spend my breath,
And spot my face with neuer dying teares

and will examine his sins:

And when I haue thus mustred them apart, ²
I will display on each a bleeding hart.

1. C3.

2. (C3v).

Lest this should prove ineffectual in preserving his penitential mood, he will meditate on Christ's Passion:

If this his kindnesse and his mercy showne,
 Cannot prouoke me vnto tender crying;
 Then will I backe againe turne to mine owne,
 Mine owne sinne, cause of this his cruell dying:
 And if for them no teares mine eyes can find,
 Sighs shall cause tears, tears make my poor l.
 eies blind.

Ellis, by altering the order of Breton's stanzas, prepares for his own conclusion, which, like his introduction, compares very favourably with the original. He preserves in stanza 56 Breton's quatrain beginning "What will become of me" but after adding his customary amplifying line, he substitutes for Breton's trite couplet an adaptation of the couplet of the second stanza of The Passion:

Which makes me thus bewaile, lament and grieue,
 For grieve, and sorrow, must my cares relieue.

He then copies out Breton's stanzas on recalling past time:

Now doe I cursse the time J euer went
 as far as the example of the prodigal son. He omits the example of the unfaithful wife, because, as it is unBiblical, it destroys the unity. He retains the stanza about showing his repentance, "spot my face with neuer-dying teares", but then returns to the passage he omitted earlier:

Oh that I were remou'd to some close caue,
 missing out Breton's outcry against "this corrupted age".

He supplies his own ending in the twelve stanzas which follow on easily. Beginning with a further prayer for contrition he muses on the transience of life

Now doe I see, and sighing grieue to see,¹
That what we heere possess is but a blast,

with the reflection, unusual in religious verse, that "PLATOES wondrous yeere" must be approaching. The theme is clinched by a stanza which in its pictorial representation of abstractions is reminiscent of his opening and again strangely anticipates the early Milton, "the world's vain mask¹"

VANITIE is the mask wherein fond youth
Doth march and wander to his owne annoy;
Folly attends as PAGE: but care and wrath
Are the rewards of soule-seducing ioy.

This is followed by a prayer to Christ the Good Shepherd who has provided food for his sheep, buying it with five talents,

The seale of death, imprest with crimson bloud.

This interpretation of the Five Wounds is original and forceful. The ending of Ellis's poem owes something to Breton in its amplification of his reference to the Passion but is much closer knit to the poem as a whole. It echoes his opening as we have seen, and in mentioning David and Adam refers back to the passage on Biblical penitents earlier

1. (F4), 70.

The fervour of the prayer in the last seven stanzas preserves the unity of tone of the whole and the constant use of the Lost Sheep parable also binds the poem together. The last stanza is a far more satisfactory ending than Breton's which was quoted earlier. This is Ellis's:

So shall J bid adue to deepe dispaire,
And welcome hearts delight and soules content;
So shall J put awaie distrust and feares,
And sing thy praises, till my daies be spent,
With ioyfull himnes, after a sad lament:
That this may be thy seruant suite doth make,
thy LOST SHEEP begs, euen for thine own names sake.

It has been necessary to discuss Ellis's alterations in detail in order to be able to assess exactly what effect they have taken as a whole. We have seen that Ellis tends to stress the lesser points of the theological analysis of penitence which he found under-emphasised in Breton's poem, and that artistically he is attempting to give it greater dignity and to pull Breton's loose structure together and give it unity. This is mainly achieved by re-casting it in the form of an invocation, rather than a lamentation,¹ spoken by the Lost Sheep. Breton makes only one attempt to identify

1. Noted by Lily B. Campbell in Divine Poetry and Drama in the Sixteenth Century, Cambridge, 1959, p.121.

himself with a penitent, his favourite one, the Magdalen. He states that he comes

To play a poore lamenting Mawdlines part,¹
but the identification is never completed as later he is a separate petitioner:

And at thy feete, with Mary knocke for grace,
Though wanting Maries teares to wet my face.²

Ellis retains this as an appropriate comparison, but alters the first to

To play a poore lamenting LOST SHEEPES part.³
The Lost Sheep theme has been prepared very carefully from the beginning, from the first reference to the "sheepe that's almost lost" in his ninth stanza, and kept continually before us by such lines as

And from flocke of Gods deare fold reiected⁴
and

J haue so strayed from thee in by-waies.⁵
The detailed use of it in his closing passage is therefore both harmonious and powerful:

-
1. (A3v).
 2. B3.
 3. (C4v), 20.
 4. (Dv), 27.
 5. (E2v), 48.

Ellis's has a direct personal application:

Now do J see the chaunge we make for sinne.

and

The worme of CONTIENGE still attendeth on me,
Telling each houre, each instant I shall die.¹

Breton's third person references to Christ:

The bloudy minded Iewes, in fury mad,
Vntill on Christ their cruell rage was fed,

and

For eu'ry stripe that he from them did take²

are incorporated in prayers:

Vntill on thee (deere Lord) their rage was fed,

and

For every stripe from them my Lord did take.³

In conclusion, it would appear that Ellis, far from being a hack and a plagiarist, was a not incompetent poet and a most sincere one. He has transformed a rough and dull poem into one with unity and a feeling of true repentance, chiefly by means of setting it within the framework of this parable. We can only presume that he found that Breton's poem expressed something he wished to

1. (D4), 38, 39.

2. B.

3. (D3), 33, 34.

say but that he saw the way of making it say it a little more forcefully. His attitude appears to have been that of the preacher who uses any material which comes to hand to enforce his message. If Ellis is the same man as "G.E., Minister" who published The christian schoole-maister in 1613, this is a possible explanation.¹ If this is the case, then his copying of Breton's concluding two stanzas is not as impudent as it first seems:

No farre fetcht story haue I now brought home,
Nor taught to speake more language than his
mothers,
No long done Poem is from darknesse come
To light againe, it's ill to fetch from others:
The song I sing is made of heart-bred sorrow,
Which pensiuē Muse from pining soule doth borrow.

I sing not I, of wanton loue-sicke laies,
Of trifling toyes to feede fantasticke eares,
My Muse respects no flattering tatling praise;
A guilty conscience this sad passion beares:
My sinne-sicke soule, with sorrow woe begone,
Lamenting thus a wretched deed misdone.

Ellis with his feeling for unity prints this as a separate "Conclusion" and inserts a line in each stanza to refer to the Lost Sheep. Otherwise it is unchanged. Did the minister approve of the poet's critical theory as well as his practice? It must be admitted that a certain lack of sensitivity is implied in his calm echoing of "It's ill to filch from others".

1. See Appendix B.

It can be seen from the copy in Egerton MS 2403 that someone else filched Breton's poem for his own ends, though the alterations in this case are not as drastic. However, there are only ten stanzas where no variant can be traced. Many of the alterations are poorer than the printed version. Words are omitted which spoil the rhythm, such as the omission of "wicked" in "But happier farre, if for his wicked sinne";¹ repetition weakens the force of a line such as "My wailing muse her wofull worke begins"² which becomes "My wofull soule hire wofull worke begynes" and Breton's interesting verb made from an adjective "Happied by heauenly contemplation"³ is made into a sober adjective once more "And happie made by heauenly contemplacion." Another phrase which loses some power in its alteration is Breton's comment on Christ's death "parricide most vile"⁴. The writer of the manuscript missed any reference to the First Person of the Trinity and altered it to "homicyde most ville". Other alterations, however, improve the sense of the printed version. For example, in the two stanzas on the Magdalen,⁵ the reading "To

1. (Bv).

2. A2.

3. (Bv).

4. B2.

5. B3-(B3v).

wyttnes this hire ovtward teares were shedd" is clearly a correction of Breton's awkward "To witnesse with her, outward teares were shed" and the nonsensical line "Nor from her sense, once moou'd, or stir'd was shee" is rectified, "Noare from y^t place once moved or stovred was shee". In the "definition" stanza on tears,¹ Breton's line, "The holy water quenching heauens quicke fire" which can only be read as a reference to the fire of judgement which alighted on the impenitent Corah and Abiram, is made more acceptable and generally applicable by alteration to "hells quycke fier". Another improvement is the substitution of "loke" for "taste" in the obviously wrong reading in the printed version: "To taste on heau'nly lights,"² Breton's "the secret searcher of all hearts"³ becomes "The secrete syftere of all hartes" and "In thought alone, but in each word and deed"⁴ is more forcefully rendered as "Not thought alone, but eke in word and dead". Some alterations show a shift in emphasis in the manuscript version. "My flinty heart some sorrowing doth forbeare"⁵ becomes "...trewe sorrowinge doth forbeare"

1. (B3v).

2. (C2v).

3. (B4v).

4. C.

5. (A4v).

and "deere Lord" in the next stanza is altered to imply a corresponding severity, "dread Lord". The most interesting alteration is of the line "To play a poore lamenting Mawdlines part"¹ a reference to Breton's favourite saint, which Ellis made more generally applicable as "a poore lamenting Lose Sheepes parte". In the manuscript version, the reference is made still more general, "To playe a pore lamentinge syneres parte." The order of stanzas follows the printed edition but the two concluding stanzas are omitted and "Finis" is firmly written under the previous stanza. Was the compiler of the manuscript uninterested in current literary theory ~~but~~ ^{and} only concerned with the personal application of a long and tedious poem? If so, he was unlike G. Ellis, who altered more skilfully but retained the conclusion. Another question arises, though this is less likely to be answered. Did the manuscript precede the printed version and were the alterations made in the reverse of the order suggested above? Did Breton, or whoever gave The Passion to John Bailey to print, copy it from the manuscript, polishing lines here and there? It is extremely doubtful, but it would explain the otherwise

1. (A3v).

cryptic lines in the next to the last stanza:

No long done Poem, is from darknesse come
To light againe, it's ill to fetch from others.

Did The Passion come from the "darkness" of Egerton MS 2403 and was the poet being deliberately brazen in these lines? The only definite conclusion, however, that can be drawn from the manuscript version is that The Passion of a Discontented Mind was a popular poem - by any literary standards undeservedly so, but perhaps justifiably by its emphasis on repentance.

Breton himself wrote one poem on the parable of the Lost Sheep. This is a short poem written in quatrains and published in The Soules Heauenly Exercise in 1601. This book, which was attractively printed, was an offering to William Rider upon his inauguration as Lord Mayor of London. Sidney Lee, who wrote the article on Breton in the D.N.B., was unable to describe the work as the only extant copy was in a private library. It is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library and is described by Miss Robertson in her Poems by Nicholas Breton (not hitherto reprinted).¹ The work consists of prayers

1. Pp. LXXVIII-XCII.

and meditations, some in prose and some in verse.¹
 Among the latter is a poem "While the Aungels all are singing", which is the last poem in The Longing of a Blessed Heart, also published in 1601, and one of the sonnets from The Soules Harmony (1602), "O that my heart coulde hit vpon a straine,"

Breton's poem differs from the expected use of this parable in that although he renders it very pleasantly in one stanza:

But all alike hee loues whom he doth keepe,
 And if that any stray out of the plaine,
 Vpon his shoulders hee brings home that sheep,
 And sings for ioy to haue his lambe againe,

he does not regard himself as the Lost Sheep, but rather as one of those of whom Christ said:

And other sheep I have which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd.²

Breton does not regard himself as the Lost Sheep because that would imply that he had at one time belonged to the fold. He is one of these "other sheep" who longs to hear his shepherd's voice:

1. Nos. 5 and 3 in Miss Robertson's edition, where these other sources of the poems are not noted.

2. John 10.16.

But shall (oh Lord) this sinfull soule of mine,
 So many waies with miseries opprest,
 Become a lambe of that faire flocke of thine,
 And feede with them when they are fairely blest?

Then when I hear my louing sheepeheard call,
 My faithfull soule vnto her fairest folde,
 I will forsake these worldly pleasures all,
 And only ioy my Iesus to beholde.

The joys of those who are of Christ's fold are described in terms which recall the lyrics of the Heavenly Jerusalem:

The winters worme, nor yet the summers flie
 Can once annoy the smallest lambe of his:
 But they shall still encrease, and neuer die,
 But euer liue in euerlasting blisse.

Even when Breton is using the phrases of Psalm 23, he infuses them with the wistful longing for Heaven which is so marked a feature of all his religious verse:

Along the pastures faire, and fresh, and greene,
 He leades them forth, for their best liues behoue,
 Nor euer yet was there confusion seene
 Of any flocke, that hee doth fairely loue.

There is a reference to the Lost Sheep parable in The Anatomie of Humors, published in 1609¹ by Simion Grahame, who showed the fruits of repentance in his own life to such a marked degree.² In his poem entitled "The Spirit of Grace To the wicked sinner"³, the Holy Spirit

1. Reprinted by the Bannatyne Club in 1830.

2. After a dissolute early life, he went into voluntary exile on the Continent and joined the austere Order of Minims.. See Appendix B.

3. P.63.

urges man in general to repent by pointing to this parable:

Thou art that sheep, which wādring went astray,
Christ on his back will bring thee to thy way:

but the poet is not here speaking in the role of a sinner and therefore does not identify himself with the Lost Sheep. Another poem with this title which was published during our period is to be found in Hunnies Recreations printed in 1595. "The Lost Sheep" is in the ballad metre which the indefatigable William Hunnis favoured because of the ease with which it could be set to music.¹ It has very little poetic merit, being a string of paraphrases of different parts of the Gospel. Indeed, it has very little bearing on the parable at all. It is an address by Christ to sinful man, persuading him by all the reasons He can find to turn to Him and love Him, whose love alone is lasting and most worth-while. There is no reference to the parable and Christ does not speak of Himself as a shepherd, nor of man as a sheep. We could imagine it as an address spoken by the Shepherd as he searches for the lost sheep, but our imaginations are given no help by the poet. This poem belongs to the mediaeval

1. No music is printed with this edition.

type of appeal by Christ to the sinner, most often found as appeals from the Cross, of which "Brother, abyde" is the most famous example. Hunnis must have felt that the poem would have more attraction for his heart-searching generation if he gave it a title which suggested a penitential theme treated in a more up-to-date way than in fact he does treat it.

In 1610 a poem was published dealing with another of Our Lord's parables of repentance. This was The Penitent Publican, His Confession of Movth. Contrition of heart. Vnfained Repentance. And feruent Prayer vnto God, for Mercie and forgiuenesse by Thomas Collins. It is unique in being the only lengthy poem to treat of this parable, which is not used elsewhere in the religious verse of the period even as a point of reference or contrast.

The poem is dedicated, apparently without her consent, to the Lady Katherine Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, who is urged by Collins to

giue a long life, to this my illiterate, &
little-worth labour

by protecting it "vnder the shield of your sacred vertues."¹

1. A2.

Collins is anticipating attacks from those who envy his virtue in writing the poem and he complains with self-righteous warmth that

he that labours to liue vprightly, and to
keepe the true path, he is accounted precise,
and called a Puritan.¹

That this was not an unfounded accusation to be levelled at the well-intentioned poet will be seen when we examine his poem. He speaks in a strain we have heard before of the sinfulness of the age and its need for repentance. So many texts does he hurl at us in support of this - for this epistle is obviously intended to be read by others besides the Countess of Huntington, that "Right Honovrable, Grave, Vertuous, and Religious Lady" - that the impression we receive is that of a man fighting desperately against a tide which he really knows in his heart will eventually swamp him. However, all his preaching on repentance serves to stress the stated aim of the poem which is:

to be a patterne of true penitence, to all such
persons, as haue any desire to imitate him (the
Publican) in prayer, and repentance.²

His critical views on the writing of religious poetry and his comments on his own style have been discussed in

1. (A2v).

2. (A3v).

Chapter I of this study. It is sufficient here to note that he does not mention the wicked uses to which poetry is being put in his discussion of the sinfulness of his generation and he obviously considers the matter of infinitely greater importance than the manner and the virtue of the reader of more value than his critical sensitivity:

Then as it is, accept it, or reject it,
For cringing Complements, I list not use:
I know the wise, and vertuous will affect it,
The rest, I care not, though they it refuse.¹

An examination of his lengthy title, followed by this stress on the worthy aim of his poem, will prepare us for the poem itself. It is an analysis of the mind of a penitent very much as Calvin gives it. The result is the most theological of all the poems on the subject. Collins is not interested in retelling or in dramatically expanding the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, but he is interested in showing how the Publican came from despair, to a hatred of sin, a resolve to amend, and finally to the praise of God for His Mercy and forgiveness.

The parable is again a very short one, taking only five verses in St. Luke's Gospel,² and in this account

1. (A4). In italics in the original.

2. 12. 10-14.

the Publican says only one sentence, "God be merciful to me a sinner". Collins writes the whole of his poem in the first person and it is supposedly the confession and prayer for mercy spoken by the Publican, amounting to 156 stanzas in rhyme-royal. The poet is so absorbed in his self-appointed task of exhorting to repentance that he weaves in as many other penitents as possible and often we lose sight of the ostensible subject altogether. The first nineteen stanzas give us no indication of the identity of the speaker. We know that he is a penitent but not which particular one until the next stanza where he reveals his identity briefly in his prayer for mercy:

On me vilde wretch, and most vnworthy man,
The very worst, that euer was created:
A sillie soule, a sinfull Publican,
In whom no grace, norgoodnes is innated.¹

A few stanzas later we are given two equally brief reminders that there was another contrasting character in the parable:

I cannot boast (Lord) as this Braggart doth,
This selfe-conceited and proud pharasie:²

and again:

-
1. (B3v).
 2. (B4v).

But see the nature of this Pharisie,
He stands, and brags, and boasts, what he hath
done,
Thinking therewith himselfe to iustifie,
But thou (oh Lord) dost tell vs by thy Sonne,
That by those works, he no reward hath wonne:
And therefore bid'st our left hand should not know,
What deeds of mercy, with our right we show.¹

The only other reference to the situation of the parable occurs near the end of the poem:

With the proud Pharisie should I excuse
My guiltie conscience: say my selfe were iust.²

The dramatic possibilities of the parable, slight as they are, are not exploited, but in his attempts to define the various stages of his move from sin to grace, the Publican finds it necessary to compare himself to a great many other Biblical sinners or characters who can be interpreted allegorically to clarify his position. We can be pardoned therefore if we occasionally forget that the speaker is the Publican. Like Solomon, he sees the vanity of all things;³ like Naaman, he is a leper and has come to be cleansed:

My soule, and body, both infected bee
With filthy sinne;

like Moses, he finds it difficult to express his feelings:

1. (C_v) .
2. (D_{4v}) .
3. B_2 .

As Moses said, Lord I am slowe of speech,
No eloquence haue I to plead my cause;¹

like Hagar, he mourns because he is in exile;² like
Hezekiah, he cries for mercy that death may be postponed:

And vnto me (that dying am to sin)
Adde a new life, to laud and praise thee in³

and like Jonah, he confesses that he has often gone astray.⁴

He applies Christ's other parables, the lost sheep,⁵ the
prodigal son, Dives and Lazarus,⁷ to his own situation.

He finds confirmation of the words of others, David in
the Psalms,⁸ Samson in his riddle,⁹ Simeon in the Nunc
Dimittis,¹⁰ Jeremiah in his desire for "a cottage ^{placed} in the
Wilderness".¹¹

He resolves to weep with David, to pray
with Daniel, to mourn in sackcloth and ashes with the
citizens of Nineveh, to conquer sin as Joshua conquered

1. (B4).

2. (C4).

3. E3.

4. (E4).

5. (B3v).

6. (B4).

7. (E2v).

8. B3, (B4v), (Cv).

9. (D4v).

10. (D2v).

11. (C3v)

the Canaanites¹ and to imitate Zachaeus in his good works.² In addition to all these references, he must, of course, find parallels to his own situation in the lives of the customary sinners of the Bible, St. Mary Magdalene,³ Adam, Cain,⁴ Judas⁵ and Saul who later became St. Paul.⁶

Sidney Lee, the writer of the note on Collins in the D.N.B. considered that in The Penitent Publican, he "evinces strong religious fervour". He does not point out that the poem is in fact a series of paraphrases of verses from the Bible. It is evident that Collins knew his Bible with the thoroughness of a true Calvinist. We can see that in the range of texts in the dedicatory epistle and in the overpowering readiness with which he finds characters to draw on for similitudes. Several verses of the poem are direct paraphrases of Scripture, often neatly done and skilfully applied, as this rendering of part of the Magnificat:

-
1. All on (D4).
 2. (Ev).
 3. C3.
 4. (E4v).
 5. F.
 6. (C2v).

Thou that art God of gods, and King of kings,
 Thou whom the Sun, the Moone, and Stars obey:
 That fill'st the poore and hungry with good things,
 And dost the rich ones, emptie send away:
 My soule shall magnifie thee day by day.¹

In many cases, however, he does not remain with one text but his knowledge suggests another to him and yet another. Some of his finest stanzas are a sort of pastiche of the Psalms of which he seems to have been particularly fond. The following stanza, for instance, is a combination of Psalm 119.105:

Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light
 unto my path,

Psalm 18.2:

The Lord is my rock, and my fortress, and my
 deliverer; my God, my strength, in whom I will
 trust; my buckler, and the horn of my salvation,
 and my high tower,

and Psalm 124.7:

Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare
 of the fowlers: the snare is broken and we are
 escaped:

Be thou to mee a Lanthorne and a Light,
 Be thou my Rocke, and Castle of defence:
 Be thou my sword, against foule sinne to fight,
 That I may put the diuell from his pretence,
 And by thy power expell him quite from hence.
 That so my selfe (poore Byrd insnarde) may say,
 The Net is broke, and I escap'd away.²

1. (Bv).

2. (D2v).

The concluding stanzas leading up to a confession of God's holiness and a final prayer for mercy, are fittingly a combination of the "Jerusalem" Psalms, especially Psalms 84 and 122:

That I may dwell with thy Tabernacle,
In which thy selfe art present euermore:
Because it is thy Angells receptakle,
Full fraught with pleasure, yea and plentie store,
Oh there had I (Lord) rather keepe a dore,
Then in the tents of thee vngodly sort,
My dwelling haue, in pompe: and princely port.

Ierusalem, peace be within thy walls,
And in thy pallaces let plentie bee:
For blest is he, whom thy sweet soueraigne calls,
And doth confirme free denizen in thee,
Where such ioyes are, as th'eye did neuer see,
Th'eare ne're heard, nor can mans heart conceiue it,
Most blest, and happie they that shall receiue it.¹

It is in these stanzas, where he reveals how he has assimilated the Psalms particularly, of course, the Penitential Psalms and other parts of Scripture, that Collins most justifies the praise of evincing "strong religious fervour".

When it comes to the parts which are not so directly inspired by the Bible, we find Collins giving the lie to his prefatory scorn of critical praise. Although he modestly refers to the "homely habit"² of his poem, he

1. (F4).

2. (A3v).

does have some knowledge of contemporary poets and he does try to employ their devices. There is a little classical allusion to balance so much Biblical reference. Homer is noted in the margin as the source of a reference to Diomedes;¹ Phoebus chases clouds away,² and Amphion's harp fails to sound as sweet as "the voyce of mercy in mine eare".³

Some knowledge of Southwell's poetry is implied by his occasional heavy use of alliteration and by his use of the "definition" stanza clumsily contrived:

Soules Balsamum, and hearts holie-water,
Sweet-smelling Sacrifice of th'inward man:
Thou purest Incense, powred on th'hye Aulter,
Thou, key vnto the heauenly Canaan;
Prayer(I meane). 4

The simile of a mastless ship storm-tossed to describe the insecurity of the sinful soul recalls the opening stanza of Saint Peters Complaynt.⁵ In his very frequent use of similes - I have counted fourteen fairly elaborate ones in the poem - Collins shows his awareness of contemporary narrative poetry. Some of his similes are,

-
1. (Dv).
 2. (D2v).
 3. E3.
 4. (Dv).
 5. D3.

though not at all exciting, both pleasant and illuminating:

Euen as a poppie that doth hang the head,
Or like a Bull-rush beaten downe with winds;
So I, surcharg^d with sinne (more sad than lead)
Looke carefully, but can no comfort finde: 1

and an even odder one:

Could I rehearse all my bad deeds, and good,
And should I then compare them both together:
The one would seeme, like to a spacious wood,
Th'other like a light and little feather.²

Others are more obvious:

Looke how a child, that hath done naughtily,
With feare, doth crie, and craue to scape the rod:
Euen so my selfe, that ^{hath} done wickedly,³
And oftentimes offended thee sweet God³

but some need thought:

Like leadn epipes, through which pure water
runnes, (sic)
Or like the quilles (cald Iacks) in virginalls:
Are all the sort of sinfull Adams Sonnes,
Through whom much good vnto the world befalls,
Yet they thereof are no originalls. 4

Some rely on curious knowledge:

As the sweet sauours of the male Palme tree,
The female quickens, and doth fruitfull make:
By breathing on it, so Lord, grace in thee,
Freely extended (for thy mercies sake)
All backwardnes, and barrennesse will take
From mee...⁵

-
1. B2.
 2. (C2v).
 3. (Cv).
 4. C2.
 5. E2.

The most elaborate are the least successful:

Lo, as a still, full fraught with leaues of Roses,
 (Through force of fire, made vnderneath the same)
 Lets fall (by drops) the moysture it incloses:
 Euen so mine eyes, for'ct by a feruent flame,
 Of godly zeale (for so's the fires name)
 Do shed forth teares (extracted by repentance)
 From follies flowers, whereto my heart gaue¹
 entrance.

Collins's poem is as much a failure as a "conceited", decorative work, as it is as a dramatic monologue.

The poet would not have wished his poem to fall into either of these categories. It is the thought which is all important and this is very much a theologian's poem. The discussion of the greater efficacy of faith or good works occurs in several places² and groups of stanzas are devoted to the praise of such attributes as faith:

Thou that mak'st men moue mountaines like a clod:
 (Euen heapes of sinne) from of their old abode³

and humility "thou helper towards heauen"⁴ and the power of prayer:

which to th'Almightie can
 Haue free accesse, alwayes to pleade our case,
 That Mercie may, vs in her armes imbrace.⁵

1. (B4).

2. E.g. E2.

3. (Bv).

4. (B4v).

5. (Dv).

The love of God is described in terms of the Song of Songs¹ and a brief attempt is made at describing the nature of Heaven and hell.²

The major part of the poem is the analysis of the process of repentance in the sinner's soul and it is here that Collins shows himself to be a follower of Calvin in his firm rejection of the power of good works and his belief in the inherent sinfulness of man and all his parts:

What man is that which doth not doe amisse?
Nay more, what member, but to sinne doth fall?
The hart to that, the head, and hand, to this.
Thus euery part, with sinne defiled is.³

Though Collins appears to have been a member of the Church of England, for he paraphrases not only the canticles but also the Sentences exhorting to confession and part of the General Confession, ~~but~~ his outlook is that of the more Puritanical wing.

His analysis of repentance is thorough but, unfortunately, repetitive. He emphasises the outward signs of penitence and explains their significance. The first three stanzas set the tone of the whole poem:

1. E3.

2. (C3v).

3. E.

On bended knees, and with a broken heart,
Eyes cast on earth, hands beating of my brest:
I come to act a penitentiall part,
Before th'almightie, who is pleased best
With sinfull soules, when they are thus addrest:
In whose dread presence (caitiffe that I am)
Prepared thus (till now) I neuer came.

Knees euer bow, and standing beare no more,
Eyes euer weepe, and nere be drie againe;
Hands beat my brest, and make it euer sore,
Heart neuer cease, but sigh and sob amaine:
Tongue, euer pray, and for my sinnes complaine.
Till teares, blowes, sighs, sobbs, prayers and
complaints,
Haue freed my soule from all her foule attaints.

Humbling my selfe, may in Gods fauour raise me,
Weeping for sinne, may him to mercy moue:
Beating my brest, most sorrowfull displaies me,
Sighing, and sobbing, my hearts griefe approue:
Playning, and praying, may procure Gods loue.
His loue is life, which causeth me to craue it,
And stedfast faith, doth tell me I shall haue it.

Later, as we saw in Chapter II, he emphasises the significance of tears.

He prays, as we should expect, for mercy, but also for humility and contrition for he knows that a plea for mercy is not enough by itself:

Teach me repentance, make me truly sorie.¹

He fears God's punishment and, realising that no good works can save him, throws himself on God's mercy. He then progresses to a hatred of sin, the nature of which

1. (B4v).

he attempts to analyse, and so moves on to the resolve to amend his life, which according to all the theologians distinguishes true repentance from false. He is very aware of the importance of this resolve:

Because thou Lord, amendment dost require,
Of euery man, as well as to repent:
Amendment is the thing thou dost desire,
And without that, thou wilt not be content;
But still wee stand in dread of punishment.
Wherefore I am resolued (by thy grace)
Both to repent, and to amend apace.

Repentance, and amendment are two twinnes,
Somewhat resembling Esau and his brother:
Repentance first, with shame sets forth our sinnes,
Vpon whose heele, hangs the more happie other,
I meane amendment (which all faults doth smother).
The first of these, God little doth regard,¹
Without the last, and that hee will reward.

Several times he repeats a prayer for pardon and he pauses to consider Christ's redeeming love, the sinful nature of man, to apostrophise the world, the flesh and the devil,² and to praise God for giving him grace to repent.³ All this makes the progress of the poem somewhat tardy. When he has resolved to lead a new life and has prayed for grace and the "Sweet Bread of life",⁴ it would seem that the end of his task was approaching, but we suddenly find

1. E-(Ev).

2. F.

3. (F3v).

4. (Fv).

him returning to a prayer for mercy. Finally he looks towards Heaven and prays to be given grace to go there:

Bring my poore soule, and there establish it,
Amongst thy saints, whose Ioyes are infinit.¹

Unlike Breton, who is always gazing up in yearning, Collins adds the thought of Heaven as just another incentive to repentance. His conclusion is, however, a moving summary of the entire poem:

As thou art holy, heare my prayer Lord,
As thou art good, and gracious, pittie mee:
As thou art true, and faithfull of thy word,
Forgiue my sins (though infinit they bee)
And let ~~me~~ liue, to laud and honour thee.
To whom ~~he~~ giuen, all glory, power, and praise,
Euen to the end, of neuer-ending daies.²

Even in his most repetitive prayers for mercy there is never any doubt in the poet's mind that God will forgive, and although it is written in the first person and the structure of the parable is so slender, the effect is not that of the poet speaking his own repentant thoughts but of the preacher exhorting his hearers to repentance by describing its processes at first-hand and explaining each part in some detail. It is a poem of instruction rather than confession and as such fulfils the intention of the

1. (F3v).

2. (F4v).

poet set out in his dedicatory epistle.

The parables of the Lost Sheep and the Penitent Publican are the only ones to be treated in this period. It will be observed that they are not used by the Catholic poets. The reason may be found in the greater emphasis on personal faith in Protestant thought, which is attracted by the application of the parables to the needs of the individual. A notable omission among the parables is that of the Prodigal Son. It would be expected that this parable, offering far more material than the other two, would be a popular one for these versifiers of dramatic monologues by penitents, but I have not found one poem either in the form of a simple narrative or of a lamentation by the penitent prodigal.¹ There are not even references to him, as there are to most Biblical penitents, in any of the complaints of other sinners, with the exception of four lines in The Penitent Publican where Collins in his usual manner paraphrases the prodigal's intended speech:

Which oft haue sinned gain'st sweet heauen and
thee,
And therefore hence-forth am vnworthy far,
Thy sonne (oh Lord) intituled to bee,
Or once be spoke of, where thy seruants are.,²

1. Richard Brathwaite published a prose-treatise on the parable entitled *The Prodigalls Teares* in 1614.

2. (B4).

and a similar paraphrase in The Lost Sheep, There is also a reference in another stanza of this poem, adapted from Breton, referring to this parable:

J do as did the prodigall sonne sometimes,
Vpon my knees with hartly true CONTRITION
And weeping eies confesse my former crime,
Not hiding any wilfull sinnes transgression,
But humbly beg, vpon my lowe submission,
That thou wilt not of former faults detect me,
But like a louing father now respect me.¹

The only explanation for this lack of interest in the greatest of the parables of repentance as the subject of a "patterne of true penitence" poem is to be found in its popularity as a subject for drama. An analysis of the prodigal-son plays of the sixteenth century has been given by Lily B. Campbell in her recent study, Divine Poetry and Drama in the Sixteenth Century. In this, writing of the growth of a divine drama in England inspired by Continental models, she says:

Stories from the Old Testament and the sermons and particularly the parables of the New Testament were most often chosen for dramatization on the continent, as I have already pointed out, and the story of the prodigal son in the fifteenth chapter of Luke was the most popular of all. It seems to have offered a specially tempting opportunity to the pedagogical mind, and the pattern of the prodigal-son play as it was established by continental schoolmasters influenced directly the writers of such plays in England.²

1. (Fv), 59.

2. P. 194.

She emphasises that "there was a pattern established" and by her illustrations shows that this is not what we should expect from the Biblical account. The prodigal son scorns his father's offers of education and later his choice of a wife, marries a shrew and ends in abject misery, forced to sell faggots to earn a meagre livelihood. In other plays, the prodigal becomes a wilful child or a reluctant student and many features of popular drama are added to what remains of the original parable. In Gascoigne's The Glasse of Government, published in 1575, which the author calls "A tragicall Comedie so entituled, bycause therein are handled as well the rewards for Vertues, as also the punishment for Vices" there are two fathers, two prodigals, two good sons and one good and one bad servant. As Professor Campbell points out:

there is nothing of repentance and redemption for the sinners in this play.... Thus are the wicked punished and the good rewarded according to the demands of the author's literary theory if not in accordance with Biblical story and Christian teaching. ¹

If the sixteenth century was therefore accustomed to read the parable of the Prodigal Son as a warning-tale rather than as a call to repentance, if it

1. P.205.

emphasised the earlier wicked part of the prodigal's life rather than his later change of heart, and if it was required to censure or even to laugh at the prodigal's adventures rather than to identify oneself with his penitence, this parable ceases to be an obvious choice for a poem on the theme of repentance. The tendency in all the poems on repentance at the end of the sixteenth century was towards an identification of himself by the poet either with a preacher exhorting to repentance by means of a chosen exemplum, or, more significantly, with his chosen penitent. The treatment of the parable of the Prodigal Son in the divine drama made either of these attitudes impossible. In the treatment of the parables of the Lost Sheep and the Pharisee and the Publican, on the other hand, both these attitudes are clearly illustrated.

CHAPTER VI

The Tearful Psalms.

"... this the life and spirit of David's eloquence, in those most admirable hymns entitled Penitential, where the words of sorrow for sin do melt the very bowels of God remitting it, and the comforts of grace in remitting sin carry him which sorrowed rapt as it were into heaven with ecstasies of joy and gladness."

Hooker, Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, VI,iii.4. Edited by Keble, Oxford, 1888.

David is another favourite example of evangelical repentance cited by theologians. As a subject for a poem on repentance, he is, however, unusual, for David's own penitent thoughts are recorded in the Bible and so the poet has no need to put into his mouth a tearful monologue such as those put into the mouths of St. Peter, St. Mary Magdalene, the lost sheep or the penitent publican. David is also an exceptional example because for centuries his lamentations for his sins have been used by the Church to express the penitence of sinful mankind. This movement from the individual example to the universal interpretation is something which the religious poets of the late sixteenth century were struggling to make, as analysis of "Saint Peters Complaynt" has shown. In the case of David that movement had already been made for them in David's own words. In the seven Penitential Psalms David's repentance becomes the repentance of every man.

The story of David's sin of adultery and murder and his subsequent contrition is for these reasons not a popular one with the poets of repentance. The customary dramatic monologue gives place to separate lyrical

translations of the seven psalms without any indication of their context being given. The treatment of these psalms must be studied in order to examine the method a poet employed in using a penitential subject in isolation, without the protection of a mask, however loosely worn. The translation of the Penitential Psalms within this period marks a small but important step on the route from objective narration to personal involvement in religious poetry.

Before examining this, it is necessary to consider the work of the one poet who did treat the full story of David in verse.¹ Francis Sabie's Adams Complaint published in 1596, is an exception to many of the generalizations that can be made about the religious verse of his time. Adams Complaint contains three poems, the third of which is entitled "David and Beersheba" and is the only poem of this period dealing with the story of David's sin. Sabie writes it as a third person narrative, not a first person monologue which was, as this study has shown, the common form for a poem on a

1. Southwell's "Dauids Peccauii", first included in the Cawood augmented edition of 1602 has no particular reference to the story of David but is a poem in his gnomic style which might be the utterance of any sinner.

penitential subject. Upon examination Sabie proves to be uninterested in emulating the religious poets who were his contemporaries and to be exceptional in his attitude to the story of his chosen sinner. The Biblical titles and the florid style of his poems hint that he was an admirer of Southwell's work but his imitation does not extend to the crusading message, the exhortation to repentance which was the core of his master's work and which so many of Southwell's poetic followers were quick to grasp.

"Adams Complaint" is the first poem in his book and illustrates this point well. Its title and certain aspects of its style reveal a debt to Southwell but it touches only slightly on repentance, the main theme of "Saint Peters Complaynt". Even the few references Sabie has are contradictory to the usual exhortations. In his view

Teares ease the mind, though little doe preuaile¹
and the danger of despair must be emphasized:

Learne heer (O all posterities) the shrewdnesse
Of Sathan, and his treacherous assaultes:
Who hauing once seduced man to lewdnesse,
Exaggerates the greatnesse of his faults.
Making him blush like Adam in the garden²
Only to bring him in dispaire of pardon.²

1. (B3v).

2. B3.

This is a very different tone from the usual prayers for more tears and the abasement of the speaker as the most miserable of sinners, worse than Cain and even worse than Judas.

"Adams Complaint" is in the tradition of the Mirror for Magistrates, even though the burden of the relation of his fall - and consequently of the fall of all men - is divided between the poet and Adam himself. Adam is taking stock of the new situation in which he finds himself after the expulsion from Paradise. He learns lessons in industry from the ant and finds a parable of man's envy of man in the fight of two bucks. He laments the results of the Fall, the consequence of his sin, much as Virgil laments the passing of the Golden Age. The earth must now be torn by the plough, the sea cleft by the ship, the animals will prey upon each other and must be forced to give their services to man. Above all he foresees the results of the Fall in man's nature, his ambition and ever-failing battle with time and fortune:

Times ruin shall so dyre obliuion breed
In men, that noting their so frayle variety,
Forgetting me, the cause thereof, my seed
Shall faine to Fate an euer-changing deity.
Proportraying her vpon a round wheele dancing,
Euerting some, and other some aduancing.¹

He does not trace the progress of his own repentance nor shed for it the expected tears. Having uttered his prophecies, he resigns himself to a life of struggle which will have a final reward:

And lastly, Adam, sith it is decreed,
That thou must fight ere thou canst win the fort:
Fight manfully, trust in the promis'd seed,
And be most sure thou shalt arrive the port,
Port full of joy and heavenly blessednes.
Free from all cares, and worldly wretchednes.¹

The whole poem has an oddly classical flavour for all its Biblical subject-matter and such religious feelings as it does invoke are those of bourgeois piety in which hard work with a promised reward plays a major part rather than the depths of penitential sorrow.

The same detachment, an attitude in which Sabie curiously anticipates the eighteenth century, is found in the next poem. Here this impression is enhanced by the fact that Sabie has forsaken the Saint Peters Complaynt stanza for decasyllabic couplets. "The old Worlds Tragedie" deals with another penitential subject emphasised by theologians, the Flood, but again Sabie's interest is not in exhorting his own sinful age to repentance through the exemplum of Noah's survival but is concentrated on telling the story of the disaster. This he does with

1. (Dv).

gusto, beginning with abstractions:

Vpon the stage first came impietie,
Vaunting her selfe against the Deity.
She in short time began to growe to hed,
And all the earth at length she captiue led.
Then came in foule desire and lothsome lust,
She in short time seduced euen the just:

moving on with all the aids of classical allusion:

O Luna still detaine the blackish horse,
Let neuer dismall Tytan run his course,
Bright Vesper still continue thou thy race

but when

the morne still clad in mourning weeds,
Thrise open'd gates to Phoebus fiery steeds

all his poetical powers are taxed in describing the horror
which he does graphically:

Some might you see half dead and halfe aliue,
Like water-fowles now rise, & now to diue.
Some turning round, and violently borne
Al headlong downe, their lims in sunder torn

and with the occasional picturesque detail:

In steed of sacrifice on Altars faire
Sit seemly Marmaydes combing of their haire,
In Churches eke their Organists now wanting,
Melodious Odes and ditties now recanting.

After Noah has "rested" seven days in the ark the Flood
ceases and God gives His promise of the future security
of the earth. So the poem ends on a reassuring, not an
admonitory, note.

When Sabie approaches the story of David and Bathsheba, or Beersheba, as he calls her, the reader is prepared for an interesting narrative rather than a poem on penitence. He is not disappointed. The poem begins more suggestive of Virgil's Eclogues than a religious poem:

Such time as Tytan with his fiery beames
In highest degree, made duskish Leo sweat.
Field-tilling swains driue home their toiling
teams,
Out-wearied with ardencie of heat:
And country hearde to seeke a shadie seate:
All mortall things from feruency of weather,
In sheltring shades doe shroud themselues
together.

In such a noon as this Bathsheba goes to her garden which is gorgeously described:

The ground was deckt with Gyliflowers fine,
Carnations sweet, and speckled sops in wine,

She decides to bathe and therefore

nimbly castes she off her Damaske frocke,
Her Satten stole most curiously made:
Her Partlet needle-wrought, her Cambricke smocke,
And on a seat thereby them nicely laid.

Despite the poet's exhortation to him to continue his "after-dinners nap", David wakens and goes up to his watch tower from which he sees Bathsheba and is struck down with the heat of love. His inward struggle is expressed as a dialogue between flesh and spirit. Flesh wins and Bathsheba consents. The poet pauses in his

narrative to rebuke the king and assure him that God will reveal his sin. The opportunity for an exhortation to repentance is missed and the poet continues with the story of David's unsuccessful stratagems to deceive Uriah and his connivance at his death followed by Nathan's parable and its interpretation with the prophecies which follow and which shake his complacency.

Now is the Psalmist stroken to the heart.
 Three sundry times endeuored he to speake,
 Three times he sob'd as though his heart would
break
 And now at last begins he to relent,
 A showre of teares distilled from his eyes:
 His heart is humbled, fearing to be shent,
 And lifting mind and hands vnto the skies,
Peccaui Deus manie times he cries.

Nathan assures him God has forgiven him and David goes to his chamber where he weeps and expresses his contrition:

Thus in the end distressed as he stood,
 He tooke his harpe and warbled out this Ode.

"This Ode", which must be discussed separately, is a version of Psalm li, "Miserere mei", by tradition associated with this episode in David's life. The last stanza of the poem sums up David's subsequent penitential actions:

Thus did the Psalmist warble out his plaints,
 And ceaseth not from day to day to mone,
 His heart with anguish of his sorrowe faints.
 And still he kneels before his makers throne.
 At midnight sends he manie a grievous grone.
 So did his God in mercie on him looke,
 And all his sinnes did race out of his booke.

Professor Campbell in her recent book on the Divine Poetry and Drama of the Sixteenth Century¹ defines this poem as a "divine erotic epvllion", a love story told with some dialogue and containing at least one long speech and a digression. Sabie's poem is a religious counterpart to the poems of this type which were so popular from 1589-1598, the chief of which are Venus and Adonis and Lucrece. "Dauid and Beersheba" is written in the metre of Lucrece, not that of Saint Peters Complaynt, which is more customary for religious poems. Sabie, in Professor Campbell's words, was "obviously desiring to offer poems which should set forth Biblical stories to compete with popular secular works." In this attempt he is following Southwell's exhortation to "weaue a new webbe in their own loomes" but in his interest in narrative at the expense of the psychological workings of repentance he stands apart from the poets whose main concern was instruction rather than pleasure.

He is an experimentalist - his secular verse also offers a variety of metre and style - but he shows by his choice of subject that the Biblical stories of sin, disaster and penitence were not unacceptable to his

1. P.122.

contemporaries. He reveals that he is conscious of the current interest in repentance by his subjects, that he knows Southwell poetry by his style and that he is aware of the popularity of the metrical versions of the Penitential Psalms by his inclusion of one of them in his last poem. The lure of secular poetry which he felt as well improved his powers as a versifier. The story moves swiftly, particularly when Uriah enters it, and the descriptions are not over-lush. The verse is smooth and in "Davids Ode" reveals a pleasant diversity of line-length and rhythm which is unexpected in a religious poem of this time, where lyrical expression is so often stifled in the confines of the Saint Peters Complaynt stanza or the sonnet.

"Davids Ode" is not an exact translation of Psalm li, "Miserere mei", but a free adaptation of it. It is quite the best poem in Sabie's book and the best rendering of this psalm in the whole century. Sabie begins with an address to God the Father, Creator of the world, the King of earthly rulers such as David. He pleads by God's attribute of mercy for forgiveness of his sins. The first verse of the psalm in Coverdale's

version:

Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great
goodness: according to the multitude of thy
mercies do away mine offences

is elaborated into two stanzas by Sabie, into which
allusions to other psalms such as Psalm xxiii, "thy
chosen flock" are woven:

O Great Creator of the starrie Pole,
and heauenly things:
O mighty founder of the earthly mole,
chiefe king of Kings.
Whose gentle pardon euermore is nere,
To them which crie vnfaynedly with feare,
Distrest with sin,
I now begin,
To come to thee, O Lord giue eare.

O Lord look down fro thy chrystallin throne,
enuiromd round,
With Seraphins, and Angels manie one,
thy praise who sound:
Such fauour Lord on me vouchsafe to send,
As on thy chosen flock thou doest extend.
To thee alone
I make my mone.
Some pittie father on me send.

He substitutes for the metaphor of dirt in the second
verse:

Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness: and
cleanse me from my sin

that of disease:

My sore will grow (vnlesse thou helpe with speed)
remedillesse
Therefore in mercie looke down from aboue.

One result of the mercy will be "heart ioying loue",
an anticipation and the only rendering of verse 8:

Thou shalt make me hear of joy and gladness:
that the bones which thou hast broken may
rejoice.

He is ever conscious of his sin. In Coverdale's version
it is "ever before me"; in Sabie's this becomes:

Alas I see
No cause in mee
Which vnto pitie may thee moue.

The fourth stanza is an elaboration of the first part of
the fourth verse:

Against thee only have I sinned, and done this
evil in thy sight.

Sabie is still looking at himself and his anguish and so
is aware of God's anger:

And therwithall I purchas'd haue to me
thine heauie rod:
The waight of it doth presse me verie sore,
And brings me wel nigh to dispaire his doore.

Verse 5, "Behold I was shapen in wickedness" is closely
rendered but Sabie adds the thought which is implied by
the Psalmist but left unspoken:

And since that day I neuer yet did cease,
From time to time thy highnesse to displease
My life hath bin
A race of sin...

This is more direct than verse 6 of the Psalm, "But lo, thou requirest truth in the inward parts..." which Sabie ignores. Stanza 6 is a variation on the theme of judgment and fear of God which is again implicit in verse 4 - 7 of the psalm but which Sabie brings into the open. Stanza 7 embroiders verse 7 pleasantly and brings in one of the poet's classical allusions:

If thou shalt me asperge with sprinkling grasse,
 or Hysope greene:
 As Chrystall pure, or as the shining glasse,
 I shall be cleane,
 And if thou wilt me wash with water cleare,
 More white then Scythan snow I shall appeare
 Then whitest snow
 which wind doth blow
 From place to place both farre and neere.¹

Sabie's next stanza is a reversal of the order of verse 9 and 10 of the psalm, the prayer for cleansing of spirit preceeding the prayer for erasing of sin. It is elaborated by a reference to the Atonement:

Out of thy booke all my offences blot,
 And with thy blood quite take away my spot.

The following stanza links the prayer of verse 9 of the psalm with the picture of God's glory given in Sabie's first verse:

Turn back thy face which al things doth behold
 from heauens vault:
 Least thou espie my trespasse manifold,
 and hainous fault.

1. G2.

The rest of the psalm is rendered quite closely in the remaining stanzas apart from a reversal of the order. Sabie puts the prayer for power to praise in verse 15 of the psalm - the liturgically familiar, "Thou shalt open my lips, O Lord: and my mouth shall shew thy praise" - before verse 13 where the forgiven sinner promises to convert the wicked. Verse 14 is omitted. In Sabie's version it is the sinner's power to tell of God's mercies rather than the perpetual help of the Holy Spirit in his future life that has the power of converting others:

Then shall the wicked learne by mine example,
And keep thy statutes which be sweet and ample
And seeing me
shall turne to thee,
And in the right way learne to trample.¹

This is a very minor example - and in his last stanza Sabie does emphasize that his praise is a sacrifice to God - but it serves to illustrate his powers of selection in "Davids Ode". By altering the order, elaborating slight features and omitting others, the poet has produced a remarkable thing, a lyric which is not a mere translation nor even a meditation upon selected verse of one of the Penitential Psalms but a work of art in

1. (G2v).

itself. It is a variation upon the theme in which certain chords indicate its initial statement but the ornaments and rhythmical treatment are original.

The metrical treatment of this psalm is exceptional in its bold use of short and long lines and its mastery of an unusually intricate rhyme-scheme. In this *Sabie* is like only one other Elizabethan translator of the Psalms, Sir Philip Sidney, whose delightful version, which illustrates metrical experiment even more richly than the songs in the Arcadia, remained in manuscript until 1823 and cannot therefore be considered as an influential work during this period.

Translators of the psalms were hampered by the metrical version of Sternhold and Hopkins and the others who had used ballad-metre in their rendering, first published, most probably, in 1547. Sternhold's intention in writing them was very similar to Southwell's in adapting the language of secular verse for divine use. Sternhold hoped to substitute religious songs for the licentious ones of the court. The reason why he chose ballad-metre as the most suitable for translations of the Psalms is more complex. His precursor, Clement Marot, had used elaborate rhyme-schemes and rhythms in his

Sainctes Chansonnettes en Rime Francaise, which became the fashion at the French court. Sternhold's choice of a very simple metre by contrast is connected with the movement attached to the Reformation to give the people a Bible in the vernacular. By adapting the favourite measure of the common people, the iambic quatrain, Sternhold made his translations of the Psalms not only easy to memorize but also easy to sing. Simple tunes were published with the verses or popular tunes were suggested as suitable accompaniment. The significance of this version of the Psalms in having a stabilizing effect upon English prosody which was then in a transitional state, is outside the scope of this chapter but its effect upon later attempts to translate the Psalms can readily be seen. Common metre as Julian points out, became almost a consecrated measure.

The Old Version, as the translation by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, Thomas Norton, Robert Wilson and William Whittingham, was often called, came to be regarded almost as a sacred work. It was used throughout England for the next hundred years and Thomas Warton complains in his History of English Poetry that its flat

verses were still being sung in the 1770s. It was granted a royal privilege to be sung in churches and was printed with the Book of Common Prayer. According to the Short Title Catalogue, it went through 280 editions before 1640, just less than a century after the first publication in part, and seventy-eight years after the first publication by John Day of The whole booke of psalmes collected into Englysh, "cum gratia et priuilegio per septennium". In 1604 the Company of Stationers took over what must have been the most lucrative rights in the publishing trade of the time. It was printed sometimes without music, sometimes with the one voice part giving "their wonted tunes", sometimes with more intricate directions, as in the edition printed for Thomas Morley in 1599, "The plaine song to be sung and plaide vpon the lute, orpharyon, citterne or base violl." The Church of Scotland also echoed to the strains of Sternhold's and Hopkin's version but often other versions, chiefly that of Robert Pont were added and only selections from the Old Version used. The Scottish editions are therefore excluded from the total given above. Of these 280 editions, thirty-seven were printed in the fifteen years

1580-1595. The next fifteen years, the period of this study, saw an increased number, fifty-five, but this was exceeded by the number of editions in the next fifteen years, which was sixty-two. Finally, the fifteen year period before the Civil War saw that figure almost doubled, one hundred and eleven editions being recorded. Only negative evidence can therefore be produced in support of this thesis. The period of the poems on repentance was not marked by a larger number of editions of the version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, but on the other hand, it did not see a decline in them.

After 1562 the collection was always printed entire and so the translations of the Penitential Psalms by Sternhold (Psalms vi,xxxii), Hopkins (Psalm xxxvii), Whittingham (the first version of Psalm li and Psalm cxxx), and Norton (the second version of Psalm li and Psalms cii and cxliii) are never found detached from the rest. A certain significance can be attached to the fact that Psalm li, "Miserere mei", David's prayer of contrition after his sin with Bathsheba, is the only psalm which is translated twice, by different men, and both versions are always included in the collection. Did this supreme

expression of repentance offer a particular challenge to the sixteenth century translators or have an especial appeal to those who used their work as an aid to divine worship? The reason for its importance in this collection is to be found in the biographical interest it held. This is emphasized in the commentary on the contents given at the head of the Psalm:

Dauid rebuked by the prophet Nathan for his great offences acknowledged the same to God, protesting his naturall corruption. Wherefore he prayeth God to forgeue his sinne and renew in hym hys holy spirite: promising that he will not bee vnmindefull of those great graces. Finally, fearing least God would punish the whole Church for his fault, hee requireth that he would rather increase his graces towardes the same.

No other psalm has quite this interest which is at once so particular and so universal.

The two versions of it are very similar and on the same level of poetic achievement. A lifetime's familiarity may have been able to distinguish them apart and may have been able to detect a more precise command of metre in Whittingham's version or a closer translation in Norton's but it is doubtful whether their comparative excellencies were ever the subject of debate even in circles less widely read than that centred on Wilton.

The Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins have had their defenders. In recent years, Hallet Smith found Warton's criticism of them "narrow in scope and mistaken in fact"¹ but even he fails to communicate any enthusiasm to his readers. Their interest remains primarily historical.

Whatever may be said of the Old Version as a whole, the Penitential Psalms fully justify the heavy guns of Thomas Warton's artillery drawn up against them from the ramparts of eighteenth century taste:

The most exalted effusions of thanksgiving, and the most sublime imageries of the divine majesty, are lowered by a coldness of conception, weakened by frigid interpolations and disfigured by a poverty of phraseology.²

in his view and he finds the translation "entirely destitute of elegance, spirit and propriety." He picks out Sternhold in particular because he

as often impairs a splendid description by an impotent redundancy as by an omission or contraction of the most important circumstances.

The only defence Sternhold could have produced is that his fellows were as bad, if not worse, than he.

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1. Huntington Library Quarterly, Vol.IX, 1945-6.
"English Metrical Psalms in the Sixteenth Century and their Literary Significance", p.249.
 2. History of English Poetry, 1824, III, p.460.

The Psalms have the merit of close translation. Collated with the Prayer Book version, they reveal no omissions or additions. Expansion of a pithy phrase of the original into the flabby iambic line (or lines, for it seems to have been the translators' general rule to render quatrain for verse regardless of the varying lengths of the verse) weakens the force of imagery such as Coverdale's

Thou art aplace to hide me in, thou shalt
preserve me from trouble: thou shalt compass
me about with songs of deliverance.¹

which becomes

When trouble and aduersitie
do compass me about:
Thou art my refuge and my ioy,
and thou doest rid me out.

or his

My days are gone like a shadow: and I am
withered like grass: But thou, O Lord, shalt
endure for ever: and thy remembrance throughout
all generations.²

which is rendered

The dayes wherein I passe my life,
are like the fleeting shade:
And I am withered like the grasse,
that soone away doth fade.

1. Psalm xxxii, 8.

2. Psalm cii, 11 and 12.

But thou O Lord for euer doest
 remaine in steady place:
 And thy remembrance euer doth
 abide from race to race.

Forced rhymes by means of inversion and padding with auxiliary verbs makes ridiculous such verses as the closing verse of Psalm cxliii, "Domine exaudi":

And of thy mercy slay my foes,
 O Lord destroy them all:
 That do oppresse my soule for I
 thy seruant am and shall.

In spite of such weaknesses Sternhold's and Hopkins's version of the Psalms remained the most popular of all the many versions made in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was not without its opponents, though these, like Dod in 1620 and Wither in 1632, were usually fellow-translators who viewed the Old Version through the jaundiced eyes of jealous competitors for public favour. Wither's version and subsequent ones by Thomas Puckering in 1633 and James I, published posthumously in 1631, need not concern us here. Dod's Psalms, although not published until 1620, were written, as he tells us in his preface, "To the Christian Reader" much earlier. In 1603 he published nine psalms which he had rendered "into easie meeter fitting our common tunes for vse in myne owne famely" but had been persuaded by "some godly learned

friendes" to give them to the world "for common good". The printing we are assured by Dod, was privileged by "our dread Soueraigne". The decision of the Hampton Court Conference to make a new translation of the Bible suggested the revision of the metrical Psalms and Dod, on his own testimony, was urged by "one of the said Diuines" to undertake the task, "with instant request from the rest, & in their names". He was suitably modest:

the Lord knoweth, I was absolutely resolved, neuer to haue so exposed my selfe to anie such publique action agine: knowing myne owne insuffitiencie, & vnworthinesse, to vndertake such a worke.

but, as might have been foreseen, eventually "ouer-ruled, & surprised by arguments". The result is a volume which Dod hopes

shall not be found different from the text, by the judgement of the best writers vpon the Psalmes that are extant, & approoued by the Church of England.

He gives several side-long glances at the established version, pointing out its difficult tunes and lack of variety musically. He prints no music with his version but suggests the use of "other vsvall & good tunes". This he confesses has limited his choice of metre to the same kind that Sternhold and Hopkins used.

The copy in the British Museum has a manuscript note by the author on the fly-leaf in which he lists errata discovered after printing but vindicates the carelessness by stating "But in the old booke of singing psals (sic) there are some scores of such defects." Not content with this he abuses the whole translation, zealously indicating its "exceeding manie such absurd, grosse, & vnprofitable wordes & phrases, as are vnfitt for the worship, & service of God".

This criticism, despite the author's obvious professional prejudices, might be acceptable if his own translation had been an improvement. On the contrary, it is so "absurd, grosse, & vnprofitable" that the public which could take even Sternhold and Hopkins to its heart, yet had the taste to reject Dod. Wither, whose opinion in such matters of criticism is, like Dod's, not unbiased, tells us with malicious glee in his Schollers Purgatory in 1625 how "Dod the silkman's late ridiculous translation of the Psalms was, by authority, worthily condemned to the fire."

Dod's main faults are the customary ones of lack of any sense of rhythm and forced rhymes coupled with a complete insensitivity to the structure of the

Psalm. Instead of having even the unimaginative, strict rule of one quatrain for one verse of the original, Dod splits verses unmercifully. The following two stanzas of Psalm xxxii show a combination of these faults at its worst:

Thou art my hiding place and thou
 distrisse do'st keepe away:
 With songes of great deliu'raunce
 wilt compasse me. Selah.
 I will thee both instruct & teach,
 in way that thou shalt goe:
 And I will thee guide with mine eye,
 Lyke horse be ye not so,
 Or as the mule, which wisdome none
 can haue: whose mouth must be
 Held in, with bitt and brydle strong
 lest they come neere to thee.
 Exceeding manie sorrowes shall
 be to the wicked men:
 But he that trusteth in the LORD,
 mercie shall compasse him.

He has even less idea than Sternhold and Hopkins of the division into parts of a long psalm such as Psalm 102 or Psalm 51, which he splits after verse 10. In spite of his strictures on the Old Version, he shows a thorough knowledge of it and at times an unacknowledged indebtedness to it. Psalms xxxviii and cii caused him particular difficulty and he had recourse to inversion of the order of Sternhold and Hopkins's version or a search for

synonyms before resorting to outright copying. A few examples will suffice. Hopkins renders verse 2 of Psalm xxxviii as:

Thine arrowes do sticke fast in me,
thy hand doth presse me sore:
And in my flesh no health at all,
appeareth any more.

which in Dod's version is:

Thine arrowes in me doe sticke fast,
thy hand sore presseth me.
And in my flesh noe soundnes is,
because thou art angrie.

Psalm cii is a greater struggle against the familiarity of the Old Version, barely achieved despite clumsy juggling with the caesura in verses 4 and 5:

And as a harth my bones are burnt,
my hart is smitten dead:
And withers as the grasse, that I
forget to eat my bread.
By reason of my groning voyce...

is Norton's effort, which Dod takes over as:

my bones burnt vp are they
Lyke as a hearth: my heart is smit
and withered is away
As is the grase. So that my bread
I doe forget to eate.
By reason of my groaning voyce...

The evidence of Dod's insensitivity - if it requires amplification - is completed by his printing in black letter in the margin of his doggerel the incomparable

Coverdale translation.

These versions are both straightforward translations of all the Psalms. Versions, rather than translations, of the Penitential Psalms were made separately by many poets of the period. Spenser's version has been lost but the fact that he is known to have made one is evidence that the fashion was not confined to versifiers of small talent but extended^{ed} to courtly circles where genius abounded. Professor Campbell's summary shows how widely it was spread:

So many were those who put the psalms into English metre, and whose work now exists only in manuscript or is known by some reference to it, that we must conclude that the number of the devout who sought consolation or a pathway¹ to heaven by this means was very great indeed.

The movement to translate the Psalms, because it had originated at the Reformation was spread over the whole century and therefore does not contribute much to this thesis as it was already in full swing in 1595. Versions of the Penitential Psalms which were published in the last decade of the sixteenth century and the opening years of the seventeenth show in an interesting way the development from direct translation to a more subjective rendering. A consideration of four versions

1. P.54.

demonstrates the varying ways in which the poet used the Penitential Psalms.

The first to be considered is the Seuen Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne by William Hunnis, first published in 1583. This was subsequently reprinted in 1587, 1589, 1597, 1600, 1604, 1609, 1615,¹ 1618 and 1629 and can therefore be considered to have been one of the most popular versions of the Penitential Psalms known during the period of this study. Hunnis is one of those minor versifiers, like Breton, though he is much less gifted than Breton, who continued to write in the same style for many years regardless of changes in fashion. His first work was published in 1550 and his last in 1595, two years before his death. The number of editions through which his version of the Penitential Psalms went indicates the popularity of both author and subject-matter. Hunnis's first book was Certayne psalmes drawn into English meter written during the fashion of psalm-writing which prevailed at the court of the pious Edward VI and of which Sternhold and Hopkins were the chief exponents. Hunnis came under the influence of the common metre and never shook it off. Its most pernicious effects in his

1. My quotations are from this edition.

work are seen to be not monotony of rhythm or forced rhymes but diffuseness. He never knew when to stop but rambled on in his steady, smooth-flowing verse which at its best does not obtrude its jog-trot measures too strongly upon the reader but does tire him with its garrulity. The influence of Sternhold and Hopkins is shown in his printing tunes with his version of the psalms. As a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal he was in the best company of his musical age but it is doubtful if his tunes are any more impressive than his verses.¹

From the very beginning of the movement to render the Psalms into English verse, the Penitential Psalms have been translated by those who put into them their own sorrows. Wyatt, who knew the Italian version of Aretino, and Surrey found them a useful vehicle for such thoughts. Surrey's, in particular, are very free and full of his own difficulties. In view of this Mrs. C.C. Stopes, Hunnis's principal biographer, thinks that the Seuen Sobs may have been composed when Hunnis was imprisoned in the Tower for complicity in the second major plot of Mary's reign. This suggestion must be reluctantly

1. Mrs. Stopes states that none of Hunnis's music has come down to us but music, whether his or not, is printed with the Psalms in the Seuen Sobs.

dismissed as of the "it is a pleasant picture" school of biography. It seems unlikely that Hunnis waited twenty-four years after his release from the Tower before publishing his psalms. Such a prolific writer was more likely to send his work to a stationer quite soon after completion though it is probable that memories of his harsh confinement recurred to him as he wrote. It would be misleading, however, to say that Hunnis's psalms strike such a personal note as this implies. They reveal lengthy and generalized meditation and lack the urgency of Wyatt's or Surrey's versions.

Each psalm begins with about a dozen quatrains of meditation upon one aspect of repentance. In Psalm vi, it is fear of judgement; in Psalm xxxii, confession; in Psalm xxxviii, the fear of punishment; in Psalm li, the saving power of God; in Psalm cii, the mercy of God shown in Christ; in Psalm cxxx, the loving-kindness of God and in Psalm cxliii, the unworthiness of the sinner. Hunnis then translates each verse literally, giving the Vulgate version in the margin and not always keeping to Sternhold's and Hopkins's rule of one quatrain for one verse. He prints this direct translation in italics.

It is followed by a lengthy meditation upon it or an amplification of its thought. Into this he brings any references he can find throughout the whole Bible which illuminate his text. It is therefore not surprising to find him referring to the great New Testament examples of penitence, St. Peter, and St. Mary Magdalene long before Southwell wrote his works on them. He searches the Old and New Testaments for incidents the psalmist could not possibly have known. He constantly refers to incidents in the life of Christ and usually brings his wandering thoughts back to the next verse of the psalm with a prayer for mercy. It is this prayerfulness linked to so close a knowledge of the Bible and expressed in such simplicity of language and metre which gives Hunnis's work a tone of quiet sincerity. This is how he uses the thought of verse 17 of Psalm li:

And humble spirit with heart contrite,
for mine iniquity,
This sacrifice (O Lord) I know
thou wilt no time despise,
 but it behold, and looke thereon
 with thy most gracious eyes.
 And Lord for that there nothing should
 be left behind in me,
 Both body, soule, and all their powers
 I offer vnto thee:
 And as a liuely sacrifice,
 as Ezechias did,
 Such time as he thy fauour got,
 and health recouered.
 The same did Mary Magdalen
 offer in humble sort,

The thiefe also vpon the crosse
to his endlesse comfort.
Great numbers more vnspeakable,
by this thy fauour wan,
And I through grace now penitent,
although a sinfull man,
Do claime no lesse of mercy thine,
for to be shewed to me,
Be cause thou art as then thou¹ wast;
and euermore shalt be.

Hunnis is in effect using his Penitential Psalms as the Church has used them for centuries, reading the sayings of the Old dispensation of the Old Testament in the light of the New and interpreting David's words "de Christe et Ecclesia". A good example of this occurs at verse 23 of of Psalm cii:

And yet (O Lord) I faine would know,
how short my daies shall be,
and eke how long mine enemies,
shall triumph ouer me,
Which is, thy Church desires to know
how long she shall abide,
Beset with cruell enemies,
about on euerie side.
To whom thou hast an answere made
by Christ thy blessed sonne,
That still thy power with her shall be,
vntill the world be done.
And we her children thee desire,
to bring vs to the end.
Of this short time that we with thee,
may to the heauens ascend.
And till that time good Lord vouchsafe,
thou wilt continue still
Thy grace and fauour towards vs, ²
according to thy will.

Diffuseness and lack of control spoil Hunnis's meditations but in his use of the Penitential Psalms, he is completely in

1. P.55.
2. Pp.69-70.

the tradition of the Church and yet unique in his own century. No other translator uses them in this way he does, taking a reference to the praise of God as an opportunity of invoking the Trinity or a prayer for mercy as an opening for an account of the Passion. He has made the Psalms personal in a way no-one else managed to do.

The next poet to be considered is the Catholic, Richard Verstegan, who published anonymously in 1601 his Odes in Imitation of the Seuen Penitential Psalmes, With Sundry other Poemes and ditties tending to deuotion and pietie. The title is important. Verstegan is not claiming¹ that his versions of the seven psalms are strict translations but that they are adapted from them. They are not as fine as Sabie's "Ode" but they have interpolations and amplifications of the text which are interesting in the light of the poet's own situation. At the same time Verstegan does not use the meditative method employed by Hunnis but translates quite closely from the Vulgate. He uses the customary Catholic numbering of the Psalms which, following the Septuagint, splits Psalms ix and cxiii in the Hebrew into two and joins together Psalms cxiv and cxv, and Psalms cxlvi and cxlvii to make up the one hundred and fifty.

Verstegan is another translator of the Psalms who stresses that they are to be sung. In this case the music

1. He had already done that in his prose translation in his Primer of 1599, the first translation of the Primer into English.

is not printed with them but the dedication requests that suitable settings be composed. Marot dedicated his Sainctes Chansonnettes en Rime Françaises "Aux dames de France" and Verstegan is probably remembering this in his gallant dedication, "To the vertvovs ladies and gentlewomen readers of these ditties". Having been persuaded to print them, he professes to find no worthier recipients for them than

your selues, whose sweete voyces or verginalles
nay voutsafe so to grace them, as that thereby
they may be much bettered, and the rather yf it shal
please you to obtaine of some skilful Musitian,
such requisite tunes, as may vnto them be best
fitting.

Verstegan follows Marot too in varying the metres and rhyme-schemes of his versions. He does not show a wide range of experiment but breaks away to some extent from the ballad measure favoured by the Protestant translators. The first and fourth Penitential Psalms are written in common metre, the second and fifth in quatrains composed of octosyllabic couplets. The third is a pleasing variant of ballad metre, a quatrain rhyming a b c b in which the second line contains only two feet and is therefore much shorter than the other three. The sixth psalm has the most complicated stanza-form, being composed of two quatrains linked together by shorter rhyming fifth and tenth lines. The final psalm is in the ubiquitous "Saint Peters Complaynt" stanza.

Verstegan's version is a competent but unexciting

translation of the Vulgate. It does not demonstrate the cramped one stanza for one verse technique of Sternhold and Hopkins. Verstegan occasionally renders one verse in two parallel stanzas as in the first two stanzas of Psalm vi, "Domine ne in furore":

When my misdeedes o God

May thee to anger mooue,
Amiddes the rigour of thy rage
Voutsafe me not reprooue

Nor when for my offence
Thy chastisement must bee,
In thy displeasure o deere¹ Lord
Let it not light on mee.

He is more skilful than many of his fellow-translators in avoiding inversion and forced rhymes and in preventing a too steady rhythm interrupting the reader's appreciation of his words. A steady rhythm must be maintained because of the musical setting but in Verstegan's hands its beat is not too heavy. If his verse reveals few felicities, it yet contains one or two striking phrases as in the expansion of verse 6 of Psalm cxlii(Vulgate) "Domine exaudi":

Expandi manus meas ad te, anima mea sicut terra
fine aqua.

My stretched hands to thee display
The ensignes of my yeilding hart,
My soule as earth that water wants
Of vertues frute can beare no parte:
I faint, send soone relief of raine,
Least els vnfruteful I remaine. 2

His expansions are almost all of this nature, a

1. P.1.
2. P.18.

slight embroidery of the literal translation. Unlike Hunnis, he does not use each verse as a directive to meditation but introduces within each psalm no references which are not in the original. An exception to this is his rendering of the Gloria at the end of each psalm, where the demands of the stanza-form are stretched to their limits. The Gloria to the last psalm is the best but even that is not entirely easy:

All glory bee to thee o God,
The Father of eternal might:
And to the Sonne, and holy Ghoste,
Three in an vndeuyded plight:
As now it is, and was of yore, 1
And shal endure for euermore.

Verstegan is the one translator of the Penitential Psalms in this period who applies their meaning to his own situation and to that of his Church, for which they were at this time particularly suited. The Odes was published anonymously at Antwerp whither Verstegan had fled when his activities for the Catholics in England had come under the suspicion of the government who had seized his secret printing-press. On the Continent he acted as an agent for Persons and relayed news between England and Rome and the other European centres for fugitive Catholics. In this position he was fully aware of the troubles of the Catholics in England and acutely sensitive to theological controversy into which he entered with a zest which Southwell, the finer

1. P.20.

Catholic poet lacked. Verstegan's zeal is that of the widely-read layman; Southwell was under the orders of his Superior in the Society of Jesus. The Odes is a blatantly Catholic work. It might be considered a book of instruction on the more controversial issues of the time from the Catholic point of view, containing as it does "The fifteen mysteries of"Ovr Blessed Lady", a translation of the "Ave Maria", poems on the "Epithetes of Ovr Blessed Lady," an exposition of the doctrine of transubstantiation, two expositions of the Ave bell and a poem on the merits "Of the State of the Solitary lyf dedicated to the service of God". Two poems on martyrs indicate his awareness of events in England, while a "Complaint of Chvrch Controversy" with a satirical epigram tacked on to it shows that he is not afraid to state his opinion of matters. The Catholic militant is seen most clearly in "A Reprehension of the Reprehending of our ladies praise"; the whole book may be seen in the light of this poem.

Verstegan's versions of the Penitential Psalms is therefore, not surprisingly, heavy with the troubles of the time. It is not fanciful to see them behind such a verse as:

Let shame my foes befall
 And vexed let them bee,
 Their owne conuersion or their shame 1
 Lord let them quickly see

which, though an exact rendering of the Vulgate version of the

last verse of Psalm vi, "Erubescant & conturbentur vehementer omnes inimici mei, covertantur & erubescāt valde velociter", yet has a peculiar significance in Verstegan's situation. This lowering cloud gives particular application to Psalm xxxvii (Vulgate), "Domine ne in furore":

In my displeasing thee o Lord
 Right wel I see,
 My fréindes are foes, my soule is sought
 And force is wrought on mee

They wish my il, and speake my scorne,
 And when they smyle,
 Their hate admittes no tyme of stay
 To study fraud and guyle.

But I alas with patience prest
 Must all for-beare,
 Lyke to the dumb and seeming¹ deaf
 I neither speak nor heare.

The last verse is not entirely true of the impetuous Verstegan who finds opportunity in Psalm ci "Domine exaudi", to add particular poignancy to the Psalmist's solitary lament:

But whyle O Lord I do endure this lyf
 Expecting peace by fleeing worldly stryf
 Old freindes I fynde become new noysome foes
 O loue me Lord, for loss of loue of those.

The cry of the exile rings through those four lines. When the Psalmist applies his own situation more generally to that of Sion, Verstegan the controversialist is revealed clearly in his additions to the Vulgate:

But when o Lord thy woorks shal shew thy fame
 Thy faithlesse people then shal feare thy name:
 And earthly kinges shal bend their glory downe,
 At thy celestiaall glorie and renowne.

The more may Sion now sound forth his fame,
 Ierusalem his praises may proclame:
 Where in his Church his people do accord,
 And whereas kings are subiects to their Lord.

In each stanza the Vulgate lacks the pointed reference to stiff-necked earthly monarchs. Verstegan's Psalms were a comfort to one Catholic at least, for we find them copied out into Elizabeth Grymeston's Miscelanea, which she intended for a "portable Veni mecum" for her only son, Bernye.

Another rendering of the Penitential Psalms by a Catholic is that of John Davies of Hertford in (The Muses¹ Sacrifice), 1611, who gives it the alliterative title of "The Dolefull Dove". His version is in quatrains with longer lines than Sternhold and Hopkins's ballad-metre. It displays an almost total lack of any sense of rhythm:

Thus shall each pious person pray to thee
 in fitting time (yer Mercies Gate be sparr'd)
 But when the Inundations swelling be²
 of many Waters they from Him are barr'd.

It is a close translation, Davies never departing from the text, and only occasionally amplifying it. An example of this occurs at the beginning of Psalm 38:

For, mine ambitious Sinnes climbe o'er my Head,
 and, as a breake-necked Burden, me oppresse:
 My wounds (which they haue made) with filth are fed,
 and ranckled sore, through my worse foolishnesse.³

Like Verstegan he adds a Gloria after each Psalm, though, like him, he does not achieve smoothness:

1. The title-page of the BLM. Copy is missing.
 2. P.102.
 3. P.103.

To God the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost,
three Persons, and one God; all glory be;
 As it was, is and shall be in each Coast,
 throughout all worlds in all eternitie 1. (sic)

The chief additions Davies makes do not improve his uninspired translation. He has an extraordinarily fussy manner which cannot allow a statement to pass without some explanation in parenthesis. The last stanzas of Psalm 38 well illustrate this irritating mannerism. The second line shows a preoccupation like Verstegan's with the troubles of the time.

But, still my Foes doe liue, and strong are made,
 strong in their friends, their places, purse and
armes
 And they that hate me (causelesse) and inuade
 me (forcelesse) many be; the more my harmes.

They (monsters) likewise, that do ill for good
 oppose me still sith goodnesse I ensue;
 Then, haste thee (Lord) to help me (so withstood)
 and leaue me not among this cursed crue.²

It is a different garrulity from Hunnis's and much less rewarding. It will be seen again in The Holy Roode³ but united there with a very strained conceitish manner and an elaborate vocabulary. Here the vocabulary is simple.

The final version of the Penitential Psalms which may be considered was published just after the close of the period of this study. Sir William Leighton "set foorth" his Teares or Lamentations of a sorrowfull Soule in 1613, a volume of pedestrian verse acclaimed in Latin and English verse by his friends. Leighton was also a musician and he

1. (P.109v)

2. P.104.

3. See Chapter VII, P.

promises his readers a volume of "sweete Musically Ayres and Tunable Accents" by himself and "expert and famous learned men in that science and facultie". This was printed by Stansby in 1614 and the first part consists of consort songs for four voices with treble lute and viol accompaniment, the first eight being by Leighton. He has printed the volume containing his translations of the Psalms so that

the humbled hearts (together with mine) may reape
profit and consolation by singing or reading of them.

To this end he suggests that the unmusical use "the common and ordinarie tunes beseeming such a subiect" and he has written his psalms in ballad-metre to fit in with these. Leighton's version is a competent translation which in spite of its simplicity of language does not make over-much use of auxiliary verbs. It is refreshing to find that in general he condenses the meaning of a verse rather than expands it, though the two occasions where he does insert a figure not in the original are not unpleasing. Verse 1 of Psalm vi is amplified by the quatrain:

For Lord to thee still turnes my hope,
 (because thy mercies haue no end)
Euen as the lowly heeleetrope, 1
 vnto the lofty sun doth bend.

In verse 2 of Psalm xxxviii, he remembers the shipwreck metaphor at the beginning of "Saint Peters Complaynt":

I haue no rest in any ioynt,
 be reason of my deadly sinne:
With balme of mercy me annoynt,
 and bring me to thy heauenly Inne.

My dismall deeds doe plunge me soare,
 like rageing billowes of the maine:
 O waft me to thy blissefull shoare, 1.
 and be mine Anchor-hould againe.

Leighton's version represents the more usual way of treating the Penitential Psalms, the path of straightforward translation marked out by Sternhold and Hopkins in ballad-metre. An interest in the story of David which lies behind the psalms is as rare as metrical experiment but both are to be found in Sabie's version of Psalm li, though Sabie stood outside the main stream of the religious poetry of his time. The Psalms, more than any other penitential subject, confine the poet. They demonstrate in themselves the progress of repentance upon which the theologians built their patterns and they are more personal than any other exemplum. The poet is left with the choice of straightforward translation sticking more or less closely to the text and perhaps applying its message to his own situation, or building upon each verse a meditation which in the traditional method of the Church can be both personal and general. The first method is used by many poets, most notably and in the most interesting way by Verstegan; the second is employed only by Hunnis but in using it he is nearer the general movement of religious verse during this transitional period than any other translator of the penitential Psalms. It is noticeable that the religious poets of the next generation, the finest flowering of English devotional verse, abandoned the Penitential Psalms - an aid to the versifier, they were a

straitjacket to the poet.

CHAPTER VII.

The Tears at the Foot of the Cross

"But above all; (if these were not sufficient to perswade vs in this doctrine) there remaineth to be the perfect anatomie of an afflicted Conscience. This is the Lord and Savior IESVS CHRIST..."

Richard Greenham, A Most Sweete and assured Comfort for all those that are afflicted in Conscience, or troubled in minde, 1595, (Bviijv).

Two characters in the story of the Passion so attracted the Elizabethan poets as "patterns" of repentance that it has been necessary to consider them at length and detached from their setting. They are, of course, St. Peter, who denied his Lord, and St. Mary Magdalene who wept for him dying and dead. Neither of these has a prominent position in poetry earlier than the sixteenth century but when we consider the Crucifixion, we are concerned with an event which has inspired Christian poets since the early centuries of the Church. It will be necessary therefore to note briefly the various methods of treating it before reviewing the Elizabethan poetry on the subject.

The epic was ~~one~~ of the favourite modes from the fourth century when Juvencus wrote his Historia Evangelica. It was felt that no subject could be more suitable for heroic treatment and for a style so honoured in antiquity, than the Life and more particularly, the Death of Christ. Later such writers as Sedulius in the fifth century in his Paschalis Carminis and Sannazaro who wrote his De Partu Virginis when the Renaissance was looking for Christian equivalents for its new enthusiasm, the classics, found it as impossible to keep on the narrow road of detachment as on the equally strait path of simple narration. They strayed into emotional by-ways and in their entanglement with passion,

lyricism took over from narration. The Death of Christ could never be regarded coldly.

The "sacred epic", as it is generally termed, became very popular in Italy, where it was written in both Latin and the vernacular. Southwell himself, at the English College in Rome, wrote one on the life of the Virgin, the Poema De Assumptione. It had become traditional by this time to include in the narrative laments of such figures as the Virgin or the Magdalen and the horrified outbursts of Judas. These assumed such importance that when Tanzillo wrote Le Lagrime di San Pietro, seeing the whole event through the eyes, or rather, the tears, of one character, epic style capitulated temporarily to lyrical emotion and the vogue of the "Complaint" swept Europe. With some of its English developments this study is concerned and the Elizabethan poems on the Passion are largely the product of it.

The element of what for convenience's sake may be termed "sheer lyricism" must not be neglected in this summary of poetry on the Crucifixion. The Middle Ages left many short and beautiful poems inspired by it. They have a strange anonymity about them as though the poet were speaking from the concealment of the confessional rather than in full view from the pulpit. This is in part due to

their stereotyped diction but their traditional treatment of the subject, steeped in patristic exegesis and liturgical usage, is another important factor. For centuries pious poets wrote short poems giving the appeal of Christ from the Cross to the sinner, the worldling, the careless and unheeding, or emphasising one feature of the story, the Trial, the mourners by the Cross, the Deposition or the Entombment. It is doubtful if much influence trickled down to the sixteenth century from these poems, as they were engulfed in the wave of the epic and the later, more lyrical, "Complaint", which swept into England from Italy. Continuity can only be traced in popular literature such as the ballads. More important are the mediaeval lyrics tied up in the neat systematic bundles beloved of the early exegetes, the Five Sorrows of the Virgin, the Seven Words from the Cross, the Five Wounds and the Nine Emblems of the Crucifixion. The influence of these lingered among the Catholic poets particularly and will be traced later in this chapter in the lyrics of Southwell and Verstegan and the sonnets of Alabaster.

The period of this study saw many poems of the "Complaint" genre on the subject of the Passion but only two attempts at the sacred epic. Two events in the Passion narrative were particularly inspiring to the poet, the Agony of Christ. and the Death. In the poems on the latter subject the writer's

interest lay in the sinner's attitude to his Redeemer but in the first the figure of Judas held a strong fascination for him.

In order to deal in an orderly fashion with these numerous and often very lengthy poems, this chapter will be divided into three sections. The first will consider the poems in which Judas is held up for the horrified attention of the reader as a mirror of an unrepentant and damned soul, and the poems concerned solely with the Agony. In the second section the poems on the Trial, Death and Entombment of Christ will be noted and in the third are grouped the shorter poems which have more in common with the mediaeval lyrics.

Judas is the chief example of legal or feigned repentance. Theologians taught that Judas was damned because his spirit could not conceive of the mercy and goodness of God. Saul and Cain are the other two great examples of this:

from a knowledge of the greatness of their
sins they dreaded the Divine wrath, but
that considering God only as an avenger and
a judge, they perished under that apprehension.¹

Hooker, distinguishing between David's "effectual penitence" and Saul's, quotes Fulgenius:

1. Calvin Institutes, III,3,(iv).

the one hated sin, the other feared only punishment in this world: Saul's acknowledgment of sin was¹ fear, David's both fear and also love.

Judas is the only character of this type who interested the religious poets. They found the other two useful in hyperbole; the poet confessed with great lamentation and even greater ingenuity that he was a worse sinner than either Saul or Cain. Judas was frequently invoked, as can be seen in The Lamentation of The lost sheepe or The Penitent Publican, to bolster up such inverted pride but he also attracted the attention of versifiers who wrote his story more fully. As the betrayer of God Himself, he illustrates the depths of degradation and sin which always have an imaginative appeal. Henry Smith, one of the finest Elizabethan preachers, described Judas's sorrow as "mishapen" and went on to compare it to "a Beares whelp" unformed, unlicked into its correct shape. The epithet, "silver-tongued", which his contemporaries gave him, making him thus only one degree lower than the "golden-tongued" preacher himself, St. John Chrysostom, in the hierarchy of eloquence, is merited by the rhythmical prose of a later passage in the same sermon, "The Betraying of Christ", where he describes the state of a damned soul:

1. Eccles. Polity, VI, iii,4.

If there bee any hell in this world, they which feelee the Worme of conscience gnaw upon their hearts, may truly say, that they have felt the torments of hell. Who can expresse that mans horror but himselfe? Nay, what horrors are there which he cannot expresse himselfe? Sorrowes are met in his soule at a feast: and fear, thought, and anguish divide his soule between them. All the furies of hell leaps upon his heart like a stage. Thought calleth to Fear; Fear whistleth to Horrour; Horrour beckeneth to Dispaire and saith, Come and help mee to torment this sinner: One saith, that she commeth from this sinne, and another saith, that she cometh from that sinne: so he goeth thorow a thousand deaths, and cannot die. Irons are laid upon his body like a prisoner. All his lights are put out at once: he hath no soul fit to bee comforted. Thus he lies as it were upon the racke, and saith that he beares the world upon his shoulders, and that no man suffereth that which he suffereth. So let him lye (saith God) without ease, untill he confesse, and repent, and call for mercie. ^{1.}

A poet who may well, in Fuller's phrase, have brought his own pew to St. Clement Danes', where Smith packed the aisles in the last years of Elizabeth's reign, was Samuel Rowlands, whose two volumes of religious verse stand as prefix and affix to a career as virulent satirist of the underworld of London. The Betraying of Christ, bearing the same title as Smith's famous sermon, was published in 1598 and contains a number of short poems on the Passion.

Rowlands who, with the exception of one poem, "The wonders at Christs death", uses the Saint Peters Complaynt

1. Sermons, edit. Fuller, 1657, p.396.

stanza, was not in other respects a close follower of Southwell. His style is turgid and heavy with classical allusion and an accumulation of epithets. It abounds in cross-references to the Old Testament and allegorical interpretation of Hebraic figures not always carefully fitted into their contexts. Rowlands, like Donne, would appear to have been a great frequenter of plays, for his style is the heightened one of early tragedy. Distinct echoes are occasionally caught. Professor Campbell¹ has noted the ring of Kyd in

Let eies become the fountaines of my teares.
and in "Peters teares at the Cockes crowing" it is not fanciful to hear a reminiscence of Clarence's dream in Richard III in

False periur'd tongue, now are thy boastings tri'de.
At times the style is overbearingly bombastic. The first four verses of the first poem, "The betraying of Jesus", might be the prologue to an Italianate tragedy, for they give no hint that a religious poem is to follow

Even when no beauties of the garnisht skie
Had left the view of Heauen-makers wonder,
And Phebus steeds were gallop'd posting by
Their hasty speed had got the worlds half vnder,
Yea eu'ry creature that had life or sprite,
Mourn'd at the darke approach of vgly night:

1. P.119.

Further in the background lie the sacred epics of Sedulius, Sannazaro and Vida. The influence of the latter is perhaps strongest, for in the Christiad (1535), Vida paints a terrifying picture of Judas possessed by devils, cursing himself before committing suicide. This emphasis on horror was a new feature in such a poem but one which appealed to Vida's contemporaries and particularly to Tanzillo, who in Le Lagrime di San Pietro makes St. Peter a witness of Judas's suicide, which takes place in a spot appropriately adorned with all the properties of horror, darkness, shadows, sinister rocks and peopled with bats, lizards, serpents and toads. It is possible that Rowlands knew one or both of these poems but it would be difficult to establish this, for unlike the scholarly Giles Fletcher, who makes them a graceful bow in his preface, he makes no acknowledgement to their authors. More positively, Rowlands, a hack writer with a ready command of racy vocabulary and the professional's sense of his audience, knew, for it was a commonplace of rhetoric, that a lofty style best suited a great subject and found the language of the theatre would serve his purpose.

Yet further back, behind the theatre, the sermons, the sacred epics, another influence can be seen though again it is shadowy and unacknowledged. The early Fathers in their exegesis of the Passion narratives had written

much on the character of Judas.¹ It was a subject which called for a display of paradox and intellectual and verbal ingenuity. Such skill was to be seen in seventeenth century lyrics on the Passion but was too much for such minor versifiers as Rowlands. St. Augustine's famous comment on Judas in his commentary on St. John's Gospel: "Nox erat et nox erat in animo suo" has passed into common usage and, even if unquoted, the link between the external night and the night of sin in Judas's soul became a commonplace in discussions of him and lies behind the two poems by Rowlands.

"The betraying of Jesus" tells in third person narrative the coming of the band of armed men led by Judas to arrest Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. It is not one of the best religious poems even of this comparatively barren period nor is it as exciting or moving as its subject warrants. The poet does his best by introducing yet more patristic exegesis in short meditations on the place of arrest:

As in a garden Adam disobayed,
And there became a captiue to the diuell,
So in a garden Iesus was betrayed,
To suffer death for Adams former euill:
Within a garden Adams crime offended,
For which Christ was in garden apprehended.

And as in pleasures garden at the fall,
For Adams clothing, dead beasts skins God gaue,
In euidence that death went ouer all,
And that his garment might presage his graue:
So Christ in garden tombe and dead mans shrowd,
Defray'd our debts, with paiment best alowd. 2.

1. See Catholic Encyclopaedia, "Judas"
2. (A111jv)-B.

and on the words with which Judas greeted Christ:

In words, All haile, God saue thee, or be glad;
Yet murder, blood, and death, lies hid in this,
This cup of gold did poisons draught begin,¹
This greene had serpents lurking hid within.

The strange combination of mediaeval exegesis and the contemporary drama can be clearly seen in such a passage.

The poem's chief interest is in the angle at which the poet views the scene. Although it is straightforward narration, it is all seen through the eyes of one man, Judas. We follow him across the brook into the Garden to betray Christ, rather than, as in the other poems on this part of the Passion story, being already there with Christ, witnessing His Agony. Nothing of this is shown to us, though Rowlands incorporates an appeal from Christ to Judas and through him to all sinners. In the next poem, "Judas in despaire," Rowlands drops even the lossely worn garb of omniscient narrator and speaks as Judas. This poem is longer and more pretentious than the first. It is an imitation of "Saint Peters Complaynt", but is unique in applying to Judas. Tears in his case are useless:

A sea of teares can neuer rince it cleane,²
Yet could one drop, that drop should ne're be shed.

Like St. Peter he analyses his fault and his previous advantages, proclaims himself an exile from the "sweet society" of James and John and compares himself to Old Testament

¹. (Bijv).

². C.

sinners. He finds himself

More blind then those whose sight sight-giuer gaue,
More deaffe and dumbe then any that he cured ¹

and sees that he is the guest at the feast in Christ's
parable who lacked the wedding-garment, and applies another
parable to himself in a more novel manner:

The man that from Ierusalem descended,
And hapned in the hands of bloody theeues,
A pittifull Samaritane befriended
With mercy, and his hard distresse releues:
Such holy loue, true charity suppli'd him,
Pitty was present and no grace deni'd-him. (sic)

But I from new Ierusalem retyr'd
The restfull Canaan, happinesse vnbounded,
For thirty pence hels iourney being hyr'd,
In Sathans snares I fell, that theefe hath wounded:
And priest is past, Samaritane gone by,
Seeing me curelesse, carelesse let me lie. ²

Equally curious is his application of Samson's death:

I bent my force to mooue the corner stone, ³
Destruction fell, my selfe destroy'd alone. ³

Mary Magdalene makes her appearance, as is by now expected,
though this time it is her ointment not her tears which
Judas envies. Like Henry Smith's damned soul, his spirit
is shared by three devils, Fear, Thought and Anguish and
acting on a hint in a line of "Saint Peters Complaynt":

My threnes an endlesse alphabet do find

gives an alphabet of grief:

1. (Cv).

2. (Cijv)

3. Ciiij.

Apostle once, increasing Christs eleuen
Bagbearer, to the charge of purse assign'd...¹

Further quotation is unnecessary to illustrate the difference between the delicate hinting of a poet such as Southwell and the clumsy over-elaborate statement of a minor versifier such as Rowlands. The final verses discuss the mode of suicide and the desire for an appropriate place with the zeal of one who had seen violent death often on the stage:

Not to dismount a check-cloud earthy heape,
 Or make soule passage by a poinard point,
 Nor to bequeath the sea a drowning leape;
 But fatall cord shall crack my breathing ioint...

Lead on despaire, confounder of my sprite,
 Direct vnto some nooke of hellish shade,
 For shame sake, be it gloomier then that night
 In which by me heav'ns brightnesse was betraide:
 Blacker then death, more sable hew'd then hell,
 Where sulphur flames, with vtter darknesse dwell.²

Rowlands, more than any other writer of religious verse in this period, relished horror.

No other writer spoke to his readers through the mouth of Judas but the treacherous disciple attracted others as an example of repentance, not like St. Peter, as an illustration, an "anatomy" of the process of penitence, but

1. (Dv)

2. (Dijv).

as a deterrent, as it were, an example of the wrong way of setting about it. Gervase Markham devotes a large part of his Teares of the Beloued to a discussion of Judas. Markham, a prolific writer of manuals on farming and the breeding and training of horses, of romances and chronicles of military instructions and humorous epistles, whose pen was truly that of a ready writer of whatever would sell, was even less likely than Rowlands to have any claim to be a great religious poet. The Teares of the Beloued, like his translation of the Song of Songs, is remarkable only for its lack of fervour on such a subject and its pedestrian expression. That such poets as Markham and Rowlands should produce poems on religious topics, and in particular, on penitential subjects is striking evidence of the popularity of this theme.

Markham is endeavouring to catch the eye of the casual peruser of the Elizabethan book-stalls by introducing a new "weeper". The title reassures him that the poem is of the "Complaint" genre yet it is intriguing in suggesting a new speaker. Markham has, however, been a little too ingenious. St. John has the advantage of having been an eye-witness of the Betrayal and the Trial but the disciple whom Jesus loved can only speak as a narrator and commentator,

for he is not looking back on these events through the tears of a penitent. In "The first Adiunct" (there is only the one) St. John goes over the story he has just told, and points out the causes of Christ's death, the meaning of which is given in lines with a Southwellian ring:

He made his soule an offring for our sinne;
His will was such, his death doth life prolong:
His dying for vs, then did our life beginne:
His is the gaine, to him all ioyes belong,¹

and grieues that

sleepe so sore did me oppresse:

Sinne in my selfe moues me to sad complaint:

and moralizes on the "harmes" that sleep has caused. Judas is condemned and Peter reproved for his weakness and yet the ultimate message is cheering - perhaps a trifle too easily so:

The wounded soule from vs may comfort finde:
For though we fell, yet God did vs vphold,
He tendred vs, and we againe him minde,
Yelding him thankes and praises manifold.
How so e're, Lord, of frailty we offend,²
Succour thou vs, and vs with Grace defend.

Curiously, Markham deals only with the Agony, the Betrayal and the Trial before Pilate. The picture of the beloved disciple at the foot of the Cross, obedient to his Lord's

1. (E3v).

2. (Fv).

command to care for His Mother is totally missing when it is natural to suppose that the recollection of that scene would be the primary cause of St. John's tears. Markham, like many another hack before and since, betrays evidence of only half-assimilating the models he endeavours to improve. The popularity of the poems on the earlier part of the Passion story attracted him and desire for novelty suggested St. John as the speaker of the monologue but he failed to realise that a much more moving poem could have been made of St. John's account of the final Passion, a poem inevitably full of tears. As it is the tears the beloved disciple sheds in Markham's poem are those of a preacher who remembers the effectiveness of occasionally wiping his eye.

The preacher's voice is heard with particular clarity when he reaches the point in his narrative where Judas enters the Garden:

Looke on this Iudas, thinke vpon his paine;
His endlesse pangs all torments far excell.
The very fire, the forged far doth passe: (sic)
And like hell fire, no torment euer was.

Consider yet, while here we haue a space,
What griefe it is, to be exilde from God;
What ioy it is, to view his pleasant face;
What paine it is to feele his heauie rod.
Thrise happie they, that cleaue vnto thy grace:
Thrise cursed they, that will not life imbrace.¹

1. (B4v).

Judas is apostrophised as a "wretched man, bereft of inward peace" and the account of the Betrayal and the Trial follows in a straightforward fashion, St. John pausing before the Trial to comment in proverbial fashion on Judas' treachery:

Vnder greene grasse, a serpent foule may lye.¹

The Trial under Caiaphas proceeds according to the Biblical account with little elaboration except that the amount of space given to St. Peter's denial is out of proportion to the rest, though here again Markham does not pause to analyze St. Peter's feelings.

He that euen now, a firme faith could not keepe,
Pries for a place, with bitternes to weepe.²

is sufficient.

The poet has not forgotten Judas and his interest in him bubbles over into a curious digression. St. John has just given an account of the ignominy Christ suffered from the soldiers with the brief comment, "hereat I waxt most sad". As if realising that this might be considered inadequate, he tells us he will amplify it and gives an intriguing side-glance at Southwell and the true emphasis of "Saint Peters Complaynt":

1. C3.

2. (Dv).

This to inlarge, as Peter much did moane:
So what insues, must force th'offender groane.¹

He is unable to use the master's method because he lacks a suitable penitential mouthpiece and has to fall back on exhortation by warning rather than exhortation to imitation. St. John comments on the scene he has just described. The soldiers did not hurt Christ as much as sinners do and they did not inflict such pains as these sinners will later endure.

This will I proue, in one example plaine:

he announces and, as it were, draws back the curtain before Judas who speaks a lengthy warning. This is patently in the tradition of the Mirror for Magistrates, though we are given no description of the sinner from whose account of his fall we are to take warning. It is not entirely clear at what stage of his life, or after-life, Judas is speaking. His monologue begins after the condemnation of Christ:

When Iudas sawe our Lord condemn'd to dye
 ... The sence of sinne assailes, and fresh doth
 He yeldes, and said, I did my Lord betray.

but he goes on to give an account of what happened when he returned to the chief priests and his subsequent suicide, the gory details of which, provided by St. Peter in his address in Acts,¹ so attracted the lesser poets of an age

1. D3.

more interested than any other in death and horror.

Judas even describes his pains in hell:

Death void of death, for death here liueth still
and ends on an apologetic note:

I haue no rest, but in vnrest remaine:
No tongue, or penne, can well declare my paine.¹

Markham has made some attempt to declare it, however, by
letting Judas give a paradoxical account of his life

I wonders wrought, and now haue wrought a wonder,²
utter a warning to "ye monstrous sinners", an appalling cry
to Christ:

O innocent blood, with cryes that doest affright,
Affright me not: why am I thus withstood? ³

and, with a final descent into bathos, the proverbial
admonition:

One mischiefe doth vpon another heape:
'Tis good ye looke, before the ditch he leape. (sic)

Markham's account of Judas owes something to Rowlands in
its emphasis on horror. It is not moulded with sufficient
intensity of emotion to make it coherent but the lesson
which in Rowlands's monologue is only implicit in the
terrible figure is here made explicit by direct addresses
to all sinners.

1. (D4v).

2. (D3v).

3. D4.

The other account of Judas's treachery and suicide which must be considered here is incorporated in Part III of Giles Fletcher's Christs Victorie, and Triumph, which must be fully treated later in this chapter. In "Christ's Triumph over Death", the poet, standing to the side of his subject and lecturing most mellifluously upon it, points to Judas, crouched in a corner of his picture. He finds a rope and a tree but pauses before committing the deed. This allows Fletcher one of his Spenserian descriptions. In this case it is a vividly pictorial representation of a damned soul's descent to hell. First the guilty conscience "a waking bloodhound, yelling loude" awakes and pursues him everywhere. Then follows a lurid account of the place whither such a soul must go:

Where whippes of scorpions, with stinging scourges,
Feed on the howling ghosts, and firie Surges
Of brimstone rowle about the caue of night,
Where flames doe burne, and yet no sparke of light,
And fire both fries, and freezes the blaspheming
spright.¹

There the soul must rest for eternity, while Furies snatch all hope from him. Satan urges Judas to stay on earth and beg for mercy and to encourage repentance goes over his sin and emphasises all the privileges Christ gave him:

1. P.59.

And at thy heart to enter in he stood,
But then I entered in, and all my snakie brood.¹

The horrors of the "misformed formes" of Satan's followers are too much for Judas who regards them, in one of Fletcher's greatest epic similes as Pentheus did Thebes or Orestes Clytemnestra's ghost. Yet the poet, unlike the hack versifier, cannot let him end all there and leap to Satan who stands ready "in a clowd of night to waft him quick to hell", but must give us the vivid picture, infinitely more horrible than Rowlands's crudities, of the slowness of his death:

Yet oft he snacht, and started as he hung:
following this by another more homely epic simile of
awakening from a nightmare:

And clasps the yeelding pillow, halfe asleepe,
And, as from heav'n it tombled to the deepe,
Feeles a cold sweat through euery trembling member
creepe.

And so Judas dies, and his place of dying is apostrophised in pastoral fashion. No shepherd will feed his flock there, spring will never come to it, only "nettles, kixe, and all the weedie nation" will flourish there and it will be the haunt of such assorted harbingers of dismay as dragons,

1. P.60.

2. P.61.

corpses, "Faunes, Sylvans, and deformed Satyrs", cats, wolves, toads, owls and ghosts "with hollow sound, and clashing cheynes". Fletcher's account is a decorative passage in his epic and therefore lacks the customary stress on repentance.

The Agony in the Garden is an episode in the Passion which attracted the religious poets. Fletcher writes of it in his usual exalted, strangely detached manner. Christ goes singing to the Garden in one of his loveliest stanzas:

So downe the siluer streames of Eridan,
On either side bank't with a lilly wall,
Whiter then both, rides the triumphant Swan,
And sings his dirge, and prophesies his fall,
Diuing into his watrie funerall:
But Eridan to Cedron must submit
His flowry shore, nor can he enuie it,
If when Apollo sings, his swans doe silent sit.¹

The patristic juggling with the tree and garden of the Fall and the Tree and Garden of the Redemption, as has been seen, is found even in the unlearned Rowlands's work and is not missing from Fletcher's, where the idea of poisoned plants is introduced:

Sweete Eden was the harbour of delight,
Yet in his hony flowr's our poyson blew;
And Gethseman the bowre of balefull night,
Whear Christ a health of poison for vs drewe,
Yet all our hony in that poyson grewe.²

1. P.47.

2. P.57.

Again, Fletcher's account is stiff and decorative. He alone tells us it was a frosty night and exhausts its pictorial possibilities:

The dewie night had with her frostie shade
Immant'led all the world, and the stiffe ground
Sparkled in yce, onely the Lord, that made
All for himselfe, himselfe dissolued found,
Sweat without heat and bled without a wound.

Satan conjures up his demons to attack Christ:

Thousand flaming serpents hissing flew
About his soule, from hellish sulphur threw,

but Christ repels them while Peter sleeps. We are not concerned in the action even though the poet-lecturer tells us "all our sinnes he bare".

Much more like the "Complaint" poems is "The teares of our Sauour in the Garden" in The Song of Mary, published anonymously in 1601. Written in the Saint Peters Complaynt stanza it narrates in a manner intended for simple instruction the happenings in the Garden of Gethsemane. The poet, a Catholic, views his subject with awe and applies what he sees to himself:

Oh reuerent browes with agony perplexed,
Loe bloud and gastly sweate together mixed:
...O rent my soule, in thought of his distresse,
Who dain'd these griefes thy dangers to redresse.¹

He finds himself inadequate to describe Christ's anguish and, after two long epic similes, likening Christ's anguish

1. P.23.

to the approach of winter in a garden or to the tears of a despairing man, he appeals to his reader:

Yea, thinke more woes, the(n) we haue wayes to
 And thinke by them what cares did Iesus ^{wring} sting.

His emotional involvement in the situation is traceable in his recourse to liturgical Latin as the only adequate expression:

Say whiles his spirit doth Iesus terror view,
O bone pastor, O dulcis, dulcis Iesu.¹

and more expressly

O were each thought, transformed to a pen,
 And euery pen, of power to write an age:
 And euery age, could take his forme agen,
 And euery forme, did serue but for a Page!
 All would not serue, then sigh and say thou this:
Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus beneficiis? ²

It is also seen in the baroque description of Christ's appearance, where the extravagant violence of colour betrays the heightened emotion of the poet:

His browes (the tables where our peace is written)
 With purple bloud, and Amber sweate were stain'd.³

The angel "with wauing wings" appears to help Christ, who in a typical Southwellian conceit finds his state like that of a sailor who in the sunshine after the storm is able to

1. P.24.

2. P.25.

3. P.24.

repair his damaged ship. The words of Christ's prayer for sinners are rendered with fervour:

Let them whose sinnes exceede the sandy Seas,
Whose hope is drowned, whose heart is stain'd with
feares:
Euen by my death, thy bitter wrath appease

and an autobiographical note may be detected in the prayer for his disciples if we remember the contemporary situation of the Catholics:

O loue them Lord, for why the world disdaines them,
And why? because they are not worldly minded:
T'hard-hearted wolues, heerafter oft will paine the,
Oh help their wants, Lord let them not be blinded.¹

This ardent approach makes Fletcher's attitude, beautiful as it is, appear but cold adoration.

Southwell has two poems on the Agony, printed in Moeoniae. They illustrate the poet's worst faults and lack the emotional intensity found in the work of the other Catholic poet. "Christs bloody sweat" is a seminary exercise in ingenious treatment of a set-subject. Christ's sweat is apostrophised in the short jerky conceits which ruin much of "Saint Peters Complaynt" and proved a booby-trap to less gifted versifiers.

Fat soile, full spring, sweete oliue, grape of
blisse.

1. P.26.

2. P.11.

Each part requires amplification but the next line merely attaches the appropriate verb to the noun and the next the best negative epithet:

That yeeldes, that streams, that powers, that
dost distil
Vntild, vndrawne, vnstampt, vntoucht of presse.

This is ingenuity of expression but now follows ingenuity of thought. Christ in His Agony anticipates, or "prevents" in Southwell's word, His Death. Finally two standard mediaeval "types" of Christ are twisted together and He is seen as both pelican and phoenix:

How could hee ioinc a Phenix fiery paines,
In fainting Pelicans still bleeding vaines?

"Christs sleeping friends"¹ betrays the same mental leaping ahead of the heart but has the merit of greater coherence. The situation is fitted, with some pinching and squeezing, into the story of Jonah. The disciples, like Jonah, sleep, while Judas, the storm, attempts to wreck "the barke of all our blisse". Again they can be compared to Jonah's later situation. Asleep under the gourd, Christ, they are unaware that "a cankered worrne", Judas, is beginning to destroy it. In the final lines, the disciples are urged to awake and protect Christ because:

1. Pp. 12-13.

No Ionas iuy, no Zacheus tree,
Were to the world so great a losse as he.¹

It is fortunate that contemporary admiration for Southwell led only to emulation of his topics and his style. His mental and exegetical acrobatics were beyond the powers of the minor versifiers. One of the most zealous imitators of Southwell is Joseph Fletcher, who is the most likely candidate for the authorship of a curious and very lengthy poem entitled Christes Bloodie Sweet, or the Sonne of God in his Agonie, which was published under the initials, I.F., in 1613. Fletcher's particular borrowings from Southwell have been listed elsewhere.² It remains here to note that he was influenced by other poets as well. From his namesake, Giles Fletcher, he took the description of Christ's face,

in which the Rose did with the lilly,
Striue curiously for chaunge in little space.³

He changes the colour of Christ's hair from black to gold. From the poets of the Mirror group he took the idea of the vision of Christ at the beginning and end of the poem. Again he made an alteration, for Christ appears, not to

1. An amplification of this poem is to be found in the Harmsworth MS and is noted by MacDonald (p.46). It shows no improvement in style.

2. See Chapter III, p.

3. P.6.

tell His own story, but to command the poet:

Set then the tenour of thy dolefull song, 1
To the deepe accentes of my bloudy sweate

promising that

where thy sacred fires

Waxe dimme, my breath shall quicken thy desires.²

After a brief summary of Christ's Life, Fletcher begins a series of meditations on His Agony. Here the influence of Breton and the satirical poets can be seen, for he reviews society and the sins attendant upon that state to which men have been called from princes to lawyers, soldiers, scholars, alchemists and women:

Each drop of bloud he shed, he shed it then
To wash a seuerall sin from seuerall men.³

Fletcher is a mordant analyzer of society and one feels that he is enjoying this opportunity of condemning its vices so thoroughly. He returns to his favourite theme after explaining how Christ's sufferings have redeemed mankind. If we thought of this, would we not spend our transitory days better? The lechers, drunkards, blasphemers, gamblers and so on would all repent.

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- 1. P.2.
 - 2. P.4.
 - 3. P.11.

The poem improves in its later part where the mediaeval picture of Christ fighting the devil to win the soul as His Bride is introduced, but the soul, after vowing purity to her Beloved is enticed in a lively dialogue by "old sinne":

Faire daughter listen, time will come when¹ thou
Shalt change thy hue, and be as I am now.

She can always repent later:

when y'are old, vnfit for sport, bereauen²
Of youth and ioyes, then you may think on heauen.
Christ urges His love which he proved by swimming "vnto thee
in a Sea of blood".³ The soul is finally convinced of
her sin, when she is on her death-bed and longs, with an
eloquence reminiscent of Richard II's for

A little little minute, one small hower.⁴

With her true repentance Christ is satisfied and has mercy on her.

Another meditation follows on this. Just as no woman can look on her lover's corpse without weeping, so no soul can read of Christ's Agony and Death without repenting. Her reaction is given in moving terms:

And art thou dead! and must mine eyes behold,
The Lord of glorie crucifi'd for mee!
And is he dead, is his sweet bodie cold!
Made earth with earth and doe I liue to see,
The great acquittance of my debt discharg'd,⁵
Seal'd with his blood, that I might be inlarg'd...

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1. P.43.
 2. P.44.
 3. P.45.
 4. P.47.
 5. P.49.

and vowing daily to meditate upon the Passion, she elaborates her conceit in a tasteless manner:

His wounds shall be my cloyster, heere immur'd,
 Ile sequester my solace from the liuing:
 His drops of blood shall be my beads, with which
 Ile score the prayers of my heart mis-guings.

This is not the fervour of a Crashaw, however, for Fletcher prefers Geneva to Rome. Christ, he tells us, in another meditation, "gron'd in Spirit" to foresee the perversions of His Gospel which sinful men were to make. Allegiance to Calvin leads him into some confusion:

Yet neither did the Death or Bloodie sweat
Of Christ, extend to soules ordain'd to Hell:
But to the chosen, and elect, beget
A double life, although the Scriptures tell
How tis meeke Lambe of God did chiefly come
To call the lost sheepe, and the strayers home.¹

but he manages to escape into a contemplation of the joys of the Blessed who like Israel of old are led by the cloud and fiery pillar, symbolising Christ. Finally, in a more charming and homely passage, he shows old people,

when in the winters cold,
Folkes vse to warme them by their nightly fires 2

telling their children the story of Christ.

He then feels that he has, at last, exhausted "the musicke of my weeping song"³ and ends with a prayer for amendment of life and the reminder, unnecessary though it

1. P. 57.
2. P. 58.
3. P. 61.

seems, of his thoroughness:

but as thy Sweat 1.
All sins hath purg'd, all sins I did repeat.

A light fills the room and the voice of Christ blesses his work and bids him ever remember it:

let all thy cares be eas'd
By bathing in my Blood, and fountaine pure
Of this my Sweat, and I in this am pleas'd.

I have referred to this poem as a series of meditations, although structurally it is one long poem. It lacks continuity and bears traces of persistent padding and therefore illustrates only too plainly the verbosity to which the religious poets of this period were prone. Yet in spite of all its digressions and sociological analyses, it is clearly an exhortation to repentance and amendment of life inspired by this one episode in the Passion story, and as such, although published three years after the closing date of this study, merits attention.

Emphasis on the earlier events of the Passion and particularly on the Agony and the Betrayal, can be traced even later. In 1622, John Bullokar in his True Description of the Passion of our Saviour, Iesus Christ devotes only the last three of his one hundred and thirty stanzas to the Death of Christ, but, beginning with the anointing by Mary Magdalene, goes through the events of Passion Week, giving most space to the Agony in the Garden and to

condemnation of Judas. Bullokar, like the poet of "The teares of our Saiuour in the Garden" found the subject well-nigh impossible. Christ's Agony can only be described in a series of similes or paraphrases of the words recorded in the Bible and it is almost with relief that he turns from the solitary figure "hem'd in with horror" to his own spiritual state:

Awake, my soule, run forth with ioy and dread,
 Into this garden where thy Sauour lies;
 There shalt thou see the Booke of life wide spred,
 With lessons stor'd of heauenly mysteries.
 There shalt thou see thy truth, thy strength,
 thy food,
 Thy way, thy life, thy light, and ¹all thy
 good.

It remains to consider why there was so much interest in the Agony as opposed to the Death of Christ and why poets who did write of the Crucifixion in the course of their narrative skimmed over it so quickly. This is not confined, as may at first appear, to Protestants. The first poem in The Song of Mary in which the Virgin gives her account of Christ's Life and Death before the assembled ranks of Heaven, after dealing with the Last Supper and the Agony at some length, ends abruptly with the condemnation before Pilate.

The final lesson to the reader is neatly driven home:

He doth beholde his Sonne with tender eyes,
 His sores and woundes be alwaies in his sight;

And he againe to Christians dayly cryes,
 Behold my Sonne your Sauour, in this plight,
 Retaine this patterne with you day and night.
 Be like your King, reioyce in paine and scorne,
 You being his me(m)bers, who was prickt with thorne.

In general, however, it may be said that such poems reflect a revolt from the excesses of mediaeval meditations on the Passion, although it may be felt that Joseph Fletcher, rigorous Calvinist as that Rector of Wilby in Suffolk was, touches its emotional springs very closely at times in his zeal. The Catholic poems on the subject are exceptional. Southwell's are seminary exercises, mental gymnastics without any lesson to teach, and "The Song of Mary", which is probably the work of another Jesuit martyr, Henry Walpole, has the simple directness of an instructional poem. Another Catholic, Simion Grahame, writing of the Life of Christ very briefly in "The Spirit of Grace to the wicked sinner", in his Anatomie of Humors, published in 1609, instances the sufferings of Our Lord as final persuasives to repentance, but gives equal emphasis to the loneliness and hardship of His Life, His Agony and His Death. Rowlands and Markham were both Protestants, with no denominational horses to ride and only eager not to offend their reading-public. Giles Fletcher is exceptional, as usual, in that he writes of the Agony in the context of the entire Passion and his style and motive are different from the writer of the

"Complaint." Bullokar, whose only other claim to fame is as a lexicographer, is another who holds no brief for any party.

The more blatant Protestant poets seem to be conscious that the post-Reformation era may be suspicious of poems showing too much devotion to the Passion of Christ. Poets who did write of it treated it as the greatest exhortation to repentance there could be. The Mediaeval focus on the Passion solely as a meditation on the love of God seemed dangerously lacking in any didactic purpose to the Elizabethan poets. Possibly they realized too that it implied greater personal involvement in the situation than they were yet willing or able to express and that the emotion could be better contained in a more lyrical mode than the unwieldy but fashionable "Complaint" form.

The poets of this period who wrote lengthy poems on the Crucifixion must now be considered. They are Christopher Lever, John Davies of Hereford, Nicholas Breton and two writers of epic, Giles Fletcher and "G.E." who wrote Adams Calamitie and Misery. They are remarkably diverse in their treatment of the theme but Lever is the most interesting as a poet of repentance. He is memorable for introducing another "weeper" into the poetry of the time and for combining the "Complaint" with the historical poem in Queene Elizabeths

Teares, or, her resolute bearing the christian crosse in the bloodie time Q. Marie, which was published in 1607, the same year as A Crucifixe: Or a Meditation vpon Repentance, and, The holie Passion. The religious poem appears to have been written first for he refers to it in Queene Elizabeths Teares as The holie Passion.

His sub-title reveals his intention quite plainly and confirmation of his didactic aim is given in the preface where he urges the reader to read:

...not for Mirth, but for Matter; and with
holy Paul, faithfully to apply to thy soule,
the glorie and reioycings of the holy Passion¹

and in his dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury, where the poem is described as "a Meditation of the sufferings and death of Christ, represented to vs in the ceremony of the Crosse".² His poem must therefore be seen in the context of the religious verse of the period and it was failure to do this which led Gordon Goodwin in the D.N.B. to stigmatize it as "another poem of the same mediocre quality" as Queene Elizabeth's Teares which he condemns with more justice as "a curious but long and dull poem." Grosart is, as usual, over-enthusiastic³ and Collier is grudging, finding it "a tedious but well-meant, not ill-worded treatise" and "long-drawn out and unimpressive"⁴.

1. A4. In italics. A3 and 4 were misplaced in binding.

2. (A3v).

3. Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library. 1872, Vol. III, pp. 603-610.

4. Illustrations of Old English Literature, 1866, Vol. I. p. 461.

His final judgement is that "he could never have had many readers". This would be difficult to prove, but in view of Lever's absorption in the favourite topic of the religious verse of his day, he may have had more readers than Collier supposed. It is possible that Donne, who must have been as well read in the minor verse of his time as in the minor theologians of the early Middle Ages, knew A Crucifixe. Such lines as

Villaines, your King, must he be lockt in bands?
 How prodigall you be in wickednesse!
 To buffet, binde, and whippe his sacred flesh.
 Let me my sinfull body interpose,
 The sinne was mine, let me beare off the ^{1.} blowes

suggest the opening of Holy Sonnet xi:

Spit in my face you Jews, and pierce my side,
 Buffet, and scoffe, scourge and crucifie mee.
 For I have sinn'd, and sinn'd, and onely hee,
 Who could do no iniquitie, hath dyed:

and

Traitors, you little know one drop of blood,
 Would be enough to doe all sinners good

suggest the line in the La Corona sonnets

Moyst, with one drop of thy blood, my dry soule.

Much of the latter part of Lever's poem is akin to the thought of "Good Friday: Riding Westward" and the movement of the poet's meditation on the dying Christ. Fear of seeing Him and yet seeing Him only too plainly with the mind's eye permeates Donne's poem and appears in Lever's

in such lines as:

My soule conceits, a verie Christ before;
 Spreading his sacred bodie on the Tree 1
 Me thinkes, his verie torments I doe see.

Finally, it may be noted that in comparing Christ's Eyes to stars, Lever is writing in a purely metaphysical way. It is the scientific properties of the stars which interested him, not their beauty. Christ's eyes are not like stars because of their brightness and loveliness but because of their influence upon men on earth and their activities:

(Lord Iesus) let thy holy Eyes reflect
 This influence, vpon my earthen state:
 Thy heauenly prescence is a faire aspect;
 There doth my soule delight to speculate.
 For by those Starres, I² best can calculate
 My lot of Grace...

The poem does not begin with the Crucifixion but moves toward it from an elaborate preface. This grief which cannot be defined, Lever says, is that of a guilty soul, which has been submitted to the rack, presented with a list of charges, "the register of sinne", and is now in the court awaiting the indictment of conscience. A long legal conceit is thus begun. Lever's interest in the law is not that of a professional. He is too well aware of the abuses of which lawyers have been accused for generations but which no lawyer will himself admit. There is an almost autobiographical ring about such stanzas as:

1. (D2v).

2. (Fv).

In this Assise of soules, there is no plea,
 Receives his strength, by mis-interpretation:
 No craftie Lawyer, for his double fee,
 Findes errour, in the writ of condemnation:
 Here needeth not the twelue, for approbation:
 For here the conscience, that recordeth all,
 Can well distinguish, just and criminall.

Here, canst thou not, in fauour of thy cause,
 Produce perfidious knight-postes to contest:
 Here, no prouiso, or exceptiue clause,
 By forged exposition canst thou wrest:
 These mony trickes, thy conscience will detest. ¹

If Lever himself had not suffered at the hands of some "craftie Lawyer", he had know those who had. The minutiae of legal proceeding in which Lever enters and his knowledge of legal terminology which can be seen in the above stanza and in such lines as:

And made a contract where there was diuorse: ²

and

...Nor is there had respect,
 To instrumentall causes of offending:
 For in the agent, guilt hath his depending... ³

suggests the informed layman self-educated in the law because of its fascination for him, such a man who would nowadays know all about the inner workings of Scotland Yard from reading the memoirs of its detective-inspectors. As the poem proceeds and the metaphor of a trial is still being carefully worked out, another source of Lever's knowledge

1. (Bv).

2. (E2v).

3. B2.

presents itself. It is not outside the bounds of possibility to suppose that Lever was one of those Elizabethans who thronged the courts at any notable trial and perhaps, went as readily to Tyburn as to the Globe for their entertainment. Lever is writing about a trial for treason. This is a natural development of his original conceit, for the soul by sinning has committed treason against God. The description of the soul "Stretched vpon the painefull racke² of tryall" and "Laden with fetters" at the bar listening to the Clerk of the Court reading out "Th'inditement of that Traytor" who then "being ~~nam~~'d,

Holdes vp his guilty hand³

is so circumstantial as to suggest that Lever was actually present at such a trial. The matter will not bear too much investigation, nor is it of more than passing interest either biographically or critically, but when Lever, contemplating the crucified Christ finds that there is in His Heart none of the crimes which he lists, among which is particularly stressed:

The new inuention to Equiuocate.

This Heart must thinke what ere his wordes relate,
Lying is sinne, all sinne is from the Deuill,⁴
The Art of Reseruation then is euill...

2. B2

3. B.

4. (E3v).

the possibility that he was present at one of the most notorious trials of the reign of James I is strengthened. The Jesuit, Henry Garnet, was arrested in connection with the Gunpowder Plot in December 1605 and was tried at Guildhall on 28 March 1606. The trial lasted from eight o'clock in the morning till seven at night and the court was crowded throughout this time, many ambassadors and courtiers being present. The accusation of equivocation was a much discussed feature of this trial and one which took hold of the popular imagination, as can be seen from Shakespeare's reference to it in the Porter's speech in Macbeth. It is most probably this trial, which took place only the year before A Crucifixe was published, which is at the back of Lever's mind, though he may be remembering that the problem of equivocation was first brought to general attention at the trial of his fellow-poet, Southwell, eleven years previously.

The law is not the only interest of Lever to which he will readily turn aside from the main body of his poem; the other is religious controversy. In his willingness to bring this into the open, he is unlike the majority of the poets of his day. Occasional sneers at "precisians" may be found in Catholic poems and several violent outbursts against the Catholics were written by such vituperative

Protestants as Joseph Fletcher or Thomas Collins, but this is generally directed at the practices, not the doctrine. The only poet with whom Lever can be compared in the zest with which he enters into an argument on such issues is the Catholic Verstegan. Even so there is a difference for Verstegan is a satirist, whereas Lever is a reasoned controversialist.

His views are of an extreme Protestant kind and so he takes a gloomy view of man's nature:

The length of yeares, doth euer giue to man,
 Habilitie in wickedness: and whan
 Depraued man, hath meanes of doing ill,
 He makes them serue, his much depraued will ¹

and he explains the doctrine of original sin carefully to his reader:

So though thou hadst not in the first creation,
 The act of sinning in particuler;
 Yet hadst thou then thy habitation
 In Adams flesh, who when as he did erre,
 Did then partake, with all that in him were:
 Who did so taint the Purity of Nature,
 As he thereby hath tainted euery creature. ²

The desire to commit a sin is as worthy punishment as if the action had been performed and therefore old age can never constitute an automatic plea of goodness:

...Though age be in thy flesh,
 Yet in thy thoughts, thou dost maintaine desire;
 Which in performance, thou canst not expresse,
 By reason of thy bodies feeblenesse.
 Yet know, that when Desire is in thy hart, ³
 It is as much, as thou an Actor wert.

-
1. C.
 2. (B4v).
 3. (Cv).

These desires of sinful man interpose between the soul and salvation; they blunt the reason, inflame the heart, pervert the mind "and blindeth thy election", above all they check any softening to repentance. Man alone of all God's creatures is disobedient to the Creator. Lever is moved to eloquence as he expatiates on this theme:

Search the immense circumference of Earth,
 The many wondrous mouers in the Sea,
 The Element of Ayre, wherein we breathe,
 The regiment of Heauen, and sympathy,
 Of moouing orbs, and starrie deitie.
 In all the parts of this circumference, 1.
 No one like man in dis-obedience.

Man does not realise that life is passing quickly and death may come before he has turned to God. It is not enough to condemn his sinfulness but an effort must be made towards amendment or God's forgiveness will not be given to him. This theme inspires the finest stanzas of the poem. The lines move smoothly and the feminine rhymes which Lever frequently uses intensify the note of regret and pity which rings through the passage:

O you that gull, the poys'ned cup of pleasure;
 And spend your time, in nothing but expending.
 You, in whose lap, if lust let fall his treasure:
 You entertaine vile shame with much commending
 And think your glassie liues shall ne'ere have
 ending
 Let the remembrance of repentant teares,
 Diminish sinne; but much inlarge your feares.

Be not secure, where death is eminent:
 The bubble of this life, cannot secure thee:
 There is an after-state, most permanent,
 That will in honour, or in death assure thee:
 If then to honour, now to die insure thee:
 For he, whose life will mortifie no sinne,
 Shall finde the gate of Mercie shut to him.

Thy life is truely by resemblance said
 To be a shadowe; shadowes from the Sun
 Deriued be; for sure there is no shade,
 Where Phoebus doth not guild our horizon:
 So may we say, the pride of life is done,
 When as the Sunne of Glorie shall denie, 1
 To giue the beames of his resplendent Eye.

Here Lever speaks with assurance and with sympathy. He condemns specific sins which attracted the attention of Puritans:

Witnes thy horred customary swearing, 2.
 Wherewith each day his body thou art tearing.

The method by which this passage is introduced by the one word "witnes" is typical of Lever's reasoning manner when discussing a controversial matter. He illustrates the power of Satan in the same way:

Witnes his enuy at our first creation.³

At times he holds an imaginary debate with a Catholic antagonist on such topics as the inefficacy of good works to obtain salvation:

Of Grace? me thinkes the vngratious will replie,
 I rob Gods Image of his worthinesse
 Because to sinfull man, I doe denie
 Innatiue power to worke his holinesse. 4

Again, he picks up the trend of his opponent's thoughts and voices the argument against predestination for him:

- | | |
|----------|---------|
| 1. (B2v) | 3. (C4) |
| 2. (C3v) | 4. D. |

Me thinkes, I heare the Mutinous repine,
 And blame the hard construction of my verse:
Thus may your earthen vessels make dispute,
 And aske, how hap the Potter made them so? 1.

Another dialectic method is also employed, that of appealing to the hearer to regard the various follies of others:

Here is the world, in great dispute and strife,
 Whence doth arise, this penitentiall fire,
 That purgeth Sinne, and rectifies the life:
 Some will deriue it from their owne desire:
 Others, the blessed Angels doe inspire;
 Some in their Friends, and many in their Priest,
 In Error all, in God they place it least 2.

The whole of the first part of A Crucifixe is written in this deliberate, careful, argumentative manner. The poet is standing back from the scene he has drawn, the trial of a soul for treason against God, and reporting calmly on it. He comments on the proceedings of the trial and gives the chief speeches verbatim. The body pleads that the soul alone is responsible for answering the charge of conscience:

For as the Ayre, is mooued with the wind,
 So are our subject bodies, by the mind 3.

and here the poet interposes a lengthy comment on the transitoriness of life and the sinfulness of man. He pauses to invoke aid in describing the horrors of sin and to pray that "the subject of this poore relation" ⁴ may move his readers to repentance, before returning to the courtroom,

1. (Dv)

2. D.

3. B2.

4. B4.

where the Clerk, memory, is reading the charges. The Clerk's speech, which Iver at first doubts his power of reporting, is given in full. It reviews the growth of man in sin as in years, clinching the argument with a fine variant on the popular metaphor from seamanship:

Like as the neighbour Riuers to the Sea
 Cannot support vpon their shallowe backes;
 The huge proportion of an Argosie,
 Because the little currant water lackes:
 Yet when the Sea (that all resistance wrackes)
 Shall fill the emptie channell with his Tide;
 The greatest vessell with great ease may glide.

So are the first vnable yeares of man,
 Too weake, in moouing the huge bulke of sinne:
 Yet when the tide of yeares approcheth, than
 Men grow more imprudent in their committing;
 And will receiue the mightiest vessels in,
 To harbour, in their little streame of Time, 1.
 Till fatall end, shall cut their little twine.

The last line is a variation on the classical picture of the three Fates, the one with the "abhorred shears" becoming a sailor casting off before a voyage. Finally, the Clerk says, man committed:

That treason, which exceeds comparison: 2.
 Whose horroure did bedimme the Element.

Christ, the King of Heaven, came to earth and was treated as an outcast, was arrested and condemned to die a shameful death.

Here the Devil produces witnesses of all man's sins and cunningly

1. (Cv).

2. C3.

Laies open that was hid within;
 And with the most curious workmanship doth limme
 The vgly formes of our impieties;
 And then presents their Terrour to our eyes¹.

This is done to cause us to despair of obtaining mercy.

A change is beginning to come over the poem. The poet is no longer outside the picture commenting on it: he has joined the prisoner in the dock. He is included in man in general and stands there on trial. This change in perspective is marked by the substitution of the first person plural, "we", for the third person singular, "he".

Conscience demands if we have anything to say in defence but we are too agitated to reply. Here Lever uses a vivid simile which has the homeliness of the examples given in the sermons of the Protestant preachers, such as Henry Smith:

Like vnto him, that in a mighty throng,
 Labors to hasten to some businesse,
 With heate and sweate doth vex himselfe among
 The moouing multitude, that in their prease,
 Arrest his haste, and stoppe his forwardnesse:
 So doe our sighes, our teares and grieffe within,
 Arrest our words, when gladly we beginne. 2.

Reason questions the validity of the procedure but can find nothing to check the progress of the trial, and so judgement is given:

(Trayton) thy flesh, shall first returne to dust;
 (The matter of thy first formation)
 Thy Soule transported to that strange vexation;
 Whereas the soules of damned doe beginne, 3
 To act the wofull parts, of tragike Sinne.

-
1. {C4}.
 2. {C4}.
 3. {C4v}.

This is the verdict of justice. The only hope of repeal lies at God's mercy-seat.

At this point Lever pauses to argue with his Catholic reader on the questions of grace and good works and the correct mode of formal repentance. We have already considered this passage and so may take the opportunity of looking back over the early part of the poem and seeing what the poet is doing. Under cover of the elaborate metaphor of a trial, he is engaged in the favourite pursuit of the religious poets of this time, tracing the progress of repentance in the soul. Conviction of sin has been intensified by identification with all the sins of mankind and in particular, with responsibility for Christ's Death. Fear, and, if the devil has his way, despair, seizes the soul and only the remembrance of God's mercy lightens the gloom. The rest of the process remains to be described but we must note how carefully it has been done so far. There are here hysterical comparisons with other Biblical sinners and no anticipation of grace before its due time. Lever's analysis moves logically and smoothly. In connection with this, it will be remembered that he was the writer of prose as well as verse and, while two of his treatises, Heaven and Earth, Religion and Policy and The Historie of the Defenders of the Catholique Faith reflect the interest in temporal justice and religious controversy which are notable features of A Crucifixe,

the third, The Holy Pilgrime, published in 1618, is a specifically religious treatise, forming an interesting commentary on his earlier poetic work. It is divided into two parts of eight chapters each. The first part tells of God, creation, original sin and the Old Law, ending with a chapter entitled "Of the accusation of conscience" while the second part deals with the new covenant, or the "covenant of grace" and the salvation offered by Christ and discusses such topics as mortification, justification, and, of course, repentance, "the sorrow of the soule for sinne," concluding with some comments on the after-life. The holy Pilgrime is not a prose version of A Crucifixe but it is clear statement of Lever's views found in the poem.

Returning to A Crucifixe, we find Lever concluding his argument on the workings of grace, by likening the reason to a candle which cannot serve its true purpose unless it is first lit. So is the soul without grace and the repentant sinner, the condemned man of the earlier part of the poem, is in such darkness and sorrow. Lever summarizes the reasons for this which were given in the lengthy metaphor of the trial in the first part of the poem:

And in this darknesse, this our man of Griefe,
 (Whom we proportion) is in darknesse placed.
 Within himselfe, he cannot finde reliefe:
 What was diuine in him, is now defaced.
 And when a man in this dejection lyeth,
 He wastes in sorrow, and in teares he dyeth.

And die he must, in his repentant teares, ¹
Before his reformation can beginne.

The method of his rebirth is then given, to the despairing sinner, shut up in the darkness and gloom of his dungeon, comes the Holy Spirit, who brings him, in an emblematic manner anticipating Bunyan, his pardon, "With this subscription (IESVS) writ in blood." The Holy Spirit then holds before the sinner's eyes "the booke of Life" in which, (when he is sufficiently penitent) he is able to see a representation of Christ's Death.

The Holy Spirit gives the book and promises pardon if it is read "~~Cle~~kely". Again use of the first person plural must be noted. It is not any sinner, an impersonal "he" who is commanded to read but the Holy Spirit:

bids vs reade our penitentiall verse:
...He promiseth, our judgement for to trauerse,
And all our condemnation to reuerse. 2.

Because of sin we are unable to read and are, in another homely simile, likened to "th'vnlearned Fellon" who has to have his book read to him.

Although with much desire, he thereon looke.
Here the power of penitent tears is well displayed, for the Holy Spirit uses them to wash away our sin, just as the holy water of Jordan washed Naaman's leprosy away. Repentance

1. D.2.

2. D.3. Italics mine.

therefore constitutes "our first degree of holiness".¹

The sinner's eyes are opened and he gazes "with a greedy appetite" at the picture of the Cross and as he does so, the poet fades once more into the background, indicating that he is again in control of the scene and is permitting the sinner to speak:

Now giue him wordes, or else we doe him wrong,
To giue him much Desire, and not a Tongue.

The sinner then prays that Christ will complete the process of repentance:

Open thy Mercy gate, and let me in ²

In the speech thus given, Lever carefully gives us an account of the events preceding the Crucifixion. It is an impressionistic account, in which the

1. (D3v)

2. (D4).

focus is always on Christ - Judas and St. Peter are omitted and Pilate, Caiaphas and the Jews are apostrophised as "Villaines" whom the sinner begs to punish him instead of Christ. The concluding stanzas of his speech are a lyrical meditation on the Scourging and the Holy Blood:

(O sacred blood, O sacred body bleeding)

ending with a variation of his prayer for mercy:

Sith I haue woundes, O Iesus be thou willing,
That some of this, these Iewes shed on the
ground,
I may reserue, to cure a mortall wound.¹

Briefly an account is given of the journey to Calvary, the Death of Christ and the reaction of the elements. As in the sinner's speech a fervour of adoration heats these lines into something more than a simple narrative and the emotion spills over into allegory, finding its best expression when contemplating Christ on the Cross:

My Lord is now in other businesse,
Building the frame of mans saluation.²

At this point Lever pauses to utter a personal prayer that he may himself regard the Crucifix. He is now putting himself in the place of the accused man at the beginning of the poem. He is the sinner who needs the redemption offered by Christ and the rest of the poem is a personal meditation on the Crucifixion. A further change is made in the personal

¹ E.

² (Ev)

pronouns: "we" now becomes "I", as the poet steps into the picture he has been so carefully constructing. The movement from the generalized to the personal is very natural. The final section is introduced by a prayer to the Holy Spirit:

Now giue me breath (O sacred breathing spirit!)
 With faithfull affectation to applie,
 This Death, this Christ, this compotence of merit
 Vnto my soule; that in it selfe would die,
 If not supported by the hand of Mercie.¹

The meditation is systematic and an explanation for its formalism, though a curious one, is given. Just as we feed on the Bread of Life in morsels, so we must meditate on Christ's Death which was a slow one. It must be used as a Jacob's ladder of meditation, each part of His Body being a rung. The Feet, Knees, Heart, Arms, Hands, Flesh, Head, Eyes and Mouth of Christ are therefore each taken in turn. Crashaw may have known the three stanzas on the Feet of Christ:

In enuy therefore did the Iewes conspire,
 To naile these holy moovers vnto wood,
 That were such forward instruments of good. ²

Each meditation considers the appearance of the particular part of the Body, its previous uses or condition and the lesson to be learnt from a consideration of these two points by the repentant sinner. When Lever writes of Christ's Heart we recall Southwell's short poem of the Magdalen's meditation on the same subject and we remember, too, Peter knocking at Sorrow's door for admittance:

1 E 2

2 E 3

May I (sweet Iesu) view in euery part,
 The secret closet of thy thoughts within;
 The Speare hath made a passage to thy Heart;
 The entrance then is open; let me in
 To see the merite that hath vanquished sin.
 Do not thy mercy gate against me locke,¹
 For I will euer at thy Mercy knocke.

There the poet finds the mercy he seeks and he hears the words of Christ bidding him wipe away the tears of penitence that are sprinkled on the last part of the poem:

Come vnto me all that are wearied,
 I will support your life, vnloade your cares,²
 Infuse my Grace, and wipe away your teares

and he responds to the plea:

(Lord Iesu) ease thy seruant of this paine:
 Take off this heauy bondage of my sinne,
 Thy yoke is easie, let me liue therein.

and finds in each part the grace he desires.

The last three stanzas present the climax of the poem. The poet contemplates Christ entire and then prays for forgiveness:

Thou Splendor of thy Fathers maiestie.
 Thou God of Gods, thou man, all mens Redeemer.
 Thou King of Iewes, thou Christ they crucifie.
 Thou one, wherein all graces treasur'd are.
 Thou mercifull, thou all, thou euery where.
 To thee (O Sauour Iesus) I repaire,
 Exhibite (Lord) my pardon in thy prayer.

Pardon my youthfull sinning, and my old;
Pardon my secrete and reuealed ones;
Pardon my Errours, that be manifold.
Pardon my committings, and omissions.
Pardon my Nature stayned with corruptions.
 (Lord) pardon all, in all I haue offended:
Thy pardon's free, to all be it extended.

¹ (E 3v)

² (E 4)

The simple device of repetition makes these stanzas a moving conclusion, but in the final stanza, the fine mystical application of the account of Christ's Burial is somewhat marred by the ~~lameness~~ of the final couplet, a recurrent fault in Lever's verse. This stanza was justly praised by Grosart for having "a fine yearning in it, such as Crashaw or Southwell would not have disowned." ¹

Now (holy Joseph) helpe me to interre
 This sacred Corse: my hart's a fitting place,
 Wherein thou maist, his Sepulchre prepare.
 Digge deepe (old man) this Graue will not disgrace
 My willing hart, but dignifie the place.
 (Lord Iesu) if this resting place may please,
 Not three daies (Lord) but rest here many threes.

It has been necessary to make such a close analysis of A Crucifixe because, although Lever may not be the greatest poet who wrote of the Passion at the end of the sixteenth century, he is the one who formulated most clearly the Protestant views on repentance. In tracing the progress of a sinful soul from contrition to grace he not only marks the steps with unusual clarity but also applies his teaching to himself. Even more definitely than Southwell, he is speaking the final prayer in his own person. In "Saint Peters Complaynt" we cannot put our finger on the place where Southwell ceases to impersonate St. Peter and speaks in his own voice. In A Crucifixe the change is clearly marked; "he" becomes "we" and "we", when the sinner is confronted with a

¹ P.609

particular exhortation to repentance, is altered to "I". It is for these two reasons, apart from the pleasant competence of much of his verse, that Lever stands out in this chapter. His poem is one of the most interesting examples of the movement from calm objectiveness to personal involvement which marks this period in the history of religious verse. The transition can be spotlighted here.

A contrast is seen in the work of John Davies of Hereford. His chief religious poem is The Holy Roode, or Christs Crosse; Containing Christ Crucufied, described in Speaking-picture, which was printed by John Windet for Nathaniel Butter in 1609. It is a lengthy and wearisome description of the Passion. In its title there may be seen some acknowledgement of Lever's poem published two years earlier but otherwise it owes nothing to A Crucifixe. Davies's work strikes an unhappy compromise between ancient and modern. The "ancient" part is his approach to his subject, which has much in common with the detailed systematic meditations on the Passion of mediaeval prose. The "modern" part is his style which calls for particular attention.

In spite of the commendatory verse of his friend, Nicholas Deeble, who tells us "Zeale seekes not Art", the poet, proving that he has the zeal by the length of his poem, even more clearly demonstrates that he is using to the full all the poetical devices admired in his day. He prays for

inspiration in undertaking this task:

For, were all Spirits of Poets made intire,
And I therewith inspir'd; and, had I Pens
Made of Times saddest Plumes, yet full of Fire, 1
All were too cold for Passion for these Threns!

He realizes the difficulties but is not deterred by them and plunges into the fashionable Saint Peters complaynt stanza and the most extraordinary involved and "witty" style. The first stanza is typical:

While that blest Body, Saujour of each Soule,
(Whose Bodies are the Temples of hid Spright)
Hung on the Crosse, by Death, DEATH to controule
The Temples Vaile Stones, Graues, Earth, Skies,
and Light
Rent, claue, op't, quakt, and (thundring)
waxt obscure,
To see LIFE dye, and Griefe theire God deuoure!

From then on the whole treasury of paradox, puns, versified scripture, complicated sentence structure, internal rhyme, apostrophe, cross-reference to and elaborate similes from the Old Testament, classical allusions and conceits stretched to their fullest extent, laid open by Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas is at the mercy of the prodigal poet. The result is not only tasteless but often incomprehensible. The syntax is so involved or the reference so obscure that Davies frequently finds it necessary to add an explanatory parenthesis in the next line:

I liue, and moue in Thee; but yet, O yet,
I liue to moue; that is, to make Thee fret! 2

or even, marking the reference with an asterisk, in a

1 "To all passionate Poets". Original in italics

2 (F4)

marginal note:

Christs Crosse him speed, that thinkes to speed in
Suits
*Teares That hath but onely *Liquides for these Mutes. ¹

The supreme example of the bathos of this technique (and, incidentally of Davies's strained classical allusions) is:

*Were it possible Is that Head crown'd with Thornes, vpon whose Crowne
 Depends the highest Heau'ns resplendant Roofe
 By whose reuulsion It would soone fall downe,
 Yet did a weake Post hold this Prop of Prooffe?
 Who brought this strong Alcides downe so lo? ²
 T'was I his Deianire that seru'd him so.

Examples of the tastelessness of Davies's style could be multiplied but these must suffice. When the progress of the narrative reaches the Mocking by the soldiers, it calls forth this conceit:

And to expresse the rancor of their spight,
 They blindfold him, and make his face as t'were
 A Drumme, to call his Foes against him to fight;
 For, still a tab'ring on his face they are:
 So fast their fists doe fall as Drum-sticks,³ while
 The Drumme doth sound Alarum to the broyle.

The picture suggested by the poet's imagination as illustrative of the situation often engrosses his attention at the expense of the situation itself. He is too delighted in filling in all the minor details to remember that too elaborate a conceit often obscures the subject it is intended to clarify. Another example of Davies's abuse of the conceit occurs later as he surveys Christ on the Cross:

¹ (D3v)
² b
³ B2

Mine onely Schoole shall be Mount Caluarie,
 The Pulpit but the Crosse; and Teacher none
 But the meere Crucifixe to mortifie;
 No Letters but thy blessed Wounds alone:
 No Commaes but thy Stripes; no Periods
 But thy Nailles,¹ Crowne of Thornes, Speare,
 Whips, & Rods

His heavy allegorical treatment of the Old Testament must also be mentioned. He views the sufferings of Christ "through the Iacobs-³staffe of Christ his passion" ² and bids "all gentle Iosephs" mourn Christ. His vocabulary is equally pedantic and he has some extraordinary Latinate coinings: "exaugurate", "deglutinates", "Synoxie", "vilipended", "dispuluerate" and "Oribiculer" are a few.

He avoids one of the major faults of religious versifiers, that of inversion for rhyme's sake, only to fall more heavily than anyone into another. Repetition, weak and unnecessary, destroyed the force which even his curious stanzas might have. Such lines as:

or O Man! canst thou, canst thou O vnkind Man ⁴
 Why doe I liue? alas why doe I liue? ⁵
 or O Gates of Heau'n ! orientall, glorious Gates.
 O Wounds! no Wounds, but Hau'ns of Heau'n secure! ⁶

have nothing to commend them either in or out of context.

1 G
 2 (F3v)
 3 D
 4 (B4v)
 5 (F4)
 6 (I4v)

He follows Christ's steps from the Agony to His Death and Burial. Unlike Lever he has no overall plan of exhortation to repentance but only a series of excited outcries on each event or generalized and conventional homilies inspired by it. He only occasionally identifies himself with the sinners who crucifies Christ:

T'was I his Deianire that seru'd him so,¹
but the thought is not pursued as Lever would have pursued it. However, as he contemplates the sorrowful followers of Christ grouped around his Body, he reveals himself as a sinner who has received forgiveness:

Sweet Iesus, giue me leaue, in strong conceit,
Among these holy Ones, to kisse thee once;
I, as vnworthy, will their leisure waite,
With vigilant attendance for the nonce:
Though they, in loue, are not my selfe aboue,
"For, who hath most forgiven, most doth loue. 2

If not thy Lips (for, I confesse (deere Sweete)
I am vnworthy such preheminance!)
Yet giue me leaue to kisse thy Sacred Feet;
And wash them with my sad Teares confluence:
Let me, with Marie, who had much forgiu'n,
(Yet I much more) make Them my highest Heau'n. 3

Davies, according to one of his pupils, Arthur Williams, was a Roman Catholic. This seems very likely in view of the stress on the favourite topics of the mediaeval lyric, the lament of the Virgin, the Appeal from the Cross

1 D

2 Inverted commas, as McKerrow points out, were used at the beginning of a line to call attention to sententious remarks. They are a feature of the printing of The Holy Roode.

3 B3.

and the long meditation on the Sacred Wounds. Equally mediaeval is the elaborate and at times repulsive emphasis on the physical sufferings of Christ:

See, see, my Soule (ah harke how It doth cracke!)
The Hand of ~~out~~-rage that deglutinates
His Vesture, glu'd with gore-blood to his Backe,
Which his enfestered sores exulcerates!¹

and

There stands ~~He~~ shaking in a Feaver-fit,
While the cold Aire his Wounds confrigerates;
Where on some cold Stone (faint) ~~Hee~~'s faine to sit,
Which to it selfe his Sores conglutinates...

It has the same crude vigour as mediaeval pictorial representation.

There with one Hand, nail'd to the Tree, he lies²

or

For, ~~loe~~, with ioy to see the same, they hie
While He, sweet Christ, ~~lies~~ nail'd amidst the Throng:
Here stands one, greening with his necke awry;
There stands another, lolling out the Tongue.³

In the appeal of Christ from the Cross and the lament of the Virgin, Davies gives us his best stanzas. C

Christ looks down at his Mother:
Downe from the height of his exalted Crosse
He casts his dazzled Eyes, with motion slow
Vpon his blessed Mother; ah how close
Her Heart with woe is shut, to feele his wo!
His woe shee feeles; for, of her ~~flesh~~ is He,
Then all His Bodies paines, Her Bodies be.⁴

1 (E2v)

2 E 3.

3 (E3v)

4 F.

Then he addresses the crowd at the foot of the Cross :

O you that passe by me, see how I hang
 In torment such, as no flesh ere did feelee;
 As if all paines, in one, were in each pang;
 As if the Serpent more than stung my Heele:
 The ease I have is Worlds of all disease;
 Sith man shall fare the better, farre, for These¹

... The time hath bin (as knowes ETERNITIE)
 I rid vpon the glourious Cherubins;
 And in my Hand held all Felicitie;
 That now am made a packe-horse for thy Sinnes!
 I was, as GoId doth know, high as the High'st,
 Till I, for thee, tooke on me to be Christ.²

The pedantry which mars so much of the poem is a display of patristic learning. The closing meditation on the Sacred Wounds is taken in part from St. Augustine:

When Woes doe wound me, wind me in thy Wounds,
 Sweet Iesus, that for me, with Woe, wast wounded;
 When Foes, by Wounds, my Bodies life confound,
 Then let my Soule in thy Wounds be surrounded:

There let her rest securely, till shee may
 By thy high Grace, resume, in Blisse, her Clay.

*A simpler and more moving version is found in
The Pluses Sacrifice (1612). Here it is called "A souveraigne
 Salve against Sinne and Despaire out of S. Augustine";*

Deare Lord, when sinfull thoughts doe me assaile
 to thy deare wounds then let me hye with speed;
 When burning lust against my thoughts preuaile,
 quench it, by minding me how long they bleede!¹

In all Extreames I finde no Meane so good
 as thy wide Woundes to keepe my Soule still whole:
 They cannot dye that drown'd are in thy bloud;
 for that is Aqua vitae to the Soule! ¹

The influence of Sylvester, seen in display of erudition and verbal ingenuity, proves disastrous in The Holy Roode, The tone of the poem is so high, pitched as to verge on hysteria at times. Rhetorical question and apostrophe strain the emotion to breaking point:

O holy God! then looke, O looke on me
 Through the through-wounded Sides of thy deare Sonne;
 O let my Scarlet Sinnes, pure purple be ²
 In his deere Blood, my Sinnes Purgation:

and

Sweet, Honnied Sweet! looke, looke into my Heart, ³

and

What! doe I doubt that thou a doubt do'st make
 Of his reuiual? O! I wrong thee much
 If so I should. ⁴

1. P.66.

2. K.

3. I3.

4. (G4).

Lacking Lever's interest in repentance, the current topic of religious verse, The Holy Roode "looks backward in its structure but forward in its style. It is an unhappy mixture of the epic style of Du Bartas and the subject-matter of the "Complaint". In endeavouring to combine two popular forms, Davies failed to product an attractive and enduring compound.

A much more successful attempt was that of Giles Fletcher, who adapting the style of Spenser for the sacred epic produced the most beautiful religious poem of the period. Christs Victorie, and Triumph, published in 1610, is in four parts and tells in allegorical fashion of the Birth, Temptation, Death and Resurrection of Christ and the triumph of His Church. The whole poem does not concern us here but the third part, "Christs Triumph over Death" deals with the Crucifixion. Its treatment of the Agony in the Garden and of Judas has already been mentioned. In the margin of the 1610 edition, the progress of the argument is noted. Fletcher is not narrating the events of the Passion nor is he giving the reader a personal meditation on them. He is as intent on logically justifying the ways of God to men as his admirer and over-reacher was. The notes are most important in the argument of the whole and the stanzas are filigree decorations on its strong chain. First are listed the ways in which Christ's triumph over death in his Passion was revealed.

1. In generall by his ioy to vndergoe it: singing
before he went to the garden
By his grieffe in the vndergoing it

and so on. Fletcher's copious references to mythology are more than ornamental. They are links in the chain:

By the obscure fables of the Gentiles, typing it.¹

But he that conquer'd hell, to fetch againe
His virgin widowe, by a serpent slaine,
Another Orpheus was then dreaming Poets feigne.

Then the particular revelations are listed, the Agony and the Crucifixion being briefly described. The general cause is given, the sinfulness of mankind, and the particular situation at a particular time. The Crucifixion is next considered in its effect in Heaven on the angels, on the elements, on the Jews, on Judas and finally on the disciples. This is the preacher's technique and is very similar to the headings and subdivisions in the treatises of William Perkins or Richard Greenham, but Christs Victorie, and Triumph was written before Fletcher left "old Chamus flaggy banks"² for the disappointments and trials of his life as a Suffolk rector.

Because description is subordinated to argument, Fletcher does not allow what Fuller termed his "sanctified wit" to run away with him. Christ on the Cross is drawn with a few delicate strokes, a great contrast to Davies's lurid and hectic canvas:

1. Marginal note, p.49.

2. P.83

His rarious head, with shamefull thornes they teare,
 His tender backe, with bloody whippe they rent,
 His side, and heart they furrowe with a spear,
 His hands, and feete, with riuing nayles they rent
 And, as to disentray his soule they meant,
 They iolly at his griefe, and make their game,
 His naked body to expose to shame, 1
 That all might come to see, and all might see, that came.

With refreshing originality, Fletcher puts the "Complaint" he introduced into his poem into the mouth of an unexpected but not inappropriate weeper. It is Joseph of Arimathea who stands holding the Body of Christ surrounded by Nicodemus and a "shole of Maries drowned".² Urged by the poet:

Sing then, O sing aloude thou Arimathean Swaine
 he begins his lament.

First he speaks of the sorrows of the Virgin and the signs in earth and sky at the death of Christ. Then, in the pastoral tradition of Spenser, the flowers are apostrophised:

Did you your owne felicities but knowe,
 Your selues vnpluckt would to his funerals hie,
 You neuer could in better season die.³

He reviews Christ's Life and work of healing and ponders the reason for the Jews' thirst for his death:

Why should they thinke thee worthy to be slaine? ⁴
 Was it because thou gau'st their blinde men eyes.

He longs, as Breton longed in The Passion of a Discontented Minde, for a melancholy spot where he might weep.

-
1. P.57.
 2. P.62
 3. P.63.
 4. P.64.

So Christ "The fairest Sheapheard of the fairest sheepe",
is buried¹. In the final stanzas of the section the sorrowful
Virgin is likened to a nightingale, Philomel, who

Expresses in her song greefe not to be exprest
and to the lark whose nestlings are cut down by the scythe:

The woefull mother vp to heauen springs
And all about her plaintiue notes she flings,
And their vntimely fate most pittifully sings.

No other poet copied Fletcher in putting a lament into
the mouth of Joseph of Arimathea but Fletcher's poem was
written when the vogue for the religious "Complaint" was
fading and it lacks the chief features of the genre. Joseph's
tears spring from pure sorrow and are wholly untainted by any
recognition of sin. They are not, unlike the tears of St.
Peter or the Magdalen, tears of penitence. Fletcher throughout
the poem is detached and unshaken by any personal feeling of
sin. The main reason for his detachment is that this is but
a section of a long poem, carefully planned and his lack of
sorrow is because as a whole the poem is one of joy and
rapture. The title tells us this. One of his critics, Joan
Grundy, finds the poem "fundamentally optimistic" and
"surprisingly unJacobean". In a perceptive and strikingly
phrased passage she contrasts Fletcher with Donne:

1. P.65.

2. Giles Fletcher the Younger: A Biographical and Critical
Study, M.A. Thesis, London, 1947, p.233

Donne's thought was darkened with horror because of sin, from the horror of the grave to the horror of the last Judgement. For Fletcher the grave may be smothered in flowers.¹

Donne was the successor of the writers penitential. "Complaint" and his poetry the finest flowering of the religious application of the "literature of tears". Fletcher used the "Complaint" in his own fashion, gracefully and objectively. Many more bitter tears were shed in the religious verse of the time but none more lovely.

The Crucifixion forms the subject of the most moving part of another sacred epic, "G.E. 's Adams Calamities, & Misery, found in Egerton MS 2477². Even wider in scope than Christ's Victories, and Triumph, though shorter in length, it begins, as the greatest sacred epic was to begin, with the fall of Lucifer. After dealing briefly with the Creation and the Fall, the poet proceeds to the fulfilment of God's plan, the Birth of Christ:

In flesh at first the guylt comytted was³
therefore in flesh yt mvst bee Satisfyde.

The Birth, Circumcision and Life are shortly narrated and then the conflict between Christ and Satan is seen to approach its climax:

1. Ibid, p.233
2. Full text, discussion of authorship and dating in Appendix A.
3. p.13v.
4. p. 14v.

((Ch)) saviour sweet when es the tyme crew neere
 that Sathans strength must sting thy tender heele
 thow comfort tooke in fathers wordes so deere
 wch said his ned thy mightie powre shold feele
 & weart the rocke wch perish shold the keele
 of that proude ship the serpint sailed in
 when by his crafte made Euae & Adam sin. 1

The events leading up to the Crucifixion, including the trial before Pilate but, strangely, excluding the Agony, are now described but the poet's calm cracks before the contemplation of the crucified Christ and he cries out in a more personal manner than Giles Fletcher ever achieved:

Oh bleed my hart, oh movrne my soule to see
 thy sauiour sweet ys lifted vp on high
 through hands & feete he's nayled to a tree
 the blessed Lambe refuseth not to dye
 and hel-bred woes inforceth him to crye
 My god, my god, why dost thou me forsake
 Behold the paines wch Christ did for vs take.

Where ys the hart that ys more hard then flint
 where ys the mynd that never felt remorse
 where ys the soule no tender thoughts ymprint
 where ys the weight nere movrned at a corse
 where ys the man that never teare could force
 oh lett him see this slaughtered Lambe for sin 2
 & hart & soule in floude of teares shall swime

The poet never recovers his detachment but continues to write of the Resurrection in an exalted straine and then reviews the teaching of Christ's Life, urging his reader to repent and love Him:

Then lett thy hardend hart wch feeles no paine
 emperced bee with pittifull remorse
 and let thy bowells bleed in every vaine
 at sight of this his most sacred heavenly corse... 3

1. p.14v.
 2. P.16
 3. P.18.

He identifies himself with those whom Christ has redeemed:

Come all you soules that greved ar wth sin
kneele downe wth mee & lifte your hands on hie...¹

Because of this when the Day of Judgement arrives, the poet will be able to plead to have Christ "my Iudge & Advocate".² Adams Calamitie, & misery is more ambitious than Fletcher's epic, covering as it does the span of time from the beginning to the end, but the poet's emotional attitude to his subject owes much to the "Complaint".

To return to the more customary treatment of a sorrowful subject, an examination of Breton's poem on the Passion will close this section. This poem, The Passions of the Spirit was entered to Thomas Este in 1594. In 1609 the rights were transferred to Thomas Snodham. The only surviving edition is in the Huntington Library and is entered under Este's name in the Short Title Catalogue. The discovery of Breton's authorship was made by Jean Robertson who described the volume and discussed the problem of its dating in the Introduction to her Poems by Nicholas Breton (not hitherto reprinted).³

She conjecturally dates the edition 1599 but points out that this was not the first edition as the dedication by Este is to the wife of Peter Houghton "now one of the shirifes of London". Houghton was sheriff from 1593-4 and died in 1596.

A manuscript copy of the printed version is found in Tanner 221 bound up with several printed versions of Breton's poems.⁴

1. P.18v.

2. P.20.

3. Liverpool, 1952.

4. Including the 1602 edition of The Passion of a Discontented Minde. This has not previously been noted as an argument for Breton's authorship.

Other manuscripts containing the poem are found in Plymouth Public Library and in the British Museum (Sloane 1303). These both show some variation from the text of Este's edition. The Plymouth manuscript was edited in 1853 by J.O. Halliwell (afterwards Halliwell-Phillipps) in A Brief Description of the Ancient and Modern Manuscripts preserved in the Public Library, Plymouth where it is simply entitled "An Unpublished Poem, by Nicholas Breton". In 1862 the poem was printed from Sloane 1303 where it is entitled "The Countesse of Penbrook's Passion" as the work of Mary Sidney, the editor, "R.G.B." calling it "A Poem on Our Saviour's Passion" and making no reference to Halliwell-Phillipps's edition. Grosart, who edited the poem as "The Countess of Pembroke's Passion" with other poems of Breton in 1879 was able to show from corrections of the Sloane manuscript in "R.G.B.'s" edition that he had known and used Halliwell-Phillipps's earlier one. Grosart collated Halliwell-Phillipps's text with the Sloane manuscript and was of the opinion that the poem was a companion-piece to The Countesse of Penbrookes Loue printed in 1592 with The Pilgrimage to Paradise. In Jean Robertson's opinion, the printed text, The Passions of the Spirit, is the less accurate one and she accepts Grosart's view that the Plymouth manuscript is a revised and improved text of Sloane 1303.

I shall therefore refer to the poem as The Passions of the Spirit, as that is the title under which it was known in its printed form between 1595 and 1610 but my quotations are from the edition by Halliwell-Phillips.

Another reason for adopting the readings of the Plymouth manuscript is that there, as in the Este edition, the poem is divided into six cantos, while Grosart and "R.G.B." following the Sloane manuscript, make no such divisions. As I have attempted to show in Chapter IV, Breton's poems usually have a definite structural plan beneath their apparent fluidity and by examining the divisions into cantos, the structure of The Passions of the Spirit can be clearly seen.

Examination of the poem in the light of his other works reveals his characteristic thought and its usual expression. The poet feels sorrowful and restless for some unidentified satisfaction of his soul's love-longing. He realises that this is for union with Christ but that his soul is too sinful to achieve that in this life. He envies the blessed ones in Heaven and despairs of ever receiving mercy and attaining their joy but is reminded of Christ's promises and humbly submits himself to God's will, acknowledging His Mercy and resolving to spend the rest of his life praising God and repenting his sins so that he may finally

reach his union in Heaven. The Passions of the Spirit is in fact Breton's own unique and personal plotting of the progress of ^{t t}rep^hen^ance in a sinful soul^d moved by contemplation of the Passion of Christ.

The first canto begins with the poet's search for the fittest expression of his grief. All the properties of melancholy are brought together but, like Keats, Breton does not find his peculiar sorrow there. He finds in himself all the griefs which he enumerates. He laments his misspent life:

And yett must live to shew more miserye! ¹
and concludes that his sorrow baffles description:

I cannot figure Sorrow in conceite;
Sorrow exceed all figures of her sence! (sic)
But on my woe even sorrowes all may wayste
To see a note exceed their excellence.
Let me conclude - to see how I am wounded,²
Sorrow herself is in herself confounded.

Spiritual perplexity has seldom been so well expressed. He feels the lack^{of} and the need for love and knows where that love should have been returned and fulfilled. Christ who was "fayrer then the sunne" came to claim the love of his soul and instead met with rebuffs and deliberate disobedience:

He came from highe to live with me belowe -
He gave me life and shewed me greatest love!
Unworthy I so high a worth to knowe,
Who left chefe blisse a baser choyse to prove!

1. P.182
2. P.182

I sawe his wonders, yett did not beleve him,
And for his goodnes, with my synnes did greve him.¹

The picture of Christ's Death comes before him and he laments it. There can be no question of placing the blame on the Jews or on mankind in general. The individual accepts his responsibility and gazes on the Sacred Wounds with sorrow:

But was it myne, or my forfathers' deed?
Whose ere it was, it makes my harte to bleed.
To se the feett that travayled for our good -
To see the hands that brake the livlye bread -
To se the head wheron our honor stood -
To se the fruite wheron our spirits feed:
Thes feett - hands - bored, and this head all bledinge,
Who doth not die with suche a sorrowe readinge?

Christ's Life is reviewed in Breton's favourite manner in a series of antitheses:

Whos mansion's heaven, yett laye in a manger,
Who gave all foode, yett suckte a virgine's breste
and short phrases akin to Southwell's "definition" stanzas:

A sweet phisicion for the bodye crazed,
A heavenlye medecine for the mynd diseased,
A present comforter to that witts amazed,
A joyefull spirit to the soule diseased:
The bodie, mynd, witt, and spirits' joye,
What is the world without him but annoye?

Finally the Cross is reached and there at the foot are the tearful figures by now expected:

Pore Peter wept when he his name denyed,
And Marye Mawdlen wept for her offence;
His mother wept when she his death espied;

1. P.184

But yett no teares could stand for his defence.
 But if thes wept to see his waylefull case,
 Why dye not I, to thinke of this disgrace? ¹

He envies the penitent thief because his repentance won him
 lasting joy:

Would I had ben ordayned to suche a death!
 To dye with hime - to live to hime for ever!

and longs that his soul "were made a sea of teares!" He
 sees the story of Jonah as an allegory of Christ in the soul.
 Suddenly he realises the futility of all his wishes:

Why shoulde I then, upon more wishes stande,
 But crye for mercye wher I have offended?
 And saye my soule unworthy is the place
 Ever to see my Savioure in the face!

This canto ends with the prayer that he may not give way to
 despair but may "se and serve" his Saviour at last. That
 alone can cure him:

I will sit downe till after this world's hell:
 My Saviour's sight maye only make my welle! (sic)

The diagnosis has been completed and the cure prescribed.
 The effects of the treatment remain to be traced.

The next canto begins with the reaction to the
 soaring thoughts of the first. Christ is dead:

The sune is downe, the glorie of the daye;
 The Springe is paste, the sweetnes of the yeare;
 The harvest in wheron my hope did staye,
 And wethering Winter gives her chilling cheare ...

Yet Christ died to give life and the age-old figure of the

1. P.188

pelican is recalled to show why Christ had to die. He weeps over His Body and strives to "make his tombe in my soul's true remorse". He curses the Jews and follows Christ's Body to the grave. Then occurs another check in his ecstasy, for he is so blinded with sin that he cannot find Christ anywhere:

If in the heaven, it is too highe a place
 For wicked harte to hope to clime so highe,
 If in the worlde, the earth is all too base
 To entertayne thy glorious majestie;
 If in thy Word, unworthy I to read
 So sweet a senc to stande my soule in stead;

If in my harte, syne sayth thou arte not there;
 If in my soule, it is too foule infected;
 If in my hope, it is too full of feare,
 And fearefull love hath never fayth elected ...

He prays for mercy and sits outside the tomb "with Marye at the grave", longing, like her, to see his penitence rewarded. He is resigned at the end of Canto the Second to spending his life thus, humbly submitting himself to God's will.

The third canto, like the second, opens with a jolt to the peace of the previous conclusion. How can he be content to give up his longing for Christ? He reviews once more Christ's Life to stir the dying embers of his devotion and meditates particularly on His Glory. The following stanza is typical of Breton's religious verse, treading the

verge of absurdity and yet at the same time strangely ecstatic, an impotent striving after adequate expression of what defies human definition:

Oh, glorious glorie - in all glorie glorious!
 Angels rejoyced at his incarnation!
 O powerfull vertue, of all power victorious.
 In true redemption of his best creation!
 O glorious life, that made the divels wonder -
 And glorious death, that trade the divels under!

By a very natural transition of thought he remembers how the world failed to see this glory and how the elements and inanimate objects responded with horror to His Death. Only a few disciples realized the truth:

Would God in heaven that I were such a one!

Again the sense of his unworthiness sweeps over him and he resigns himself to weeping one more, but is checked by the hope of Christ's remembered promise:

That, for his love, who sorrowes here so sore
 Shall joye in heaven, and never sorrowe more!

"Canto the Fourth" is concerned with a meditation on that "joye in heaven" which always inspired Breton's best verse:

Wher heavenlye love is cawse of holye life,
 And holie life encreaseth heavenlye love;
 Wher peace, establisht without feare of stryfe,
 Doth prove the blissinge of the soule's behove;
 Wher thirst nor hunger, grefe nor sorrowe, dwelleth,
 But peace in joye and joye in peace excelleth:

Wher this sweet kinge that on the white horse rideth
 Upon the winges of the celestiall winde;
 Neare whose sweett ayre no blastinge breath abideth,
 Nor stands the tree that he doth fruitles finde -
 Doth make all tremble wher his glorye goeth, ¹
 Yea, wher his mildnes most his mercye sheweth.

All souls find their fulfilment there and yet the poet,
 excited on earth, cannot find mercy:

And I unworthye most of all, to see
 The eye of mercye cast one looke on me!

Once more at the beginning of the next canto he rebukes himself for his flagging devotion. Can man alone fail to glorify God when all His Creation praises Him? Such stanzas as the following show the same tenderness and gentle humour with which Southwell regarded the natural creation, the last two lines echoing "Scorne not the least":

To see the grayhound course the Hart in chase, ²
 While little dormouse sleepeth out her time;
 The lambes and rabbots sweetlye rune at base,
 While highest trees the little squirles clime;
 The cralinge wormes out creepinge in the showers, ³
 And how the snayles do clime the lofty towers.

This canto ends with a prayer that the poet may show gratitude to God as all creatures do and at last he dares to raise his eyes to Christ:

And lett me - wretch unworthy most of all
 To lifte my eyes unto his lovelye seate -

1. P. 203

2. This is the reading of Este's edition, see Robertson, p. LVIII. The reading of the Plymouth MS is inferior: "To see the grayhound course, the hounde in chase".

3. P. 206

Before the feett but of his mercye falle,
 And of his mercye but the leave entreate
 That with his servants I maye sitt and singe
 And Alleluiah to my heavenlye kinge!

In the final canto thanksgiving for Christ's mercy floods his heart and he calls on all the world to praise Christ. Sin is conquered and shall no more be mentioned for grace is the all-absorbing topic now:

The night is past, and you must take the day!
 An elaborate conceit, aptly taken from music, points the way of happiness the soul is now to take:

First make your grounde of fayth full holines;
 Then your devisions of divine desyres;
 Lett all your restes be hopes of happines,
 Which mercye's musicke in the soule requires;
 Lett all your sharpes be feares of faythfull hartes,
 And all your flats the death of your desarts, -

Yett rise and fall, as hope or feare directs
 The nature of ech note, in space or line;
 And lett your voyces carrye such affectts
 As maye approve your passions are divine;
 Then lett your consorts all in one agre -
 To God above all-onlye glorie be!

The sound of the Gloria will rise to Heaven, but the poet in humble adoration will rather weep than sing to it, for his is the joy of the penitent forgiven:

And whiles all soules doe to his glorie singe,
 Lett me, pore wretch! not holye hould my peace,
 Butt let my teares, from mercye's glorye springe,
 Keppe time to the sweett songe maye never cease,
 That, while my soule doth thus my God adore,
 I maye yett singe Amen, althoughe no more!

The Plymouth Manuscript, like the Este edition, ends with Breton's habitual motto "Gloria in excelsis Deo!" which is lacking in Sloane 1303.

This précis of The Passions of the Spirit reveals the significance of Breton's religious verse. More than any other poet of the time, he is unaware, or perhaps, more accurately, unaffected by consideration of his readers. Throughout the poem he is writing of his own personal devotion and is using the Passion as a focal-point for his meditations. Fletcher constantly stood aside from his picture; John Davies of Hereford never entered his for more than a stanza or two but leapt back with relief to the onlooker's seat as soon as he could: "G.E." became absorbed against his will; Lever very cautiously made his way into the scene and at the end of his poem is the principal figure kneeling beneath the Cross. In these four poems, varied as they are, one factor is always the same. Attention is concentrated for the greater part of the poem on the Crucifixion. In Breton's poem, by contrast, the reader's attention is always on the poet himself. He only sees the sufferings of Christ in a series of brief flashes and always through the poet's eyes. The subject which inspires penitence is here subordinate to the penitence itself.

It remains to consider the shorter lyrics on the Crucifixion. The majority of these are the work of Catholic poets, Southwell, Verstegan and Alabaster and the anonymous ballad-writers. The exception is Samuel Rowlands, who in "The seuen words of Christ vpon the Crosse", struck out a finer spark than in any of the other poems in his collection The Betraying of Christ. The groupings of these shorter lyrics are the traditional ones used by the Church for systematic meditation for centuries. In the majority of cases, the poems are impersonal, seminary exercises, clearly indicating the continuity of the devotional tradition of the Middle Ages. Penitential sentiments are retrained. Verstegan's near-sonnets, for they only lack a clinching couplet, on the "fyue sorrowful mysteries" in the Odes, are typical. They describe the events of the Passion, the apprehension, scourging crowning with thorns, bearing of the Cross and crucifying, as they affected the Virgin, but apart from the generalized phrase:

Oh wo is mee at this great end of grief¹
 have no sign of penitential sorrow. The reason for this may be found in the zeal for controversy which pervades the Odes.

The continuity of mediaeval lyric in Southwell's work may be seen from his lyrics on the Virgin and the Passion. He seems to have intended to write two whole series of short poems on the Lives of Christ and the Virgin, inspired by the Church's feasts. Due to the caution or the Protestantism of his early publishers neither series was printed in full. The majority were included in Moeoniae. They lack the passion which frequently glows through the conceits of "Saint Peters Complaynt" and which blazes up into personal intensity at the end. The best of these poems is "The Virgin Mary to Christ on the Crosse", printed in couplets in Moeoniae¹ and found in quatrains and with slight textual variants in the Harmsworth manuscript.² The poem begins with an un-mediaeval conciet:

What mist hath dimd that glorious face, what seas of
griefe my sun doth tosse?
The golden raies of heavenly grace lies now ecclipsed
on the crosse ...

but continues in the traditional way with appeals by the Virgin to the Jews to wound her and to the angels to mourn with her, ending with her resignation to solitary weeping:

... let sorrow string my heavy lute.

In the Harmsworth manuscript there is a companion-piece,

1. P. 14. In italics.

2. MacDonald, P. 52

"Christes answere" in which Christ, as He did in the mediaeval lyrics, explains the significance of His pains and tells of the Virgin's reward. Again the dress is sixteenth century but the attitude is much older:

Your crystal eies shall be a floude,
That runnes amidst Hierusalem;
And ev'ry sigh for this my bloude
Within-your hart shall be a gemme.

Also in this manuscript is "Christ upon the Crosse to man,"

Take view of my distressed case;
Cast of the care of earthly drosse, ¹
Folow no more thy wicked race.

None of these poems shows the influence of the Italian "Complaint" form but this can be traced in another poem on the Crucifixion by Southwell. "Man to the wound in Christ's side" ² is an impressive poem found in Moeoniae. It is written in ballad-metre but the thought is by contrast complex. The Wound is regarded as offering a place of rest and refuge to the sinner and so becomes a bower, a tomb, a cave and, principally, a harbour. The sinner seeing it as the source of mercy expresses a longing to hide within it:

Here is the spring of trickling teares,
The mirror of all mourning wights,
With dolefull tunes, for dumpish cares,
And solemne shewes for sorrowed sights,

1. P. 54

2. Pp. 22 - 3

O happie soule that flies so hie,
 As to attaine this sacred caue:
 Lord send we¹ wings that I may flie,
 And in this harbour quiet haue.

Samuel Rowlands's poems on the Seven Words from the Cross are a formal group in the middle of his florid collection. Each poem is in seven stanzas in Saint Peters complaynt metre and all but the last two use the actual words of Christ in acrostic in the first stanza. For example, "Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in Paradiso" begins:

Truly I say, that am heau'ns glory giuer,
To thee true penitent repentant theefe,
This day, from a defild and sinfull liuer
Shalt thou be Sainted in exiling greefe,
With me this day thou passest to the blest, 2
In Paradise, where glorious Angals rest.

Each contains a brief summary of the context in which the Words were spoken and a generalized meditation on it.

Although the theme of repentance is only implicit in these poems, it is significant that the best is the poem on the repentant thief. It is strange that this "pattern" of repentance did not appear more often in the poetry of the time. A possible reason may be that his was a dying conversion and therefore not one which a preacher could safely hold up for the emulation of his congregation. Rowlands rectifies this omission with the one poem where his

1. This would appear to be a misprint for "me".
 2. Eijj.

verse does tamely but avoiding "all miscarying wracke" reach "the harbour of a quiet applause" which he recognized as its end. Each verse tends to be an isolated tracking of one line of thought but quotation will show that the lines possess a pleasant smoothness:

Euen at the wane of life, the dying hower,
 This happy theefe did offer God his heart,
 His daies were dedicate to Sthans power,
 Only remain's one moment to conuert
 Wherein he gaue his heart to him that ought it,
 Preuenting him that long in hope had sought it.
 ... His wandring courses are retyr'd from danger,
 Vnto the harbour of a Christian rest,
 He liu'd to new Ierusalem a stranger,
 But was at death free Cittizen profest,
 With Christ on crosse, gaining in three houers more
 Then Iudas did in yeares for howers before.

Of more interest in the history of Elizabethan religious verse are the two sonnet sequences by William Alabaster "The Portrait of Christ's Death" and "Upon the Ensigns of Christ's Crucifying". They were written soon after the first of Alabaster's conversions to Roman Catholicism, which took place in 1596. The seventy-nine sonnets which he wrote remained scattered in six manuscripts until discovered by Bertram Dobell in 1903. Work on an edition was begun by L.I. Guiney but not completed before her death in 1938. An edition by G.M. Story and Helen Gardner was finally published in 1959. Only one of Alabaster's

sonnets was published in his lifetime¹ but a few of them were known to nineteenth century editors of Shakespeare, notably Collier² and Malone,³ who commented that "The piety is more obvious than the poetry. Yet Donne, and those in that age who admired Donne, doubtless thought them excellent. The nature of the sonnet-form and Alabaster's particular use of it will be best discussed in the next chapter when the work of the other religious sonneteers is examined. It remains to stress here that his sonnets were written in the white heat of the emotion of a conversion to a religion which held particular dangers for its adherents at that time. In this and the fact that he tells us in his "Autobiography"⁴ that a preliminary to his conversion was a fervent devotion to the Passion, the emotional springs of his work can be traced.

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1. Sonnet 19 in Story and Gardner was printed by John Boys in An Exposition of the Festivall Epistles and Gospels, 1613.
 2. History of English Dramatic Poetry, 1831.
 3. (Third Variorum) Shakespeare, 1821
 4. Preserved in English in a manuscript in the English College, Rome, but copiously quoted by Story and Gardner.

The first sequence, "The Portrait of Christ's Death" consists of eleven sonnets and was written

in expectation of imminent martyrdom, and the poet is preparing himself for the ordeal by by meditating on the betrayal and arrest of Christ.¹

The sonnets are concerned with the events preceding the Passion. The first two are meditations on the hymn that Christ sang as He went to His Betrayal:

What meaneth this, that Christ an hymn did sing,
A hymn triumphant for a happy fight,
As if his enemies were put to flight.
When yet he was not come within the ring?²

The next two consider Christ's journey across Cedron and these are followed by two on His climb up Olivet, both of which are concerned primarily with an attack on heretics who

though they seem beyond the brook to₃get,
Yet never come they to Mount Olivet

Sonnet 7, which is one of the finest Alabaster wrote, is based on the recollection that Christ was taken at night. His future sufferings could not be seen, nor could the trivial nature of our own sufferings compared with His. The poem ends with a line which gives the sonnet what Story aptly terms "an almost Hébetian quality:"⁴

'Tis night, or else how could we so mistake?

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1. P.46. The "Commentary" is by Helen Gardner.
 2. Sonnet 2.
 3. Sonnet 5.
 4. P.xxxiii

The eighth sonnet considers the flight of the disciples, the desertion of the Shepherd by the sheep. The next two are on the popular subject of St. Peter's denial, the first offering comparison to 'damned Luther' and the second contains^{ing} a paraphrase of the disciples boast:

Though all forsake thee, lord, yet I will die,
For I have chained so my will to thine
That I have no will left my will to untwine,
But will abide with thee most willingly...

The final sonnet of the series is a complex meditation on the death of Christ in "The form of Jewry" and His rejection within "his forms" of our souls.

It is unnecessary to examine this sequence more deeply as the poet's mood is not one of repentance. Fired by his own situation, he does not beg for mercy, but cries for the complete surrender to Christ which will give him courage for martyrdom and pours scorn on those who flee or turn aside into wrong paths. Sonnet 10, finds the chief lesson to be learnt from St. Peter's denial to be not repentance but humility:

...by his fall did warn us not to swell ~~The~~

The tears which he mentions in Sonnet 4 are not the customary ones of a penitent sinner but the almost joyful ones of the ecstatic lover.

More in keeping with the general trend of religious verse at this period are the eleven sonnets, "Upon the Ensigns of Christ's Crucifying."¹

1. P. 13 - 18.

The poet writes, in his taut, elliptical style, in a penitential mood although occasionally, as in Sonnets 31 and 33 a sense of rapture overcomes him. In others, such as Sonnets 25, when he considers the woman who "came and saw and scorned his diadem" and Sonnet 27 the first on the reed, the tone is one of quiet argument, the unravelling of a complex thought. The liturgical background of these sonnets, as well as their affiliations to the Mediaeval lyrics and their anticipations of Donne and Herbert are given in the "Commentary" and do not concern us here, but Alabaster's confession of sin is far more complex than any other at this time and, like Donne's, not less personal because of these overtones.

In Sonnet 24, "The Sponge," the poet uses very tersely the conceit of writing. His tongue shall be his pen, his tears ink and the place where he was converted his book and

Thus plainly will I write: no sin like mine.
When he has done this, Christ is besought to

Take up the tart sponge of thy Passion
and erase it and then, using the Holy Spirit for a pen and His Blood for ink, write instead "thy Jesu still". Again the last line has a Herbertian ring. The description of contrition and grace was stated more openly and at greater length in other poems of the period. It seldom achieved,

the admirable conciseness and force of Alabasters best sonnets.

The second sonnet on the Crown of Thorns is more complex in its argument and colder in its emotional impact. Briefly, it states that as Adam before the Fall can be compared to "cedars stately tall," so man now is stunted and thorny with sin. Christ was not only wounded by the Crown of Thorns but by man's sins as well, yet as that Crown will be a glorious Crown in Heaven so:

He hath transformed as thorns from baser wood,
To raise our nature and odious strain,
That we, who with our thorny sins did wound him,
Hereafter should with reaseal virtues crown him.

Sonnet 29 "The Spitting Upon Our Saviour" is an interesting comment on Alabaster's usual technique and shows his sense of dramatic effect. Beginning with revulsion from his task:

What art, what hand can draw the next disgrace,
he urges himself to describe it in his best style "with device the meaning interlace," so that he does not have to face it, yet the conclusion is the plain statement:

That filthy man upon Christ's face should spit.

The three sonnets, "Upon the Crucifix," illustrate various attitudes of devotion without particular emphasis on penitence. In the first, Sonnet 30, he prays by each of the Sacred Wounds, that Christ will take control of him, that as Christ's Feet and Hands were pierced, so his affections and

his work may be marked as Christ's* that his thoughts may be hurt to think of the Crown of Thorns and, above all, that love will flow from his heart as blood did from Christ's*. The second is based on the conception of Christ as the True Vine. The Blood which He shed is the wine which the poet must "drink to thirst, and thirst to drink." In the third, ecstasy is paramount. The poet wishes he were "transformed into love" and

Like wandering ivy or sweet honeysuckle
that he might twine around Christ on the Cross. The closing line is again a contrasting plain statement, quiet in its intensity:

Lord, so I am if here my thoughts might rest

The finest sonnet of this sequence, and one of the best, because one of the most controlled, which Alabaster wrote is Sonnet 28, the second on the reed. Its penitential devotion is not general but particular. The poet confesses that he has long been a hollow reed in Christ's Hand, a light, barren thing, but by His Grace, he will be able to grow, planted in the Wound, made in the Hand, and refreshed by the Blood, so that all will marvel at the power he has through Christ. Full quotation will show how the sonnet-form and the metaphysical manner enabled Alabaster to say concisely and forcibly what so many of his contemporaries, floundering in too many words, tried to say. The progress of repentance from confession to amendment is contained here:

Long time hath Christ, long time I must confess,
 Held me a hollow reed within his hand,
 That merited in hell to make a brand
 Had not his grace supplied mine emptiness.
 Oft time with languor and newfangledness
 Had I been borne away like sifted sand,
 When sin and Satan got the upper hand,
 But that his steadfast mercy did me bless.
 Still let me grow upon that living land,
 Within that wound which iron did impress,
 And made a spring of blood flow from thy hand.
 Then will I gather sap and rise and stand
 That all that see this wonder may express,
 Upon this ground how well grows barrenness

The Crucifixion ballads are without exception Catholic. Alabaster, when he says in his "Autobiography" that prior to his conversion he began to feel "a greater tendernes of Harte towardes Christes Cross and Passion than... the protestantes weare wont to feele."¹ implies that devotion to the Passion, being pre-Reformation in spirit, was pre-severed mostly by Catholics. Persecution intensified this devotion and sharpened the tone of the anonymous ballads to a note of personal exaltation never found in mediaeval lyric. Examination of a few of them will show that repetition and formlessness are seldom avoided but that the fervour of anticipated martyrdom imparts a unique glow to otherwise undistinguished poems.

In a few cases acceptable guesses have been made about the authorship. The largest collection of Catholic ballads on the Passion is found in Additional MS 15,225, a commonplace-book in which the latest dated poem is a ballad

1. Story and Gardner, p.xii.

on the execution of the priest, Thewlis, which took place in 1616. Whoever it was who compiled the anthology may be the author of some of the verse and a plausible suggestion is made by L.I. Guiney that at least three of the poems are the work of Henry Walpole, a Jesuit martyr, ¹/₇ who wrote a fine elegy on the death of Edmund Campion. Father Christopher Grene about 1666 stated that Walpole was generally regarded as the author of a poem on the Heavenly Jerusalem found in this manuscript owned by Joseph Gillow in which the same poem was transcribed and assigned to "H.W." The poem is included in The Song of Mary, published anonymously in 1601. The first poem in this volume is assigned to Walpole on internal evidence by Guiney. Two other poems and one stanza of a third in this book are found in Additional MS 15,225 and it seems therefore probable that Walpole was also the author of these and perhaps of all the poems in The Song of Mary in which there is a definite order.

The poem on the Crucifixion in The Song is among the best in the manuscript. In the printed version it is entitled "A sinners supplication, or the soules meditation." The poet prays to Christ for mercy

O Christ my King refuse me not, ²
though late I come to thee

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1. See L.I. Guiney, Recusant Poets, Oxford, 1938, p.272
 2. F3. My quotations are all from the printed version.

acknowledging that it is his sin which caused Christ to die:

I.
I am the wretch that crowned thee,
I made thy wounds so wide:
I nayled thee vnto the crosse,
with speare I pearst thy side.

He is not worthy that Christ should have died for him and
prays for the help of the hierarchy of Heaven:

Come Angels and Arch-angels all,
come Saintes and Soules diuine:
Come Martirs and confessers eke
your ayde to me asigne.

Lend me your help and counsell eke,
and tell me how I may:
Receiue my Lord that loues me so,
that am but dust and clay. 2.

He rejects all wordly honour and "wicked wealth" esteeming
his greatest joy to kiss Christ's Wounds and longs with the
Magdalen to embrace His Feet. Here the poignancy of his
immediate situation sweeps over the poet and he snaps his
fingers at the penal laws and the bogies of the sixteenth
century:

Then would I boldly dare to say,
that neyther racke nor corde;
Nor all the torments in the world,
should make me loose my Lord.

Nor Machauill with all his sleights,
should make me once remooue;
Nor Turke, nor tyrant, nor the diuell 3.
should make me loose my loue.

The ballad-metre is well-controlled and the thought is
expressed with a passion intensified by contemporary events.

1. This is the better reading of the manuscript as given by
Rollins. The printed version has "wounded"

2. P.44.

3. MS reading, "Tuke" in printed version.

The last stanza of this poem both in the manuscript and the printed version is identical with the last stanza of another fine and fervent ballad on the Passion, which begins "Calvarie mount is my delight". In this poem the poet in exalted mood swears never to leave the place where his Saviour died in spite of the efforts of a motley crew of persecutors, which includes Herod, Pilate, the Jews, "Calvins cu(r)sed crue", pursuivants and "craftie catchpole". The rest of the poem, apart from the last stanza which reiterates the prayer of ^{the} first part of the poem is a defiant description of the trial and death of a recusant:

Let me be falslie condemned: let Sherife on me take
charge with boes & billes let me be led: least I escape
at large
Let me from prison passe away: on hurdle hard to lye
to Tyburne drawne without Delay: in torments there to Dye.

...O London let my quarters stand upon thy gates to drye
and let them beare the world in hand: I did for treason dye
Let croes and kytes my carcas eate: let ravens ^{have} their portion
least afterwarde my frendes intreate: to lay my ^{corpe} ^{1.}
in grave.

Guiney justly comments "it is not a poem that it was safe to print at the time when it was written". 2.

The above ballads may well be the work of priests because of their emphasis on torture and execution. More certainly two other ballads in the same manuscript are the work of a priest or priests, "Behold our Saviour crucified" and "When as mankind through Adam's fall" are both versified

1. Text from Guiney, p.272.
2. P.268.

sermons on the Crucifixion, ending with a prayer for mercy at the Day of Judgement. Another more simply instructive ballad in the same manuscript tells of the sufferings of Christ for His Church, the Shepherd for the flock. It begins with a delightful parody of the pastoral mode:

A Jollie sheppard
 that sate on Sion hill
 That with his rod (and) sheppardes crooke
 his sheepe derecteth still,
 His Church it is the fould;
 in tender grasse the(y) feede,
 And to the fountaines faire they goe,
 which is his word indeede.

The only other ballad which remains to be considered is interesting for the question of its authorship rather than for its merit. "Christo Crvcifixo" is found in the group of poems headed "Sartaine Godlye and devovt verse Of ye passion of our Lord and savyor Iesu Christ ye Lamentation of our blessed Ladie (in Latin Stabat Mater dolarosa) & ye fiftene mysteries of ye Rosarie of our Ladie in verse wt dyverse other godly prayers and devoute matters sett forth by S.W. and dedycated to ye vertuous Ladie, ye Ladie Pawlett" in the Peter Mowle Commonplace-Book, a manuscript at Oscott College. The initials were interpreted in 1896 by Fr. Samuel Sole as referring to Southwell and MacDonald supports this view pointing out that "S.W." were the initials used on the title-page of Marie Magdalens

Funerall Teares published before Southwell's arrest. He therefore prints three of the poems in Appendix D of his Bibliography as "probably genuine". Stylistically "The Epistell" is similar to that of Southwell's authentic prefaces, but the three poems, for the Rosary poems though listed, are not included in the manuscript, are unlike anything else Southwell wrote. The translation of "Stabat Mater", unlike that of "Lauda Sion Salvatorem" in Moeoniae, is stilted and literal, while the third poem "De Virgine et Matre" uses the traditional paradoxes baldly and in an unsophisticated manner. "Christo Crvcifixo" is a series of ejaculations on the pains of Christ and a confession of the sinner's responsibility. The vocabulary is simpler than Southwell's customary one. A few stanzas will show that it has more affinities with the Catholic ballads than with anything in Saint Peters complaynt or Moeoniae.

O Cruell deathe, o woundes most deepe
 O guiltles blood. o bitter payne
 Alas who can forbeare to weepe
 To see Gods sonne so cruelly slyne.

Ah I.twas I. twas I alas
 yt made these wounds so deepe & wide
 for me he hanges vppon ye Crosse
 for me vilde slave my Lord thus dyed.

...Ah god howe harde a harte have I
 yt is not broken yet in twaine
 Alas myne eyes howe are ye drye
 O teares gushe ovt, gushe ovt a maine. 1

1. MacDonald, p.153-4.

Such poems may be early drafts of poems which have not survived or which Southwell never had time to revise, but an alternative explanation is put forward by Guiney, who interprets the initials "S.W." as being those of Swithin Wells, a Catholic schoolmaster who was executed in 1591. The suggestion that the initials might be those of this well-known lay-martyr was first put forward by Philip Williams in The Oscotian.¹ Guiney finds confirmation of this in the examination of Wells in prison in March 1587 when he stated "I came on Shrift Munday last to Mr. Pawlet of Heycote, where I lay that night"² The dedication of the poems to Lady Pawlett implies some acquaintance. It must be pointed out that Guiney does not mention any other verse written by Wells or produce any evidence that he was known to his contemporaries as a writer, but it does not seem unlikely for a man in his position to write fervent religious verse.

In the ballads, as in Alabaster's sonnets, the consciousness of his immediate situation often obscures the image of penitence in the poet's mind. This is the reason why, attractive as they are, their place in the history of the treatment of the theme of repentance in this period is slight and their influence upon later poets negligible.

1. Vol. 2, No.1. 3rd Series, Dec.1901,pp.1-12"A Sixteenth Century Commonplace Book." In the same periodical, the following year (Vol.3, No.1.,Dec.1902) in an article on "The Poetry of Robert Southwell,S.J.", he stated,(p.10) without reference to his previous assertion, that Southwell was the author of this poem.
2. Guiney, p.173.

CHAPTER VIII.

Tearful Songs and Sonnets.

"Drop, drop, slow tears,
And bathe those beauteous feet,
Which brought from heauen
The news and Prince of peace:
Cease not, wet eyes,
His mercies to intreat;
To cry for vengeance
Sin doth neuer cease:
In your deep floods
Drown all my faults & fears;
Nor let his eye
See sin, but through my tears."

Phineas Fletcher (1610?)

Lyrics of repentance were written for centuries before the upsurge of interest in the topic at the end of the sixteenth century. A certain elegaic bent in the rational temperament seemed to relish writing laments for the sins of youth, for the passing of the joy and beauty of this life, and supplications for mercy to a just but beneficent Creator. Such lyrics, as can be seen from the collections edited by Carleton Brown, were in the Middle Ages often characterized by simple vocabulary, and stanza-forms, monotonous rhythms and use of refrain. After the Reformation they continued to be written and a glance at some of the poems in such anthologies as Tottel's Miscellany (1557) or The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576) will show that there is little change from the mediaeval lyrics. Such verse is, to borrow Professor Lewis's word, truly "drab" for it has no outstanding feature. The poet assumes no penitential mask and speaks in a luke-warm generalized way without any of the heat of emotion felt in the long poems on repentance. Two laments of sinners were included in Sternhold and Hopkins's version of the Psalms and were reprinted with it during the century. The generalized lament in simple language and metre continued to be popular and is found in the numerous prose and verse guides to

godliness produced for the edification of the apprentice and the housewife by such indefatigable writers as John Norden¹ and Abraham Fleming.² A slight variation is found in the work of Simion Grahame who after castigating society in The Anatomie of Humors (1609) adds two lyrics, "The Spirit of Grace to the wicked sinner" and "The Sorrowfull Song of a Converted Sinner" to give the reason for his looking back in anger. Volumes of pious verse were produced during the period of this study but their penitential platitudes do not merit prolonged attention. The chief ones are The Muses Sacrifice (1612) by John Davies of Hereford and The Teares or Lamentations of a sorrowfull Soule (1613) by Sir William Leighton. The poems in such volumes are either in quatrains or in Saint Peters Complaynt metre and are often merely paraphrases of Scripture or of the General Confession. I do not propose to consider such poems in detail as this treatment of the theme of repentance is too traditional and generalized to be of any significance in the history of this period of English religious verse. Their renderings were often pleasantly melodious (this is particularly the case with John Davies of Hereford) and

1. See A Progress of Piety, (1596) Parker Society, Cambridge, 1847.

2. See The Footpath of Faith (1619), etc.

frequently intended, as Leighton's and Hunnis's were, to be set to music. The following is a typical sinners lament. It is found as "A heauenly Prayer in contempt of the world, and the vanities thereof" in The Song of Mary, 1601, and may be the work of Henry Walpole.¹ My quotation is, however, from MS Sloane 2497, a note-book dated 1593² and containing some elegaic verses interspersed among mathematical exercises, recipes for gunpowder, nautical directions and astronomical diagrams. The poem occurs on verso of page 2:

O Heavenly god that gouernst euerie thing
 Whose power in heauen & on the erth we know
 Thou god from whom the giftes of grace do springe
 Respecte my suite which am oreprest with woe
 O pittie God sweete god som pittie take
 And cleanse my soule for Iesus Christ his sake.

I wayle the Life that I have led before
 The dayes ill spent that come into my minde
 Incense my soule with horror very sore
 And threaten death unles I favor finde
 O pittie god-sweet god som pittie take
 And cleanse my soule for Iesus Christ his sake.

My gracelesse others now layd before myne eyes
 My youth mispent and worne by womens guile
 My hidden sinns my wofull soule surprise
 My want of former grace lay me the while
 Cry mercy lord that thou wouldst pittie take
 To cleanse my soule for Iesus Christ his sake.

1. See Appendix B.

2. This source of the poem has not previously been noted.

Away thou world that flatterest erthly man
 With heauenlie ioys & bringst him down to hell
 I loath this life doe thou what soe thou can
 My longing is with god my lord to Dwell
 Whoe will reltent and eke some pittie take
 To cleanse my soule for Iesus Christ his sake.

A charming use of a refrain is found in Hunnis's A Handfull of Honisuckles where a series of twenty-one poems of prayers for mercy to Christ are uttered in three quatrains, each beginning "O Iesu" and ending "haue mercy Lord on me" or a variation upon it. The following is the fifth prayer:

O Iesu, if thou doe withdraw
 thy comfort for a time,
 Let not despaire take hold on me,
 for any sinnefull crime.

But giue me patience to abide,
 thy pleasure, and thy will:
 For sure thy iudgements all are right,
 though I be wicked still.

But yet a promise hast thou made,
 to all that trust in thee:
 According to which promise Lord,
 haue mercy now on me. Amen. ¹

The vicissitudes of the Christian life are faintly seen in this series, the gleams of hope, the despair and the longing for Heaven, and make it more personal than many similar collections.

Southwell himself wrote gnomic, platitudinous verse of the type found in Tottel's Miscellany. It is

1. E2, p.3.

found in the adaptations of popular poems which he made in Saint Peters Complaynt in his effort to "weaue a new webbe in their loomes", for example, the alteration of Dyer's "Phansy" to "A Sinners Complaynt". His gnomic verses, "I dye alieue", "Lifes Death, Loues Life," "Lewd loue is losse", "Life is but losse", do not concern us here, except to note that their general tone is one of exhortation to turn from the things of this world to those of the everlasting kingdom. Of more interest are his true lyrics of repentance. They consider in the dramatic or intellectual manner of a Jesuit meditation some proposition which stirs the soul to a final prayer for forgiveness. In "Synnes Heauy Loade",¹ the poet considers with all his intellectual powers the picture of Christ in His Agony, bowing beneath the weight of sin in which the poet's sin is included:

O Lord! my sinne doth ouerchargde thy breste,
The poyse thereof doth force thy knees to bowe.

Once before, at His Birth, Christ prostrated Himself. Then He came to earth, now He bows to take leave of her. The application of the meditation is seen in the final fervent prayer:

1. Saint Peters Complaint, Newlie Augmented, With Other Poems, (1607-9?), p.67.

O prostrate Christ, erect my croked mynde;
 Lord, lett thy fall my flight from earth obtayne;
 Or if I still in Earth must nedes by shrynde,
 Then, Lord, on Earth come fall yet once againe;
 And ether yelde with me in earth to lye,
 Or els with Thee to take me to the skye.

In "Vpon the Image of Death",¹ the meditation is prompted, not by an event in Christ's life, but by the age-old consideration of the frailty of man's life and death, one of the Four Last Things, to be considered in the first "Week" of St. Ignatius's Spiritual Exercises. The use of the refrain here shows Southwell's knowledge of the older religious-elegiac poetry and his list of those who, despite their varied talents have not been able to escape death, is purely mediaeval, and is reminiscent of the "Love-Rune" of Friar Thomas de Hales in the thirteenth century. It includes Solomon, Samson, Alexander and Julius Caesar. The close scrutiny of the physical aspects of man's decay lacks the calm acceptance of much mediaeval verse. It has the fascinated horror of a Jacobean and we are reminded of the Dean of St. Paul's posing in his shroud for his effigy:

Before my face the picture hangs,
 That daily should put me in mind,
 Of those cold names and bitter pangs,
 That shortly I am like to find:

1. Moeoniae, p.24.

But yet alas full little I
 Do thinke hereon that I must die.
 I often looke vpon a face
 Most vgly, grisly, bare and thinne,
 I often view the hollow place,
 Where eies and nose, had sometimes bin,

 ...Continually at my beds head
 A hearse doth hang which me doth tel,
 That I ere morning may be dead,
 Though now I feele my selfe ful well...

The application of this prolonged meditation is delayed until the last couplet:

If none can scape deaths dreadfull dart,
 If rich and poore his becke obey,
 If strong, if wise, if all do smart,
 Then I to scape shall haue no way.
 O grant me grace O God that I,
 My life may mend, sith I must die.

The next poem in Moeoniae is "A vale of teares"¹.

This remarkable poem, undoubtedly the finest complete poem Southwell wrote, has called forth extravagant praise from his critics. A. Lytton Sells² sees the poem as a dramatic foreshadowing of the Romantic Movement and would see Southwell as a kind of Elizabethan Gray musing on the marvels of nature while crossing the Alps on his way to England. Even the sober Janelle³ is moved to make the comparison with Gray

1. P.27.

2. The Italian Influence in English Poetry from Chaucer to Southwell, 1955, p.331.

3. Robert Southwell the Writer, Clermont-Ferrand, 1935, p.277.

and Wordsworth, and finds "the extraordinarily vivid details" imply that Southwell had a real Alpine valley in mind as he wrote. He feels uneasily, however, that the poem is so "strange and unexpected" that it may be another example of Southwell's adaptation of a secular lyric.

There is a danger in reading this poem of detaching it from the rest of Southwell's work and from the circumstances of his life. The picture of the gloomy valley which suits the mood of the poet, burdened with a sense of sin, is undoubtedly painted with great force and exactitude and a man as sensitive as Southwell could hardly have passed over the Alps unmoved. It is wrong, however, to endow him with sensibility two hundred years before men had been taught that such a response was expected of them in the face of wild scenery. Southwell, it will be remembered, would have crossed the Alps twice, and on each journey his mind would have been full of thoughts of the future. The first time he was going to Rome, eager to join the Society of Jesus and the second time he had his face set for England and the shadow of martyrdom was already over him. On neither occasion was he on a pleasure-trip.

Sells suggests Italian sources for some of the descriptions and Janelle sees in Southwell's absorption in

the wilderness of the valley his native English genius asserting itself. Neither suggests more general influences behind the poem. The idea of finding in nature a mood corresponding with a mood of man was not an innovation in English poetry. The Anglo-Saxons had found it in their elegies, "The Wanderer" and "The Seafarer" and the fourteenth-century poet had found it in "Sir Gawain". More recently, Nicholas Breton had found it in one of his sonnets in The Arbour of Amorous Devices. I am not suggesting that this is the source of "A Vale of Teares", as The Arbour was first published in 1594 and it would be difficult to prove that the sonnet was written some years before that date. The poem is much slighter than "A Vale of Teares" but it shows that the notion of finding in nature, particularly at her gloomiest, a mood corresponding with a human emotion was not unknown at the end of the sixteenth century. Breton's poem is called "The complaint of a forsaken lover":¹

Let me goe seeke some solitarie place,
In craggie rocks where comfort is unknowne:
Where I may sit & waile my heavy case,
And make the heauens acquainted with my mone.

Where onelie Echo with her hollow voice,
May sound the sorrow of my hidden sense:
And cruel chance the crosse of sweetest choyse,
Doth breed the paine of this experience.

1. My text is from Grosart's edition of the Works, 1879.

In mourning thoughts let me my mind attire,
 And clad my care in weedes of deadlie woe:
 And make disgrace the grave of my desire,
 Which took his death whereby his life did growe:
 And ere I die engrave upon my tombe,
 Take heede of Love, for this is Lovers doome.

Southwell must have remembered the horrors of the natural world which Tanzillo drew on in Le Lagrime di San Pietro to describe the place where Judas committed suicide. He would have been familiar with Jeremiah's wish for a dwelling in the wilderness, which, it must be noted, follows a prayer for tears:

Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a
 fountain of tears, that I might weep day and
 night for the slain of the daughter of my people!
 Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging place
 of wayfaring men; that I might leave my people,
 and go from them! for they be all adulterers, an
 assembly of treacherous men.¹

Whatever may be the sources which fused together to produce "A Vale of Teares", they produced a distinctive poem. It is a meditation similar to "Upon the Image of Death" but here the poet induces a mood of repentant sorrow by conjuring up before his mind's eye a detailed picture of a gloomy scene. He becomes absorbed in the scene and in conveying in subtle inflections of his basic rhythm the eerie

1. Jer. 9.1-2. This is paraphrased by Breton in The Passion of a Discontented Mind, C.

noises of the wind and the stream^{So} that he almost forgets
his main purpose:

A Vale there is enwrappt with dreadfull shades,
Which thicke of mourning pyne, shrouds from the sunne
Where hanging clifts yelde short & dampish glades,
And snowye flouds with broken streames doth runne,
...Where eares of other sound can haue no choice,
But various blustering of the stubborn wind,
In trees, in caues, in straits with diuers noise,
Which now doth hisse, now howles, now roare by kinde.

He remembers the Creator of this "natures worke" and finds
it "A place for mated mindes" and suited to "a dampish mood":

All pangs and heauy passions here may finde
A thousand motiues suitly to their griefes,
To feede the sorrowes of their troubled mind
And chase away dame pleasures vaine releefes.
...Sit here my soule, mourne streames of teares afloate,
...When Eccho doth repeate thy painefull cryes,...

The reason for Southwell's grief is only given at the end,
so engrossed is he in painting this remarkable picture:

Let teares to tunes, and paines to plaints be prest,
And lett this be the burthen to thy songe,
Come deepe remorse, possesse my sinfull brest:
Delights adue I harbored you too long.

The other poems on repentance in Moeoniae are very
inferior to "A Vale of teares". "The prodigall child's soule
wracke"¹ is a protraction of the conceit of a shipwreck which
we noted at the beginning of "Saint Peters Complaynt". Here
the soul is

1. P.30. Original in italics.

Disankred from a blisfull shore, and lancht into the
~~mayne~~ of cares
 meane

Sin causes the storm and also the sores within which will
 cause his death. Finally the soul, like St. Peter, is
 imprisoned. The relief is only sketchily given:

Where chaind, sine I lay in thrall, next to the dungeon
 of despaire,
 Till Mercy raisde me from my fall, and grace my ruines
 did repaire. ¹

"Mans ciuill warre" deals with the continual strife between
 the senses and Grace. The strife is unresolved at the end
 of the poem and there is no relief given to the soul. The
 only cure is the exhortation of the next poem "Seeke Flowers
 of Heauen" ²

Soare upp, my soule, unto ~~they~~ rest, cast off this
 loathsome loade,
 Long is the date of ~~they~~ exile, too long ~~they~~ strickt
 abode

The gloom of unforgiven sin hangs over most of
 Southwell's lyrics on repentance. The gleam of hope found
 in love of Christ is seldom seen and in general tone these
 lyrics have more in common with the gnomie generalizations
 of the generation of Tottel's Miscellany than the anguished
 contortions of "Saint Peter's Complaynt".

Mention must be made here of the most perfect
 lyrical expression of sorrow for sin and hope of forgiveness

1. P.31. Original in italics.

2. P.32. Original in italics.

in Christ's Mercy written during this period. Both Professors Norman Ault and Douglas Bush are agreed that Phineas Fletcher's "Drop, drop slow tears" was probably written sometime before 1610, though it was first printed in Poetical Miscellanies in The Purple Island in 1633. Its simple diction and rhythm attracted Orlando Gibbons who gave it a moving setting.

Drop, drop, slow tears,
 And bathe those beauteous feet,
 Which brought from heaven
 The news and Prince of peace:
 Cease not, wet eyes,
 His mercies to intreat;
 To cry for vengeance
 Sin doth never cease:
 In your deep floods
 Drown all my faults and fears;
 Nor let his eye
 See sin, but through my tears¹

With the poems of Thomas Campion, a new temper came into English religious verse. His Two Bookes of Ayres are conjectually dated 1613 by Vivian and 1610 by the Short Title Catalogue. If the latter date is accepted the change in religious verse which came after the closing date of this study can be seen in the exquisite metrical patterns of the poet-musician and in the firmly controlled utterance of sincere religious feeling.

1. Text from Norman Ault's edition of Elizabethan Lyrics 1925, p.413.

The First Booke is concerned with "Diuine and Morall Songs" and examination of those on penitential topics will show how far the verses have advanced since the gnostic commonplaces of Tottel's Miscellany. Campion's paraphrase of Psalm 130, "De Profundis", is a literal one but totally different from the earlier paraphrases of Sternhold and Hopkins. Its long, twelve-syllabled lines are smooth and flowing with no jerky caesura interrupting them monotonously. They are arranged in triplets with feminine rhymes, a more ambitious stanza form than any his contemporaries had attempted.

In the mercies of our God who live secured,
May of full redemption rest in him assured,
Their sinne-sicke soules by him shall be secured.¹

The next poem "View mee; Lord, a worke of thine" is in the more customary quatrains but its fluidity is less usual.

The poet prays that, as he is God's creature, God will cleanse him from his sin that he may gaze on heaven and forget earthly temptations:

But my soule still surfets so
On the poysoned baytes of sine,
That I strange and ugly growe,
All is darke and foule within.

Cleanse mee, Lord, that I may kneele
At thine Altar, pure and white:
They that once they Mercies feele,
Gaze no more on earths delight.

1. III, p.118. My quotations of Campion are from the edition by Percival Vivian, Oxford, 1909. The appropriateness of Campion's musical settings cannot be considered here.

In this lyric, the chief features of Campion's religious thought are seen. Unlike the majority of the poets whose work has been reviewed here, he was convinced that

Though I am but clay and dust,
Yet ~~they~~ grace can lift me high.

An unaccustomed ray of optimism strikes the reader of Campion's poems. The poet is not so preoccupied with the movement of repentance in his sinful soul (for he always writes of his own condition) that he does not see the next step upon the road. It is grace, rather than repentance, which moves him to song. No. XII might be read as a rebuke to such poets as Lever, Collins, Lok and even Southwell:

Lift up to heau'n, sad wretch, they heauy spright,
What thought ~~they~~ sines, thy due destruction threat?
The Lord exceedes in mercy as in might;
His rath is greater, though thy crimes be great.
Repentance needes not feare the heau'ns iust rod,
It stayes eu's thunder in the hand of God.
With chearfull voyce to him the cry for grace,
Thy Faith and fainting Hope with Prayer revive;
Remorce for all that truely mourne hath place;
Not God, but men of him themselves deprive:
Strive then, and hee will help; call him he'll heare:
The Sonne needes not the Father's fury feare.

In conjunction with this more cheerful tone, there is a new note in the exhortations to the sinner to repent. No longer is he urged to consider his sins and the sins of man in general, but now he is urged to live life as it should be lived, to

God's glory. There is a bracing, hearty tone about Campion's exclamations to:

Awake, awake, thou heauy spright,
That sleep'st the deadly sleepe of sinne,
Rise now and walke the waies of light;
'Tis not too late yet to begin.
Seeke heauen early, seeke it late:
True faith still findes an open gate ...¹

and

Lighten, heauy hart, thy spright,
The ioyes recall that thence are fled;
Yeeld they brest some living light;
The man that nothing doth is dead. ²

It is a spirit more akin to the Augustan age than the Elizabethan. The same "Booke of Ayres" contains Campion's fine translation of one of Martial's epigrams, "The man of life upright".³ Yet Campion is of his own age, for his religious poems are not written from observation of society but from his own experience.

Seeke the Lord, and in his wayes perseuer.
O faint not, but as Eagles flye;
For his steepe hill is high;
Then striuing gaine the top, and triumph euer ...⁴

he urges, but finally turns his eyes inward

I the King will seek, of Kings adored;
Spring of light, tree of grace and blisse,
Whose fruit so sou'raigne is
That all who taste it are from death restored.

1. No. XVI
3. No. II

2. No. XIX
4. No. XVIII

A note of sincere longing permeates Campion's religious poetry and links him to Breton, to Walpole and the New Jerusalem lyrics. His best-known devotional poem and the one which survived as a hymn into the Eighteenth Century¹ is the poem which expresses this feeling more finally than any other poet had so far been able to do:

Neuer weather-beaten Saile more willing bent to shore,
Neuer tyred Pilgrims limbs affected slumber more
Than my wearied spright now longs to flye out of my
troubled brest

O come quickly, sweetest Lord, and take my soule to rest.

A summary of Campion's religious poetry, distinctive and fervent in spite of its slenderness, is found in No. XIII.

The poet sees his life allegorically as a pilgrimage.

Characteristically, he looks back with thankfulness at the dangers he has passed, the "caues of hell" and the "throngs of masked Fiends", and his next movement is the equally characteristic gaze upward:

Straight to Heau'n I rais'd
My restored sight,

The quiet humility of the ending holds the secret of sincerity of this neglected part of Campion's work:

And since I had stray'd
From his wayes so wide,
His grace I humble pray'd
Hence-forth to be my guard and guide.

1. Vivian, p. 1 viii

Before reviewing the penitential sonnets written during this period, a subject which could not be accommodated in any of the previous chapters must be noted. Meditation on the Four Last Things, death, judgment, Heaven and Hell, was urged by St. Ignatius Loyola as the first exercise of a sinful soul. The Last Judgement was not as popular a subject as the monologue of a famous penitent but it is mentioned incidentally in such poems as The Teares of the Beloued¹ and Saint Peter's Ten Teares². It forms the moving conclusion to the ambitious sacred-epic, Adams Calamities, and misery where the poets descriptive powers are revealed as equal to their difficult task:

The foggie clowdes shall mvfle vp the daie
 the cheerefull sonne shall movrne in fearefull maske
 and Neptunes taile shall sweepe the staues awaie
 both sune and moone shall shvne their wonted taske
 in fogs shall one, in blood, the other baske
 the darting staues shall cleane the earth as vnder
 and forth shall march, feare, death, darke stormes and
 thunder

Immortall god that glorious sone of thine in flaming fier
 tryomphant shall descende about whose throne shall
 troops of Angells shine
 and thowsand thowsands holy Saints attende ioyous to
 see the longe desiered end
 his chariot wheelles shall skud like lightninge flame
 Justice and mercy haileing on the same

Then such as sleepe in Bowells of the grave oprest with
 dust or weight of marble tomes such as the sea hath
 swallow'd in her cave such as by fier receau'de, there
 former domes or ending had, in beasts unsavoury wombes,
 shall all stand up, repairde with manly shape
 no one so great or small shall then escape.

1. (B3V)

2. The fifth stanza of "The Seventh Teare".

O thow whom once by Pilat base and prowde
 receu'de sharpe doome and sore was terryfide
 graunt mee that when thy Trompet soundes alowde
 to giue great sommones vppon every side
East, west, north, south, where any men abyde
 rowsing the world, with suddaine chainge of state
 I may have thee, my Judge and Advocate.

A less personal application of such a meditation is found in the only lengthy poem on the Four Last Things written during this period. A Fovre-fovld Meditation, Of the Foure last things is now attributed without hesitation to Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel. The first, and only, edition of this extremely dull poem was printed by George Eld in 1606 and was declared on its title page to be "By R.S. The author of S. Peter's complaint". When the only surviving copy of this edition, certainly only the first part and four stanzas of the second, was discovered at Lamport Hall and acquired by the British Museum in 1894, it was eagerly seized by Catholic critics as an addition to the Southwell canon² stable for its length if nothing else. There turned out on inspection to be nothing else. Thurston¹ described the volume and desperately tried to justify Southwell's composition of it as "a series of meditations, probably developed from an exercise of student days, not a poem of some pretensions like "Saint Peters Complaynt". He concluded by hoping that his article would be a "vindication of Fr. Southwell from the disparagement

1. An Unknown Poem of Fr. Southwell the Martyr, Month, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 379, 1896, pp. 33-4

which might result from his own resuscitated rhymes". In 1896 Charles Edmonds printed the complete poem from the copy in M.S. Rawlinson Poet 219, collating it with the copy in the Peter Mowle Commonplace Book and the printed fragment. In spite of the attribution to Arundel given in the Rawlinson manuscript, he affirmed that it was Southwell's work. It was with some relief that Thurston was able, in an article in the Month the same year, to retract his first view and ascribe it correctly to Arundel. He examined the Crowcombe Court manuscript where it is attributed to Arundel, and which includes a copy of Arundel's translation of Lanspergius's Alloquia Jesu Christe ad animam fiden published at Antwerp in 1595. The third edition of 1610 reveals the translator's name. The evidence of four manuscripts was summed up in an article in the Review of English Studies by H.J.L. Robbie in 1929¹. Two, the Rawlinson and Crowcombe Court manuscripts, definitely ascribe it to Arundel where it is dated, in both cases, "after his attaynder", i.e. 1587. The other two manuscripts give no author's name. McDonald clinched the matter by bringing to light a fifth copy in the Harmsworth manuscript where it is entitled "Memorare novissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis. A poeme of the contempt of the

1. "Philip, Earl of Arundel", Vol LXXXVI, 1896, pp. 32-50

world, and **an** exhortation to prepare to die, made by Philip, Earle of Arundel after his attaindour". It would appear that the Arundel and Southwell papers were put together as Southwell lived for some years at Arundel House as chaplain to the Countess after the Earl was imprisoned in the Tower for trying to escape to the Continent to live as a Catholic. McDonald concludes that in 1606 when "W.H."¹ discovered A Fovre-Fovld Meditation, Southwell's verse was still popular enough for his name to have sales-value.

The poem is divided into four parts, telling of "the Houre of Death", "the Day of Judgement", "The Paines of Hell" and "the Joyes of Heauen". It is mainly descriptive and little attempt is made to reveal the poet's own feelings of repentance stirred by his doleful catalogue. It is an exhortation to sinful man, made wearisome by monotony of rhythm and thoroughness of detail. The following quotation will show how lacking in the vital spark the pious poet was:

Oh wretched man, which louest earthly things
 And to this world, hast made thy selfe a thrall,
 Whose short delights, eternall sorrow brings,
 Whose sweet in show, in truth is bitter gall:
 Whose pleasures fade, ere scarce they be possest,
 And grieue them least, that do them most detest.
 Thou art not sure, one moment for to live,
 And at th~~ey~~ death, thou leauest all behind,

1. Most probably the same "W.H." who gave Shakespeare's sonnets to the world. The publisher, G. Eld, is the same.

Thy lands, and goods, no succour then can giue,
 Thy pleasures past, are corsuies to thy mind:
 Thy worldly friends, can yeald thee no reliefe,
 Thy greatest ioyes, will prove thy greatest greafe.¹

The impulse of writing religious sonnets came from France where it was derived, in turn, from Italy. In Italy after the Council of Trent, poets such as Tazillo turned from secular themes to religious ones and in the sonnet a similar movement took place, seen in such works as the Tesaurus di Sacra Scrittura (1547) of Salvatorino. In France the courtier, Desportes, employed the same rhetorical devices in his spiritual as in his amatory sonnets, while minor poets, such as Jacques de Bellay, wrote sonnets solely on religious themes.

In England, the counterpart to Desportes was Henry Constable whose spiritual sonnets are written in the same Petrarchan manner as his earlier love-sonnets, translating the conventional emotions and situations into a religious context. His subjects are usually what his critic, George Wickes² terms, "certain members of the heavenly nobility" and so he is of little significance in a study of the theme of repentance.

Of more interest is Barnaby Barnes who also wrote love-sonnets first, but, largely influenced by du Bellay,

1. B

2. "Henry Constables Spiritual Sonnets", Month, New Series, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1957, pp. 30-40

produced his "Divine Centurie of Spirituall Sonnets" in 1595. Barnes's subjects are not entirely penitential. Most of the sonnets deal in an emotional, exclamatory way with adoration of Christ Who is seen chiefly as a victorious leader. There is no particular order in the collection, though some sonnets are in pairs, notably Sonnets LXXXIII and LXXXV which are "definition" sonnets on Heaven and Hell.¹

The emotional temperature of the sonnets is high, mainly because of the poets' frequent use of apostrophe, exclamation or question and repetition. The sonnet usually opens with an apostrophe^h or an exclamation:

Mercifull Jesus! thine eyeliddes of grace
Decline unto a wicked sory sinner²

or

Fortress of hope, Anchour of faithfull zeale,
Rocke of affiance, Bulwarke of sure trust ...³

In many ways Barnes is akin to John Davies of Hereford. He betrays the same weakness of repetition:

My soule, my soule I feele, I feele is vexed,⁴

and

O Mercy, mercy, which much greater is
Than heauens themselves! Oh truth, oh sincere truth⁵

He has the same love of ornate language and is easily distracted by details.

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1. My quotations are from Grosart's edition, 1875.
 2. XI
 3. XXVIII
 4. LIX
 5. LXV

High, mightie God of gods, and King of kings
 (Whose awful charge through the round world doth rune,
 Eu'n from the rising of the glorious sunne
 Unto the Seas, where hee his Chariot brings).¹

Like Davies his devotion to the Cross is somewhat hysterical
 in tone:

Sweete Sauour from whose fivefold bleeding wound,
 That comfortable Antidote distilde:
 Which that rancke poyson hath expeld and kild,
 In our old wretched father Adam found.
 In Paradise when he deserttesse crown'd,
 Receau'd it as th'enuenomde Serpent willde,
 Insteade of lustfull eyes with arrowes fillde:
 Of sinfull loues which from their beames abound.
 Let those sweete blessed wounds with streames of grace,
 Aboundantly sollicite my poore spirite:
 Ravish'de with loue of thee that didst debase
 Thyselve on earth that I might heauen inherite.
 O blessed sweete wounds fountaines of electre
 My wounded soules ~~salve~~, and saluations neatre.²

He frequently mars the terseness of his form by awkward
 exclamation:

In pittie Lord, (deare Lord) a longer space,
 Or else in mercy (Father) set me free ...³

or weakens its force by monotony of technique. His sonnets
 usually rhyme a b b a a b b a c d c d e e, ending with a
 couplet using a feminine rhyme. There is about his expression
 of repentant devotion, as about that of John Davies of Hereford,
 a suspicion of insincerity. They tried too hard to be poets.
 It is typical of Barnes that this prayer for tears should be
 expressed in these words:

1. XXX

2. II

3. XC

Oh what celestiall Angell will downe send
 Into these eyes some dewzy cloudes of grace
 To wash the furrowes of my withered face
 Defilde with sinne? ¹

Simpler and more moving are the sonnets of Henry Lok who did not come to the religious sonnets by way of the diversion of amatory ones. His Sundry Christian Passions, Contained in two hundred Sonnets was first published in 1593 and in 1597 ¹ was annexed to his pedestrian verse translation of Ecclesiastes. The first part "consisting chiefly of Meditations, Humiliations, and Prayers" alone interests us here. No attempt is made at a sequence of thought or an orderly analysis of repentance but Lok binds his two collections together by a common rhyme scheme. The "sorrowful" sonnets rhyme a b a b b c b c c d c d e e and the "joyful" a b b a a c c a c b b c d d. Each section is begun and concluded with an appropriate sonnet, in which Lok states the underlying theme of the section and prays for divine aid in accomplishing it. The "Preface" to the first section pleads the poet's sincerity of repentance:

It is not Lord the sound of many words,
 The bowed knee or abstinence of man,
 The filed phrase that eloquence affords,
 Or Poets pen that heauens do pearce, or can:
 By heaue cheere, of colour pale and wan,

1. Quotations are from this edition.

By pined bodie of the Pharisay,
 A mortall eye repentance oft doth scan,
 Whose iudgement doth on outward shadows stay,
 But thou (ô God) doest hearts intent bewray,
 For from thy sight Lord nothing is conceald,
 Thou formdst the frame fo out the verie clay,
 To thee the thoughts of hearts are all reveald,
 To thee therefore with hart and minde prostrate,
 With teares I thus deplore my sinfull state.¹

The chief interest in Lok's sonnets lies in their exegetical ingenuity. He uses to the full the technique of a "mirror" or "pattern" of repentance. Almost any Biblical situation, character or text can be seen as an allegory of the penitent sinner's situation. He employs the obvious examples of the lost sheep, the Magdalen, the penit~~ent~~ thief:

Now on the crosse of conscience I remaine,
 To die the death the which eternall is:²

and the prodigal son:

And so perforce to father I retire,
 To whom I prostrate kneele (vnworthie wight)
 To name of sonne not daring to aspire;
 Receiue me yet, sweet sauour, of thy grace,
 Poore penitent, into a seruants place.³

St. Peter is strangely omitted from the list. In addition to these common "patterns", the sinner becomes, to select a few examples for every sonnet is a different allegory, the lame man at Bethesda,⁴ the unfruitful tree,⁵ Ishmael.⁶

-
- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. K | 4. Son. VII, p.7 |
| 2. Son. LXXVIII, p.40. | |
| 3. Son. VI, p.4. | 5. Son. XIII, p.8 |
| | 6. Son. XX, p.11 |

A bondman vnto sin as fleshly race,

Nimrod:¹

A slaue to sin, therefore I did pursue
(Like Nymrod) grace of God, which now I rue ...

Pharoahs' dream:²

The dreame which thou to Pharo didst reueale,
Thou in myselfe hast made me see in deed,

and even Sion laid waste by the Assyrians.³ If it is felt
that Lok often over-reaches himself, as in Sonnet XXVIII
where he compares himself to a leper:

Whose sparrowes of repentance I present
An offering here through worldly desert sent ...⁴

- and it must be admitted that his ingenuity palls after a
while - it must be noted that his best sonnets are not his
most simple. In defence of his plan, Sonnet XCVII on Jacob
must be quoted.

In this case the state of the sinful soul fits
neatly into the story of Jacob's scheming:

So foolish Lord haue my affections bin,
So carelesse of the blessing thou doest giue,
So prone my nature vnto euerie sin,
So thanklesse of thy grace by which I liue,
That violently thy loue away I driue,
And sell the patrimony to ensue,
I carry water in an open siue,
And change for lentil pottage birth-right due.
Too late (alas) my folly I do rue,
Who worlds delight preferred haue so long,

-
1. Son. XXX, p.16
 2. Son. XCIII, p.48
 3. Son. X, p.6
 4. P.15

Reiecting heauenly knowledge treasure true,
 Vnto my soule imposing open wrong,
 Yet not so late o Lord I pardon craue,
 But yet one blessing thou for me wilt haue.¹

In another sonnet he compares the senses to the five foolish virgins of Christ's parable:

Five foolish virgins in my senses dwell,
 And seeke to make me slumber ouer long,
 They ~~dream~~, that all my deeds do fall out well,
 Whereas indeed I headlong run to wrong:
 To vanities their humors do belong,
 And sin, who doth their fancie chiefly feed:
 They ~~cheered~~ are to linkes of lust so strong,
 That their best soile, brings forth but bitter weed;
 They lacke the oyle which should be vsde indeed,
 To lead them to the euerlasting light:
 It growes not Lord in frute of human seed,
 Man sleeps all day and gropes his way at night,
 Vnlesse thou lend thy hand and fill our lampes,
 Our light goes forth with smothering sinful da(m)ps.²

In each of these sonnets, Lok follows the construction his sonnet imposes, the break before the sestet in which the interpretation of the preceding statement is given and the application in the final couplet. In too many of his sonnets he ignores this and the result is flabby and bewildering. In others he ignores the effectiveness of a dramatic opening, which Sonnet XLII on the Gadarene maniac shows he could achieve.

Amidst the graues of death this many a yeare,
 My soule (possessed with all sorts of sin
 Hath liu'd, ... ³

-
1. P. 50
 2. Son. XVII, p.10
 3. P.22

Inversion and repetition are used as padding in many of his sonnets, where the form calls for precision and terseness. One of his worst sonnets is No. LXXVI, which begins:

My soule like silly Ioseph Lord was sold,
 By fleshly brethren his, (vnkind alas,)
 To vanities (the merchants) which behold
 From far they saw to Egipt, which do pass.¹

Although Lok's sonnets are far from arresting in style and although the determination to write the fashionable century wore his ingenuity a little thin, the Sundry Christian Sonnets are of importance in this study. In each one, Lok compares his own spiritual state, not that of man in general, to a Biblical story. Perhaps he was over-enthusiastic in adapting Southwell's technique but he does allow personal feelings to be seen.

The only religious sonnet-sequence, Breton's The Soules Harmony (1602) was analyzed in Chapter IV when an attempt was made to show the poet's progression of thought and sense of structure. It remains to examine the handful of sonnets on repentance by Alabaster, who with Southwell is the most important fore-runner of the Metaphysicals. His sonnets have been defined by G.M. Story as "devotional exercises" and must be seen in the light of his purpose in

1. P. 39

writing them; "to achieve what he called "newness of life": he seems to have written them, at least in part, as exercises to arouse religious fervour, as well as to express the religious exaltation he felt on embracing the Roman faith.¹ Alabaster does not employ the technique of Elizabethan secular verse but uses the intellectual potentialities of the form to the full. His best sonnets are remarkable for their concentration and terseness: his worst are spoiled by ellipsis and a consequent break-down in the sense.

The seven "Penitential Sonnets" are linked to the great body of religious verse of their period not in style but in subject. Each of them expresses a prayer for tears or attempts to define the peculiar nature of the tears of a penitent. In each a particular conceit is worked out smoothly and consistently. The first takes the idea of judgement, which Lever elaborated so carefully in A Crucifixe. The poet's sins have gone to Christ to cry for the punishment of the soul. Christ's attitude of justice and mercy is given in one fine phrase "his lingering vengeance". The only hope for the soul is to send his tears to plead to Christ. They must hurry and are urged to run one after the other:

1. Sonnets, edit. G.M. Story and Helen Gardner, Oxford, 1959, p. xxviii.

There beg of Christ grace for me to repent,
 And if he answer that my sins are great,
 Then let my second tears the suit repeat,
 And if he say I have his grace misspent,
 Then let my third and fourth and fifth intreat,
 Until that his excuses all be spent. ¹

In the next, the metaphor is taken from gardening. The soul grows within the wound in Christ's Side but its fruit is "withered and unsound". The reason can only be lack of moisture and so the poet urges his eyes to

Pour out a shower of tears upon my bed.

The next two sonnets reveal Alabaster's anticipation of the Metaphysicals in his interest in the scientific properties of objects which were merely decorative to the Elizabethan poet. Sonnet 14² plays upon the paradox of water rising. Natural showers fall to earth but showers of repentant tears go first to earth, "humility", and then rise to Heaven. The next sonnet is a meditation upon the universe and its similarity to his own spiritual state. The fusion of Alabaster's intellectual and poetical powers is clearly seen here:

My soul a world is by contraction,
 The heavens therein is my internal sense,
 Moved by my will as an intelligence,
 My heart the element, my love the sun.
 And as the sun about the earth doth run,
 And with his beams doth draw their vapours thence,
 Which after in the air do condense,
 And pour down rain upon the earth anon,

1. Son. 12. P.7

2. P. 8

So moves my love about the heavenly sphere,
 And draweth thence with an attractive fire
 The purest argument wit can desire,
 Whereby devotion after may arise.
 And these conceits, digest by thoughts' retire,
 Are turned into april showers of tears.

Sonnet 16¹ defines the three varieties of tears which flow from the poet's eyes:

The first are bitter, of compunction,
 The second brinish, of compassion,
 The third are sweet, which from devoutness rain, ...

Such a detailed analysis is unprecedented even in this tearful period of literature. The next sonnet begins with a variation of Southwell's description of Christ looking^{at} Peter. Here Christ looks upon the poet's soul and the past is ashamed of what He sees. He strips himself of all his worldly affections, "thine ornaments of woven gold" and instead desires to clothe himself in repentance,

Then weep forth pearls of tears to spangle thee,
 and to weep so much that he is imbedded in tears as the fly in amber for only so will his soul be of value to Christ. The last sonnet, of which the fourth line is missing, juggles with the properties of water and fire. Natural water and fire strive to destroy each other but the poet's tears of repentance and heat of love for Christ encourage each other to grow greater.

1. P.9.

Concentration on tears and various devotional exercises to intensify feelings of repentance are the main features of Alabaster's sonnets. Although his appeal is more to the intellect than the heart and his style is therefore unlike that of the majority of his contemporaries, his subject and his aim is identical.

EPILOGUE.

The Reasons for the Tears.

"All the iudgements, we reade of, doe see, and heare of euery day, knock with maine strokes, beat downe-right vpon our consciences to repentance. The vgly monsters, strange births, and fiery constellations, vnknowne comets, sodaine deaths, maruellous droughts, vnwonted snowes, horrible inundations, foraine wonders, strange apparitions, threatning of heauen aboue with flaming and shooting fire, trembling of the earth vnder our feet, and our houses ouer our heads, as of late dayes: What are all these, but as it were great Cranes with beames and cable-ropes, to draw vs to the Lord by repentance?"

Arthur Dent, A Sermon of Repentance, 1615, p. 34.

An ill-defined but deep sense of sin, a need for identification with one of the prominent Biblical penitents and, above all, tears, tears and more tears, streaming down the masks of St. Peter and the Magdalen bedewing the fleece of the Lost Sheep, dropping at the foot of the Cross and even dimming the eyes gazing at the New Jerusalem - these are the chief features of late Elizabethan religious verse.

This study has tried to show that such verse was more plentiful and more popular than might at first be imagined. Other products of repentance in the period have been ignored but may be mentioned here - prose works such as Nashe's Christs Teares over Jerusalem (1593), Lodge's Prosopopeia (1596) or Green's Groatsworth of Wit (1592), music such as the settings of "Out of the Deep" by Adrian Batten and Thomas Morley, of Phineas Fletcher's beautiful "Drop, drop, slow tears" by Orlando Gibbons or the eloquent "Civitas Sancti Tui" by William Byrd.

Repentance and forgiveness can be seen as the keynotes of Shakespeare's last plays, written, most probably, between 1609-1613. Near-cousin to this theme is that of melancholy, whose diagnosis and victims interested so many Elizabethans and which has been analyzed by such critics as G.B. Harrison and Theodore Spencer. The

1. "Elizabethan Melancholy"; introductory essay to edition of Breton's Melancholicke Humours, 1929.
2. "Elizabethan Melancholy" in John Quincey Adams Memorial Studies, Washington D.C., 1948.

religious treatment of the theme of repentance is but one deep note in a sombre peal.

Why should the writers of the late sixteenth century have turned so naturally to dark topics? Why should the preachers of the time, Smith, Perkins, Greenham, Dent, have cried with varied eloquence, "Repent ye"? Why should Southwell's adaptation of an Italian product of the "literature of tears" have appealed so much to his contemporaries that those who were not dazzled by his verbal fireworks saw to the heart of his message and imitated him in long poems on the movement of repentance in a sinful soul?

The answer, as is so often the case when literary history impinges upon other types of history, is not clear-cut. For Janelle, however, the reason was simple:

The remorse felt for the moral perversion of the Renaissance period accounts for the tearfulness ¹ in fashion after the Council of Trent...

This is but part of the answer, yet the part in which Southwell figures most prominently, for it was he, as has been seen, who introduced into England the post-Tridentine "literature of tears" from the Continent and who harnessed the English elegiac temperament to a religious theme. He could not have done this, however, if "the remorse felt for the moral perversion of the Renaissance period" had not been felt in

1. P.189

England as well as on the Continent.

That it was felt is attested not only by the subsequent popularity of Southwell's verse and by the preachers but by the satirists.

One recent critic writes:

...the point is clear that Elizabethan satire and its satirist were but one part of a larger complex of philosophies, styles, reading, tastes, and literary forms which had as their common centre a renewed and increasingly pessimistic concern about such vital issues as the nature of man and ¹the status of evil in the universal scheme.

This pessimism stemmed from a feeling which the Council of Trent had been quick to recognize, that the glorification of man in the civilization of the Renaissance might have become excessive, that hubris was the greatest of sins, and that life was a little too good at that time to remain ^{so} for long.

In England this uneasy sensation was intensified in the minds of the children of the men who had seen the political turmoils and economic difficulties of the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and the quaking courage with which a small country, which had barely achieved internal security, had faced the overwhelming maritime and military power of Spain. Then had come victory and with it the

1. Alvin Kernan, The Cankered Muse, New Haven, 1959, p. 243. See also his footnote to this sentence.

joyful realization that England possessed the most able statesmen, seamen and, above all, the most able monarch to maintain her greatness. In the 1590's the reaction set in. Those whose fathers had had to practise frugality were afraid of the splendour of the wealth they now possessed. A feeling that vengeance could easily strike the presumptuous and the careless was abroad. The spirit which saw every "strange birth" and natural disaster - and it saw very many of them - as a visitation from God was not a happy one.

Vengeance struck frequently in the years between 1593 and 1613, in the form of the plague. William Perkins, writing in 1595, saw it as a judgement of God:

God hath now begun to cause his iudgements to seaze vpon vs, specially by plague and pestilence; and that even in very principal part of this land: whereby he himselfe doeth (as Iob saith) round 1 vs in the eare, and preach repentance to vs.

In the great plague year of 1603, it is estimated that over 35,104 people died in London and in 1610 the number had dropped only to 1,803². Death must have seemed very close, for if the plague was not rampant, there were epidemics of ague or smallpox. Sudden and violent death was not uncommon and if the slightest suspicion of political intrigue fell upon a man, he seldom lived to live it down. Southwell and Walpole were executed and Verstegan went into exile.

1. Two Treatises, A2.

2. F.P. Wilson, The Plague in Shakespeare's London, Oxford, 1927, pp. 114 & 118.

ex The lesser writers had their difficulties, mainly ones of poverty, for the 1590's and 1600's were not years of plenty. The corn harvests failed five years out of seven at the end of the century and famine became a reality. One historian comments:

If plague and famine were the two Giant Evils which stalked the England of the fifteen-nineties, there was a whole host of lesser ones.¹

Among these he includes the crippling economic policy of monopolies, the depression in trade and the heavy taxation caused by the war with Spain, and the war itself, which was a long-drawn-out anticlimax after the glory of the Armada and "also takes its place among the factors which were undermining the nation's political health".²

The period of this study marks the end of an era and as one by one the lights of great name after name were extinguished by death or disgrace, Frobisher, Drake, Hawkins, Walsingham, Burghley, Essex and Raleigh, the consciousness of this must have implanted itself in men's minds. Last of all, the great queen herself died and if the fin de siècle feeling passed in the enthusiastic welcome of James I, it soon was revived as nostalgia and bitterness in the disappointments of James's vacillating religious and foreign policies and his unlovable cowardice and conceit.

1. S.T.Bindoff, Tudor England, 1950,p.284.

2. Ibid, p.294.

The way in which men's minds turned towards repentance during this period can be most clearly seen in the private meditations of one good man, not possessed of extraordinary insight or courage. The emphasis on penitence in Lancelot Andrewes's Preces Privatae, which most probably date from 1609 onwards, has been pointed out by all his critics, chiefly by Alexander Whyte¹, F.E. Brightman,² and more recently, by Paul A. Welsby, who finds the penitential sections "out of all proportion both in their length and in the extremity of their language".³ Yet Andrewes is not exceptional. His analysis of repentance is similar to that of other divines outlined in Chapter II, while such a passage as the following shows how much he had in common with the religious poets of his time:

Saviour of sinners of whom I am chief,
 despise me not;
 the price of thy blood,
 thy namesake, despise not,
 despise me not, o Lord:
 but look upon me
 with those eyes of thine
 wherewith Thou didst look upon
 the Magdalene at the feast,
 Peter in the hall
 the robber on the rood:

so that
 with the robber I may beseech Thee humbly
 Remember me, Lord, in Thy kingdom:

1. Lancelot Andrewes and his Private Devotions, Edinburgh, 1896.
2. Preces Privatae, 1903
3. Lancelot Andrewes 1555-1626, 1958, p.267

with Peter I may weep bitterly,
 and o that mine eyes were a fountain of tears
 that I might weep day and night:
 with Magdalene I may hear Thee saying
 Thy sins are forgiven thee
 and with her may love much,
 because many sins, because many¹ times
 so many are forgiven me.

As an appendage to the reasons I have suggested for the interest of the Elizabethans in repentance, I quote the formidable list given by F.E. Brightman in his search for the explanation of Andrewes's obsession with it:

...there is the same sense of dangers as we find in the Sermons - both the permanent dangers which beset all times & those which he could see illustrated at the moment whether at home or abroad. There is the danger of the adulation of monarchs, of which he could see enough in the court of James I, where he was himself an exception in his refusal to flatter; & the peril "to the temperance & holy simplicity of the people" which came with the new wealth & prosperity. And there are the political dangers & evils - the "anarchy" of France, the "tyranny" of Philip II, the foreign domination which the Netherlands felt, & England dreaded till the Armada was shattered; stupidity & secularity & religious indifference on the part of rulers & legislators; the corruption of justice, which the history of the fall of Bacon shewed to be possible in the existing condition of the courts; the policy of massacre & assassination, illustrated by the Bartholomew & the Gunpowder Plot, the career of Alva in the Netherlands, the attempts on Elizabeth's life, & the murders of William the Silent & the Guises, the assassination of Henri III & Henri IV of France; the violence & licence & sacrilege of the military, illustrated in the Irish Wars & the Thirty Years War of which Andrewes lived to see the first eight years; the strife of parties which he could see everywhere; & the danger of a failure of "good & honest" men to fill

1. Brightman's edition, p.26.

high places & the consequent accession of adventurers of which perhaps he recognized symptoms in the favouritism of James. And in his repeated prayer for "the speeding & reinforcement of the Christian army against the enemies of our most holy faith" & for "our brethren in the galleys", we recognize the peril of the Turks & their movements in Eastern Europe & the Mediterranean, while no doubt he has also the meance of Spain in₁ view & the galley system of European nations.

The answer to our questions seems to lie in a combination of all these possibilities. The difficulty is in the fact that none of the religious poets of the period was great enough to find the reasons. None possessed the prophetic vision needed for this. Even Southwell, the finest and the most aware of the temper of the time, did not have it, while Breton, only slightly less fine, would have written of the subjects he did in any age. This, more than the minor faults of excessive length and ingenuity, is the reason for the dearth of good religious poetry at this time. The poets were in a curious position. They could not forget their own feelings enough to become good preachers and they were not bold enough to concentrate entirely on themselves. The mask of St. Peter, St. Mary Magdalen, the Lost Sheep or the Penitent Publican was a necessary concealment behind which they tried to look both inward and outward. The best poets, Southwell, Breton, Lever

Ellis, as we have seen, dropped the mask as they became absorbed in their inward vision. A few, such as Collins, Verstegan and the author of Marie Magdalens Lamentations, dropped it as they looked outward to their readers. With the sonneteers, chiefly Alabaster and Lok, the mask was always practically transparent.

We become increasingly aware in the work of such men, that repentance is an intense human feeling and that the most adequate expression of it must always be subjective and personal. It is no coincidence that the religious poet who was to illustrate this most clearly began writing at the end of the period of this study, the sonnets which a recent critic¹ has shown to be controlled by the Anglican doctrine of contrition. The way had been prepared for him.

Religious poetry is seen in this period in transition. The anonymity of the cloister has gone as surely as the cloister itself. Religion is now everyman's concern and a matter of urgency. The poet is beginning to emerge as a person and similarity of theme no longer means similarity of expression. It is as though in Middle English devotional poetry, we had stood in a church and heard a voice speaking

1. Douglas L. Peterson, "John Donne's Holy Sonnets and the Anglican Doctrine of Contrition". Studies in Philology July 1959, Vol.LVI, No.3, pp.504-518.

from behind a heavy rood-screen. Now the rood-screen is beginning to crumble away to reveal the ecstatic or anguished figure at the altar, but we must not yet approach too near.

A P P E N D I X A

"Adams Calamitie, & misery" by G. E.:

an unpublished poem in Egerton MS 2477.

The Manuscript consists of ^{sixteen leaves} ~~twenty pages~~ of paper roughly the size of an Elizabethan quarto. It is very neatly written in a fine secretary hand with hardly any alterations or mistakes. It is obviously a neat copy and was probably intended to be presented to the person to whom the dedicatory epistle was written. As no name is given and no space for such an insertion is left, it is possible that several copies of the manuscript were given to several patrons. The contents are solely as given here; there is no indication of any pages missing. The binding is modern. On the fly-leaf is inscribed "Purchsd of J. Harvey 9 Mar 1878." Enquiry from the staff of the Manuscript Room revealed that Harvey (otherwise unknown) sold the manuscript to the British Museum in 1878 with a large amount of music. The music was carefully catalogued but no description of the manuscript was given. Its provenance therefore remains a mystery. The official description of the manuscript is in The Catalogue of Additions to MSS in the British Museum in the years 1876-1881, 1882.

Date. The manuscript is dated by Hazlitt c.1600 and, more generally by the catalogue "Temp. Jas I." The poet was influenced by Giles Fletcher as can be seen from his parade of learning, especially in his apologetic dedication and "Preface" and his eye for pictorial detail particularly in

the closing portion. It is seen most clearly in his title, which in its balance is less happy counterpart to Christs Victorie, and Triumph, and his epic plan which is more ambitious than Fletcher's and incidentally than Milton's. I would therefore date the poem soon after 1610.

The author reveals himself in the manuscript only by his initials. Hazlitt offers no suggestion of identification but the B.M. Catalogue suggests G. Ellis with a query.

This may be solely because Ellis is known to have written a lengthy religious poem at this time. Although little weight can be placed on stylistic evidence, as in this case, there is no external evidence for or against the assumption it is worth-while pointing out the similarities between Adams Calamitie and The Lamentation of the lost Sheepe.

Both poems have two comparatively rare features: they are written in rhyme-royal, which as we have seen, was not the most common form for religious verse at this time, and they each have a Latin motto (or mottoes in the case of The Lamentation) preceding, and, in the Lamentation, following their poem. The only other poet who often gave a motto is Breton and his is usually "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and not, as in the cases of these two poems, particularly appropriate to the subject. It may be noted that both poems display their authors knowledge of the classics, both in citation of authorities, and in allusion unusual at that time. The

Lamentation refers to Niobe and cites Aurelius and Plato, while Adams Calamitie refers to Phlegethon and cites Seneca, Cicero (although with some confusion as to whether he was one or two people, Tulli and Cicero) and Plato again. In both poems the poet shows a fondness for ornate description - the opening of The Lamentation and the conclusion of Adams Calamitie. Little emphasis can be put on similarity of expression but it may be noted that Ellis refers in his dedicatory epistle to The Lamentation to his subject as 'no idle or vnprofitable substance' and the same word is used twice¹ in similar contexts in Adams Calamitie. The phrase "ould Israell" is used in each poem. In The Lamentation, it occurs as:

Paine-pearced Shepheard, master of that fold,
Ould ISRAELL brought into thy spacious field, 2.

and in Adams Calamitie as:

What neede wee care though Aberaham vs forgett 3
and that ould Israell doe vs not knowe...

Interest in Fletcher's decorative style is seen in the use of "silver" in such phrases as:

About her head the swift-wing'd CHERUBINS 4.
Houer their siluer pinions in her eies

and

Then should my thoughts soare vp with silver winges.⁵

1. (Pp.4 and 6v.
2. (Gv), stanza 76.
3. P.19.
4. The Lamentation, (B3v), stanza 3.
5. Adams Calamitie, p.17.

In the absence of any more conclusive proof of authorship it may be presumed that G. Ellis is probably the author of Adams Calamitie, & miserie.

1. Most profitable and pleazante Poems, worthe to bee red and respected; drawene from the pure fountaine of flowing streames to euerlasting salu(a) con Compiled by G:E:
2. Adams Calamitie, & misery; cured by Christs humanitye, & Mercy: Disce mori mundo : Viuere disce deo.
3. (Epist. (so at head of each page)

The Epistle Dedicatory

As they wch ar of slender capassitie / bee able for to iudge that in heaven / or earth there ys nothing of greater worth / or more estimation then the Death and / Passion of our Sauour Jesus, Even so / of Consequence, there cannot bee anything / more pleasing vnto him, then in a reverant / remembraunce of him wee daylie conne / ouer his Lyf ~~Death~~ and Resorection / zealouzly meditating vppon the / Same: For as an auncient writer / affermyth yt doth not only spurre vs / forward to vnfayned Repentaunce of / our Sinnes, but opneth the shut vpp / fowbtaines of teares. And although / the sweet and glorious passion of / our Saviour lyeth most playnly / Compiled by the fower most sacred / and glorious Evangelist easye / to bee lookte into, by who soeuer of an / humble spirritt (vnto wch god cheifly / ympurteth his grace of vnderstand-

inge) / yet to take advantage of tyme wch / might haue
 beene worse bestow'de / I haue according to my slender
 skill / subtrackted certaine breifes from / this most
 Sacred & excelent history: / And the rather to carry the
 mynd (wch / for the most part) ys desirous of / varrietie,

4. within the Compas of devout / Substaunce and worthie of
 reading / I haue converted the same into certaine / Poems
 or verses making choice of yo(r) worship before any other
 to bee / partaker thereof, And albe yt I / know the
 handling of the worke ys / no waie worthie to come wth in /
 the Center of so Iudiciall a / Sensure, yet the substaunce
 will / partly manyfest that weedes haue / there vertues,
 and a harsh line / may as well expresse a desier to /
 desarue, as the loftie stile of "Tulli or the filed phrase
 of Cicero* (sic) / Thus Confidently dependinge / uppon the
 report of yo(r) accoustomed / (-sic)

- (v) myldly to Censure of this the first / and weakest parte wch
 my hart hath / intended towards^e you, I most / humbly comend
 you & your(e)s to the / defence of heaven & the gider of all
 / Just equallitie.

finis.

5. The preface or Introduction

Who doth not see how men of passing skill
 Convert Rare giftes wch heauen to them hath lent
 fabling storyes of forked Parnas hill
 quite counter course vnto gods purpose ment
 or vertues lore wch is his wills intent
 wresting of Nature & his gifts of grace
 to bring forth Thissells or some frute more base.

groce

Such ympietie doth now remoune
that heauenly Influence is not respected
and Natures force ys held but weake & vaine
gods holy heastes ar cheifly now neglected
sin hath the soules of men so much infected
that from the purpose wee weare made vnto
wee struing alter to our overthrowe.

- (v) But see to whome Antiquities doth yeeld
(Plato) by name ys of oppinion
that two good Angells every one doth sheelde
one the lyfe, thother the profession
destined by planets constellacon
wch if they doe with any disagree
of Labors great, smale profitt they shall see.

Olde Senec saith a forced inclination
seldom or never thriveth in good Artes
Nature constrainde doth kill Imagination
yt dulls the braine & makes obdurathartes
besottethe mynd & inteletive partes
and therefore counsell's wth wisdom graue
to practize that the Spirit most doth crave

And that most heauenly Philosopher Pall
seekes to reforme vs vnto the pleasure
of (Christ) distributing his graces all
into our nature by heauenly measure
bee yt more or lesse of his rich treasure
his counsell ys contented wee should rest
for hee that giues doth know what is the best

6. And sure yt is not any humaine flesh
wch drawes the spirit of eternall powre
whose Nature still, his wisdom doth refresh
by wch instinct they chuse there sweet or sowre
what signe so ere predominants the howre
but p(ro)fitts most by that profession
where Nature workes by inclination

Nor in the lymites of the worldes great frame
no arte vocation or Manuell trade
hath good successe proufe witnesseth the same
except the ground by heauens great powre bee layd
by whose effects the mynd ys constant made
all sapient sayinges by learning bought
approveth chainge ys fickell false & nought.

And for to force what hea~~ven~~ in me hath plast
I wrestell might, but striue against the streame
and wronge my thoughts wch ar^e diuine & chaste
by writting Comick, or some Tragick seane
aye mee, too many descants on that theame
let those that lyst seeke to pervert gods will
my Muse soares vp vnto sweet Sion hill

(v) Why should I then chainge method of my songe
or alter my intents though I but saie
to please a few and wounde my selfe with wronge
hee ys accurst that seekes him selfe to slaye
my rest is sett whereon I meane to staie
what's ere I writt bee yt in proes or verse
of vertues lore the substaunce shall rehearse.

In humble praire first god herewith bee pleas'd
next I Comend my lines vnto yo^r lyking
in wch good happ my hart shall find such ease
of sacred subiect, I will not rest indyting
and all my care Ile bend to you^(r) delighting
In whose Rare goodnes if I fauour find
I will applaud the vertues of yo(r) mynd.

If by yo^r worth yow countenanne my worke
wth kind acceptaunce as I hope you will
and yt defend from envies secret surke
and Momus mynds wch seeketh for to kill
the sweet applause this substaunce craveth still
my gaine is greate my guerdon graunted ys
and next I writ shall make amends for this.

7. In hope whereof haueing no other Cause
Ile cease delaie, the rest doth straight insue
where you shall find in every little clause
my lines (but short) yet subiect euer true
stryving to presse within yo^r vertuous vew
blest bee you^r eyes, my workes for to peruse
whose splendant raies, may quicken still my Muse.

(v) Poems profitable and pleazant to be red & respected

A hea~~ven~~ bred thought ys crept into my mynd
and fires my hart wth flames vnquenchable
concetes of might to mightines doth bind
thinges past compare, and most availeable
but to expresse the same I am unable
& yet my laboring soule strives with my quill
from heavens great Roule a poem to distill.

Great Father graunt that I may couch in measure
 & by thy evning lett my verse be squarde
 to spred abroad thy cheife concealed treasure
 of thy rare mercies and of best regarde
 wch merritt most, for to bee tould or harde
 lett me thy sacred misteries discern
 that teaching others them, my self may learne.

8. Drive out this high-pitcht drift by mee intended
 graciously graunt in thy blessed will
 that by my lines, thy workes may bee comended
 temper my tongue to singe of Sion Hill
 whose vertues cheare, all eares wth wonder fill
 yt is the Mount where thou wth glories great
 hath strongly buylt thy euerlasting seate.

Thou art the fount, from whose al^l lively springe
 conduits of grace and streames of good doe flowe
 all tourne^{are} served by thy replenishing
 and on sweet sion Hill thy wonders show
 being neither suppliant to hie nor low
 but ocean like thy fulnes still discharges
 supplying every want wth thy francke largis

Strike saile my Muse and launch not in so far
 beare of aloofe & hold thy barke at baie
 writts thow of heaven that^b hath no skill of star
Charybdis deepe & silla maie thee fraie
 & in thy hie-thought prize worke thy decaie
 for many ship in gulfe of curious doubt
 ouerwhelme themselves & never can get out.

- (v) See then thou out thy course along the shore
 and beare a poynt where land markes maie direct
 the shallow waters best can brooke ^{an} ore
 but tryfling wherryes by the seas ar chect
 in poynts so hie lett faith thy sailes direct
 gods breathing spirit bee thy happie wind
 and sacred word a load star to thy mynde.

Yf hee that lookes against the firy sparkes
 of glittering Phebus getts a sunburnt face
 if hee that wth a fixed eye sight markes
 that flameing Globe (although from distant place
 ys purblind made wth that al fulgent-grace
 who dare sustaine the darting lookes of him
 that lightning like disperseth life & lym

But as the Sun (earths fairest husbandman)
annexed to the wheeling firmament
descendeth not from his pavillion
but sends from thence his frutfull blandishment
even so great Joue to further my intent
I humbly praie, send forth thy holy sprite
to guide both hart & hand as I doe writt.

9. Great father (whome no lumpish brains conceive)
how thou dost intimate to humaine sence
the knowledge of thy selfe, & giuest vs leaue
to feele thy presence in this worlds contentes
& read thy glory in theise monuments?
 traîne on my slender Muse with heed & care
 wing'de with thy grace & mercies past compare

Avnt who so lyste vnto the wheeling spheeres
as scorning of the meane, nor hie nor low
above the heauens lett other fetch carrers
and ouer bound those balls of sparkling show
swell with the pride of loftye thinges they know
 I sated am if god vouchsafe the favour
 'wth salt of blisse my moderen lines to savor

I only feare my witts in feeble late
thow the sharpe sorrowes of externall care
should faint, & wordes should faile me to relate
the wondrous tyomphes of thy gloryes faire
but if thow please to yeeld my trembling dare (sic)
 the healthfull shaddow of thy gentle winge
 I shold inabled bee thy Actes to singe

- (v) The want whereof did blind o^r sages olde
and blindfolde they sedu'ste the vulgar sorte
in keeping course wch thow had'st not inrowlde
counter to that the scripture doth exparte
leaving whose compas they must needs com shorte
 Truthes surest carde, when once they did abandon
 they lost them selues & others left at Random.

But now thy truth exceeds that blazing sparke
wch darted ys from Titans flaming hed
and wth his beames enlumaneth the darke
where by thy heastes are evidently red
that through the worlde thy mercies may beespred
 now Ignorance hath no excuse to tell
 or meane that may presearue from deadly hell

Then geather plumes of perfitt speculation
and spred the winges of thy hie, soring mynde
towre alofte in heauenly contemplation
from this darke world, whose dampes, the soule doth blind
& like the Native broode of Eagles kinde
on that bright beame of glory fixe thine eyes
cleared from groce mystes of fraile infirmyties

10. Humbled with feare and awfull reverence
before the Throne of his bright maiestie
thow thy self downe, with trembling innocence
ne dare looke vp with corruptable eye
on the dred face of that great Deity
for feare yf hee should chaunce to looke on thee
thou come to nought & quit confounded bee

What shall I then with low conceted weight
take counter course & couchant to the ground
creepe in base muddy objects next my sight
as if my intelective parts weare drownde
Johe having plast faith in my hart profounde
no, no, yt bvrnes with zealous deepe desier
how to contriue, to sett more harts on fier

The almightye mover essence of my soule
Sortes to my Muse and tells mee by his word^es
that if I dooe in ought his name extole
in word or worke wch glory him affordes
and that my life vnto the same accordes
for dew reward vnto my true intent
I shall reioyce, when others shall repent.

- (w) Then mount alofte my leaden thoughted spright
exile the earth and soyle thou wallowst in
leave of the world wth filthie pleasures dight
and seeke the Salve that cover may thy sin
let heauenly treasure, bring thy traffick in
sett up swifte saile, let christ thy Pilot bee
& nest asur'de his heauenly port to see.

Great god of might that Raineth in the mynd
and all the bodie, to thy will dost frame
victor of gods, subduer of man kinde
that dost the lyons and fell Tigers tame
making there cruell rage thy scornfull game
In admira^{ble} things stands thy delight
who can expresse the glory of thy might

Cease cease my pen giue leaue vnto my parte
 To let to thincke how great his glory is
 wth out compare euen in his vtmost parte
 how much more those essenciall parte of blisse
 wch hee partakes to those, that hee calls his
 no tounge, no pen, is able to expresse
 the boundles worth, of his pure perfitnes

11. His kingdoms septer ys a rightuous Rod
 where wth to Duste hee bruseth all his foes
 and that proude Dragon, boasting as a god
 vnder the rigor of his iustice throwes
 Dyinging him downe to perpetuall woes
 oh cease my soule thy sence ys all too weake
 of his great powre & glory for to speake

Ah then vouchsafe thow wonder of all might
 from whence all grace & wisdom still doth flow
 to yeeld my brest such measure of thy light
 that in thy truth I may abound and flow
 & from the same I never swarue or goe
 nor in no earthly thing I take delight
 but in thy sweet and amyable sight

Most blessed spirit and pure lampe of light
 eternall spring of blisse and glory trew
 of thine abundant grace into my spright
 Distill one Drope of thy celestiall dew
 that may my lines with sweet infuse ymbrew
 and giue mee words equall vnto my thought
 to tell that Mervells by thy mercies wrought

- (v) Thou still abounding wth all powrefull grace
 flowing wth frutfull loue still loues to gett
 thinges like thy self & to inlarge thy race
 a seacond broode though not in powre so greate
 yet full of beautie thou didst them create
 as Infinit increase of Angells bright
 all glistning glorious in their makers sight

Both daye & night to them thou mad'st all on
 thy glorious beames on them did still extend
 that darknes there appeered neuer non
 there daie nor blisse should neuer haue an end
 but ternles tyme in pleasure still should spende
 nor euer should there happines decaie
 had they not dar'de there Lord to disobey

But pride, ymagination of long resting place
 did vnto them vnto with greedie could ambition
 that they might seeke to seeke state how to increase
 about the fortune of there first condition

But pride ympatient of long resting peace
did pufe them vp with greedie boulde ambition
that they did cast there state how to increase
aboue the fortune of there first condition
to sitt in gods owne seate without Comission
bright Lucifare called the childe of light
drew millions more against there god to fight

12. Thalmightie seeing there so boulde assaie
kindled the flame of his consu^{ing}ing yre
and wth his only breth blew them awaie
from Byetie to wch they did aspire
to Phlegiton a lake of damned fier
where they in darknes & dred terror dwell
hating the happye light from wch they fell.

But that eternall founte of Loue and grace
still flowing forth his goodness unto all
now seeing left a waste and emptie place
in his wide Pallace through those Angells fall
Cast to supplie the Same and to install
a new vnkowne people therein
whose Roote from basest earth shold first begin

Therefore of Claye, base, vile & next to nought
yet formed by wonderouse skill & by his might
according to a heauenly patterne wrought
wch hee had fashioned in his wise foresight
he man did make & breath'de a living spright
hee him adorn'd most beautifull and faire
indew'de with wisdom, Riches heauenly rare

- (v) But Man forgetfull of his makers grace
no les then Angells whom hee did ensue
fell from the hope of promist heauenly place
into the mouth of death to sinners dewe
and all his offspring into thraldom threw
where they for ever shold in bonds remaine
of neuer dead, yet euer dying paine

Tell that sweet lord of light wch him at first
made of meere love & after liked well
seeing him lye like creature long accurst
in that deepe horror of despayred hell
him wretch in Dole, would let no longer dwell
b but Cast out of that bondage to Redeeme
& paie the prize, all were his debt extreeme.

What mercy more, how woulde wee more be bleste
 then from the chaines of sathan to be taine
 great Joue vouchsafe to powre into my brest
 thy sparkling grace to spred in every vaine
 that I may show how Christ for me was slaine
 and melt my spirit into admyring thought
 of that sweet blisse his blood for me hath brought

13. Let all the earth in wonder now aryse
 and mearvell at the workes of thy creation
 wch doth appeare vnto o^r mortall eyes
 yet that sweet worke of our salvation
 passeth compare or Imagination
 wch mistery vnto my hart doth call
 and saith his mercy far exceedeth all

Forth from the boundles maiestie of heauen
 hee pleased was into the earth to com
 in pittye looking on poore Adam Oreuen
 from Paradise; by his fowle sin undon
 and curde his sore wch lastingly had Ronne
 with that sweet balme compacted of his blood
 then wch nothing could ere have don him good.

Behold when as the fulnes of the tyme
 wch his deere father fixed did expire
 hee sent him downe vpon this solled slyme
 the fathers will was still the sons desier
 & of our flesh no substaunce any hier
 to shape him self a bodie sweet & myld
 thus humbly hee o^r glory first did buylde

- (v) Out of the bosome of eternall blisse
 in wch hee rayned with his glorious Sire
 hee downe descended like a most demisse (sic)
 & subiect thrall in fleshes fraile attire
 that hee for him might paie sins deadly hire
 & him restore vnto that happie state
 in wch hee stood, before his haples fate

Hee pleased was incarnat for to bee
 within the wombe of Virgin Mary, pure
 behold what greif the Aple from the tree
 by Adams fall vnto vs all procure
 wch Christ in flesh is com for to indure
 that wee might serue him in eternall blisse
 and bee of those ioyes of his p(ar)takers
 p(ar)takers of those ioyes of his

In flesh at first the guylt comytted was
therefore in flesh yt must bee Satisfide
nor spirit nor Angell though they man surpasse
could make amends to god for mans mysguide
but only Man him self, whose self did slyde
so taking flesh of sacred virgins wombe
for mans deere sake her did a man becom.

14. Oh sacred mystery and full of truth
of wonderous treasure and hidden store
wch did'st vouchsafe in thy tender youth
by Circumsition to shed thy gore
according to the Lawe perfixt before
wch witnesseth thow earnest to fulfill
& not offend, what was thy fathers will

And or thow did'st attaine to manly strength
thy vertue great his true effects did show
sweet Morning starre appearing now at length
that wee by thee thy Fathers will ^{might} know
wch thow didst preach & teach as thow did'st goe
vnto Hierussalem the Lambe to eate
prescrybing and to Cerimoniall meate

Where being com and knowing what shold fall
the Sacrement thow pleased to ordaine
and showde the same to thy Apostles all
that yt of thee a token might Remaine
vntill the tyme that thow should'st com againe
the world to Iudge thy foes for to deface
wch held thee then so poore so vile, so base.

- (v) ((Oh)) saviour sweet when as the tyme drew neare
that sathans strength must sting thy tender heele
thow comfort tooke in fathers wordes so deere
wch said his hed thy mightie powre shold feele
and weart the rocke wch perish shold the keele
of that proude ship the serpint sailed in
when by his crafte made Euse & Adam sin

That hatefull spirit of blacke eternitie
might sated bin of thy exceeding might
when as by fastie wildernes extremitie
hee tempted thee; as hunger sought to fight
for foode; wch flesh did challenge as his right
but then, and when hee lifted thee on Hie
thy powre prevailed & forst him for to flye.

yet like him self in envie & wth pride
 hee seeketh still, for to vphold his raigne
 and in the end a wretched Caitif spide
 whose greedy thoughts rep^esented nought but gaine
 and vnto him the serpiⁿt hies amayne
 oh bolde attempte oh cuning curs^ed devill
 Whose powre prevailed to conq^uer one of twelve.

15. Now Judas seekes his maister to betraye
 and forth hee went to prize his blood so sweete
 no blessed thoughts inc^ounter in his waie
 hee hasteth fast the scribes & Preists to meete
 for sathans powre, doth winge the Traitors feete
 the prize is pitcht hee hath receau^d his hire
 the wretch thus wraps him self in endles fire.

Ah wofull man why had'st thou not the grace
 vnto thy Lord for to haue com with teares
 his mercy shines on the repentant face
 but thou camst armed with bills with Clubbs & speares
 thy stony hart had put awaie all feares
 & for to Cronnackle thy dam^ed misse
 thou m^urdred'st him with couller of a kisse

Petter inrag'de with true affecting Loue
 drew forth a sword his master to defend
 who might Cemaund, whole legions from aboue
 with Angells speedvnto him to descende
 then Petter sheath; & let thy rashnes ende
 for well hee knew his fathers pleasure was
 to paye sins debt, that he through death shold passe.

(v) And now beholde the spo^oles lamb is led
 by barbarous satellytes to Anas firste
 where wretched Iewes do gather on ahead
 and for his blood there c^oncared harts do thirst
 thus Sathan strives to make them more accurst
 & then they hurried him to Pontious proude
 where Crucifige the cryde out a lowde (sic)

Almightie god Iehoua great in powre
 shed downe the moysture of they heauenly grace
 that zealous grief may harts & soules devour
 to thinke vppon o^r saviours wofull case
 how hee for vs was strooke vppon the face
 his temples crownd with sharpest pricking spine
 and laught to scorne his gory most diuine.

While murthering thought thus in there brests they tosse
 hee ys brought forth prepared for the mounte
 & on his backe they laie a heauie crosse
 on wch hee must giue up the great accounte
 for sin; wch sands; in nowber doth surmounte
 wth labor great hee thirsteth & doth call
 for drinke, instaed, they giue him bitter gall.

16. Then that most blessed bodie, wch was borne
 without all blemish or reprochfull blame
 hee freely gave to bee both rent and torne
 of cruell hands, who with dispitfull shame
 Reviling him (that) then most vile became
 supposing him to bee both sounde & free
 tell they him ~~steer~~ by most vnivst decree

Oh bleed my hart, oh mourne my soule to see
 they sauour sweet ys lifted vp on high
 through hands & feete he's nayled to a tree
 the blessed Lambe refuseth not to dye
 and hel-bred woes inforceth him to crye
My god, my god, why dost thou me forsake
 behold the paines wch christ did for vs take

Where ys the hart that ys more hard then flint
 where ys the mynd that neuer felt remorse
 where ys the soule no tender thoughts ymprint
 where ys the weight nere mourned at a corse
 where ys the man that neuer teare could force
 Oh lett him see this slaughtered Lambe for sin
 & hart & soule in flouds of teares shall swime

- (v) Oh huge and most vnspeakeable empression
 of lous deepe wound that pearst the pittious harte
 of that deere lord with so intire affection
 and sharply launching every inner parte
 dolours of death into his soule did darte
 doing him dye, that never it desarued
 to free his foes wch from his heastes had swarved

The shepherd slaine where is the flocke becom
 Aie meedispert & fled I wot not where
 they haste with speede & into corners roone
 least ravning wolves there blessed bodies teare
 or Tirants rage there golden fleeces sheere
 when third day came there louing lord & marsterr
 to cure there woes applied hys living plaster

Thus hee o^r Life hath lefte vnto vs free
 free that was thrall, & blessed that was band
 nor ought demands, but that wee loving bee
 as hee him self hath loude vs afore hand
 and bound wee or w^{ith} an eternall band
 his first to love that vs so deerely bought
 & next our bretherin, to his Image wroughte.

17. Than death leave of to boaste of victory
 cease hell to brage of thy most hatefull stinge
 for Christ hath foyld thy sovererytie
 the praise where of in heauen and earth doth Ringe
 by soules wch hee from bondage base did bringe
 they praise his name wch broken hath the hed
 of that foule feind wch them to thraldom led

Oh that I had some Angells spirit of grace
 to tipe my tonge with one inchaunting laie
 for to discribe how hee ascends the place
 from whence hee came & ~~must~~ remaine for aie
 till Trompets sound doe tell vs that wee maie
 on foulded cloudes behold him on a Throne
 comforting those wch long for him did mone

Then should my thoughts soare vp w^{ith} silver winges
 in wonder rauisht how the heauens did ope
 & take him in; but flesh that daylie sins
 is all too weake with such hie thinge to coape
 then lett my Comfort bee in stedfast hope
 that as hee ys now crowned heauens great king
 through his deere blood hee will us thither bringe

Vntill wch tyme let harte & softned sprighte
 be inly tucht wth heauenly meditation
 how by his merrit from eternall night
 hee hath vs brought vnto salvation
 and by his spirites exhalation
 leane him to loue, that loued vs so deere
 & in o^r brests his greifes & torment^s beare.

Beegining first where hee in cradled was
 in simple cratch wrapt in a wad of haie
 betwene the toylefall Oxe and humble Aesse
 And in what rages & in how base araie
 the glory of our heauenly riches laie
 when him the sillie shepherds came to see
 whom greatest Princes sought on lowest Knee

And ~~there~~ read on the story of his Lyfe
 his humble carriage, his vnfaultie waies
 his cankered foes, his toyle & mightie stryfe
 his paines his pouertie, his sharpe assaies
 through wch hee past his miserable daies
 offending none & doing good to all
 Yet being mallest both of great & small

18. Then lett thy hardned hart wch feeles no paine
 emperced bee with pittifull Remorse
 and let thy bowells bleed in every vaine
 at sight of his most sacred heauenly Corse
 so torne & mangled wth malitious force
 & lett they soule whose sins his sorrow wrought
 consume in teares, & groane in greeved thought.

Wth all thy harte, wth all thy soule, and mynde
 seeke him to love & his beheastes ymbrace
 all other loues where wth the world doth blinde
 weake fancies ar & worke affections base
 wch thou mvst striuing seeke how to displace
 & giue thy self vnto him full and free
 that full & freely gaue him self for thee

Then shalt thou feelee thy spirit so possest
 & rauisht with deuouring great desier
 of his deere self that shall thy feeble brest
 inflame with loue & sett thee all on fier
 Wth burning zeale; through every part intyre
 that lyfted vp wth admirable loye
 thy wonted sins, thou daylie wilt distroye

- (v) And then recount from his Natiuitie
 vntell the hower hee yeelded vp the ghoste
 his wonders greate and deepe diuinitie
 wherewth our soules delighted maie bee moste
 & where vpon wee haue great'ste cavse to boaste
 & wee shall find in three & thirtie yeare
 the prayre hee taught excells & hath no peere

Right well hee sawe wee know not what to aske
 & well did know the neede wee had to craue
 wherefore hee hath prescrybed vs a taske
 & fornd to praye, with surance for to haue
 p(ar)don for sins, yf others wee forgaue
 in heauen or earth how can wee find more fauour
 then to bee taught in praier to saie (our father)

Come all yow soules that grewed or wth sin
 kneele downe with mee & lifte yow^r hands on hie
 this blessed praier, perforce must mercy win
 his word ys truth and can yt not denye
 wee ar the sonnes of gods greatmaiestie
 though not by nature, by adopted grace
 and fathers loue, will childerens fault deface

19. What neede wee care though Aberaham vs forgett
 and that ould Israell doe vs not knowe
 wee haue a father wch in heauen ys sett
 & by this praier Christ vnto vs doth show
 that wee should haue no father here belowe
 for in respect of this most heauenly blisse
 no earthly man of father worthy ys

Sith then gods euerlasting Maiestie
 ys safely seated in his loftye Throne
 his sonne possessing equall dignitie
 & wee through him, are called now his owne
 then let vs not with Angells thence be throwne
 but watch & pray till he wch is assended
 shall com againe, when sins shall bee condemned.

The day whereof, no man can neede the date
 wch stife shall strike the Rowte of men secure
 and striking warne, when warning ys too late
 for tymes delaye, no longer may induor
 then coms thy sonne (oh father essence pure)
 they glorious sonne wth maiestie shall come
 in shape of Man once formed in the wombe.

- (v) The foggie clowdes shall muffle vp the daie
 The cheerefull sonne shall mourne in fearefull maske
 and Neptunes taile shall sweepe the starnes awaie
 both sunne and moone shall shunde their wonted taske
 in fogs shall one, in blood, the other baske
 the darting starnes shall cleave the earth asunder
 & forth shall march, feare, death, darke stormes &
 thunder.

Immortall god that glorious sonne of thine
 in flameing fier tryomphant shall descende
 about whose Throne shall troopes of Angells shine
 & thousand thousand^s holy Saints attende
 ioyous to see the longe desired end
 his charriot wheelles shall skud like lightnige flame
 Iustice & mercy haileing on the same.

Then such as sleepe in Bowells of the graue
oprest wth dust or weight of marble Tombes
such as the sea, hath swallow'd in her Cave
such as by fier receaude, there former domes
or ending had, in beastes vnsauory wombes
shall all stand vp, repairde with manly shape
no one so great or small shall then escape

All mvst ap eare, appeareinge mvst attend
in there ~~one~~ persons, tell the iudge proceede
awarding lyf or Death to bee there ende
of mercy som, of Iustice other speede
to sory weale, to other woe decreed
soon to the lowest pitt shall bee debased
and others wth the highest shall bee graced

O thow whom once by Pilat base & proude
receude sharpe Doome & sore was terryfide
graunt mee that when thy Trompet soundes alowde
to giue great sommons vppon every side
East, west, north south, where any men abyde
Rowsing the world, with suddaine chainge of state
I may haue thee, my Iudge & Advocate.

A P P E N D I X B

Biographical Notes.

"What is true of the River Nilus that its fountain is hid and obscure, but its fall or influx into the Mid-land-Sea eminently known, is applicable to many learned men, the place of whose births generally are either wholly concealed, or at the best uncertain, Whilst the place of their death is made remarkable; for, as few did take notice of their coming out of their tyring-house, so their well-acting on the stage, commanded all eyes to observe their returning thereunto. But this generall rule takes not place in the present subject(s) of our Pen....."

Thomas Fuller, "The life of Mr. Henry Smith", Sermons, 1657.

(The source of the information is given under each note.)

WILLIAM ALABASTER (1568-1640)

Son of a clothier, Roger Alabaster, of Hadleigh, Suffolk, Protestant family, related to John Still, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Bishops of Bath and Wells. William attended Westminster School, and in 1584 went to Trinity College as a Queen's Scholar. Noted as a Latin poet. Was intended for the Church. Ambitious. 1596, chaplain to Essex. Sailed on the Cadiz voyage. On his return, was about to be given a rich living and to be married, when at Easter 1597, converted to Roman Catholicism by Fr. Thomas Wright. Circumspect behaviour at first. Having told Essex, Wright, and his betrothed, returned to Cambridge where he spent five months studying theology. Probably wrote sonnets at this time. When sent Essex his Seven Motives for his conversion, arrest ordered. Was kept in ignominious isolation at Cambridge. In October, taken to London and put in light imprisonment. Great pains taken to make him change his views. February 1598, deprived of Anglican orders. In April escaped, and was hidden during the summer by Fr. John Gerard, who gives an account of this in his Autobiography. In November Alabaster arrived at the English College, Rome, 1599, set out for England, but arrested at La Rochelle, handed over to the English and put in Tower. Disclosed quarrels among Catholic exiles. 1601, removed to Framlingham Castle, Suffolk. 1603, was pardoned.

Controversy with the Anglicans. 1606, imprisoned in London but in July was in Belgium, where he wrote a work on mystical theology. 1609, returned to the English College, Rome. Quarrelled with Parsons. 1610, works declared heretical, and Alabaster ordered to stay in Rome. Escaped to Amsterdam. Imprisoned. Sent to England, protesting revolt against Jesuits. Semi-confinement. 1611, Catholic again. Next years even more confused. By 1614 once more a Protestant, and in favour with James I. Given living at Therfield, Herts. Even his contemporaries not clear how often Alabaster had changed his religion. John Chamberlain wrote in 1615: "Yesterday Alabaster the double or treble turncoat preached before the King at Whitehall." 1618, Married Katherine Fludd, a widow and mother of the alchemist, Robert Fludd. The rest of Alabaster's life calm. Wrote works on mystical theology. Friend of Ben Jonson and Selden. Died 28th April 1640, and buried in St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. "General Intriduction" to Sonnets edit. G.M. Story and Helen Gardner, Oxford 1959.

BARNABE BARNES (1569 ? - 1609)

Third son of Dr. Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham. 1586, went to Brasenose College, Oxford. Left without a degree. 1591, went with Essex into Normandy to join French Army against Prince of Parma. 1593 published his love-sonnets,

Parthenophil and Parthenope. Nothing more is known of his life, apart from his writings, and the references to him by Nashe (he sided with Harvey in the Nashe - Harvey quarrel), Marston, and Campion. December, 1609, buried at St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham.

D.N.B.

NICHOLAS BRETON (1555 ? - 1625).

Descendant of old family of Layer Breton, Essex. His father, William, settled in London and became a wealthy man, living in the parish of St. Giles-without-Cripplegate. 1545, William married Elizabeth Bacon of Bury St. Edmunds. Nicholas their second son. 1559, William died and three months later his widow married Edward Boyes of Norrington, Kent, a man of considerable property. In his will (printed by Grosart) William Breton had stated that his widow could use his property until their two sons were of age on condition she did not remarry. 1561, Elizabeth married the poet George Gascoigne. It is clear she was legally married to Boyes, and not free to remarry. September 1562, fray between Boyes and Gascoigne and their men outside the Breton House in Redcross Street. The subsequent Chancery case led to decision in favour of Gascoigne. Elizabeth was divorced and remarried Gascoigne sometime between May 1563 and November 1566. 1566, Chancery decree permitting Elizabeth

and Gascoigne and the children to prosecute case for recovery of property from Boyes. Final result unknown, but likely because of Nicholas Breton's later poverty, Gascoigne, an improvident man, obtained use of property, Gascoigne died October 1577. Little known about Nicholas Breton's life. Probably attended Oriel College, Oxford, February 1577, living in Holborn. 1582-90 probably abroad, either in Netherlands, or Italy, or Scotland. 1593, married Ann Sutton. Lived in parish of St. Giles-without Cripplegate. Three daughters, two sons. Indefatigable writer of all types of poetry and prose. Poverty. Many patrons, including the Countess of Pembroke. Probably outlived his reputations. Date of death unknown. Not mentioned as deceased at burial of daughter, Matilda, July 1625, but no works later than 1622. Was a fervent Protestant.

Jean Robertson, Poems by Nicholas Breton (not hitherto reprinted Liverpool, 1952, pp.xi - xxxii, "Introduction".

A.B. Grosart (edit) Works, Chertsey Worthies' Library, 1879 "Memorial - Introduction."

JOHN BULLOKAR (c.1580-c.1641)

Author of A True Description of the Passion of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, 1622. Very little known of his life. 1616, known to have been a doctor at Chichester. Noted as a lexicographer. Wrote his Expositor when young and revised

it twice during lifetime. William Bullokar, the phonetist, may have been his son.

D.N.B.

THOMAS CAMPION. (1567 - 1620)

Second child of John and Lucy Campion. Father was Cursitor of the Chancery Court and member of the Inner Temple. Not wealthy, but a gentleman. Parents died when Thomas was fourteen. Went to Peterhouse, Cambridge, where read the classics and became interested in medicine. Left April 1584, without taking degree. 1586, entered Gray's Inn. Wrote Latin epigrams. First English poems published 1591. 1591, went with Essex's Expedition to Dieppe. Returned before end to Gray's Inn. 1595, Poemata, Latin epigrams published. Won Campion a notable reputation with Daniel, among others. 1602-6, qualified as doctor at unknown foreign university. Rest of life spent in practice. Gained considerable reputation. Connected with Thomas Monson who was involved in the Overbury murder case. Campion an unwitting agent for Monson, who was pardoned 1617. 1st March 1620, Campion died, leaving "All that he had and wished that his estate had bin farr more" to his friend and fellow composer, Philip Rosseter.

Percival Vivian (edit), Works 1909 "Introduction".

THOMAS COLLINS (fl.1615)

Author of *The Penitent Publican*, 1610. Nothing known of his life except that he also wrote a pastoral poem, The Teares of Love, to which Samuel Rowlands and Joseph Beaumont contributed complimentary verses. Rowlands refers to a third poem, Newport's bouldy battell, not otherwise known. Was a fervent Portestant.

D.N.B.

HENRY CONSTABLE (1562-1613)

Son of Sir Robert Constable of Newark, one of Elizabeth's pensioners, and Marshal of Berwick, 1576-1578. Henry matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge. 1580, B.A. Details of early life obscure. Became Roman Catholic and lived in Paris where was involved in various political activities. 1599, visited Edinburgh with commission from Pope, but did not see James. Returned to England on James's accession. Imprisoned for few months in Tower. Died Liege, October 1613.

D.N.B.

JOSEPH CRESSWELL (1557 - 1623)

Suggested by H. Thurston (Month, Vol. 83.1895) as the "I.C." who wrote Marie Magdalens Conuersion, 1603 but this view is

not supported by Gillow. Came of a Yorkshire family. Educated at Douai. Gained great influence with Philip II. 1620, Prefect at St. Omer. 1621, Rector of small college at Ghent. Character summed up by Gillow: "That Fr. Cresswell was a man of great abilities and distinguished piety is undeniable, but his friends had occasionally to regret peevishness of temper and tenacity of opinion." Joseph Gillow, Bibliographical Dictionary of English Catholics, 1885-1903.

JOHN DAVIES OF HEREFORD (1565 ? - 1618)

Born at Hereford. Wood say he was at Oxford but most likely lived there as a writing-master for some time. Had many high-born pupils but dogged by poverty. Fuller says he was the best penman of his day. 1608 was living in London in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, where wife as buried in 1613. One son, Sylvanus. 1613 married Juliana Preston, a widow who died a year later. Will, which was printed by the Camden Society, is dated 29th June 1618 and records that he was then living in St. Martin's Lane. A third wife, Margaret, is mentioned, but at own request was buried near his first wife. One of his pupils says he was a Roman Catholic.

D.N.B.

G. ELLIS (fl.1605).

Author of The Lamentation of the Lost sheepe, 1605 and probably of Adams Calamittie & misery (c.1600) in Egerton MS 2477.

Made great use of Breton's The Passion of a Discontented Mind in his published poem. In the absence of any information about him (although Lowndes, without stating his source, gives his Christian name as "George") it may be suspected that "G. Ellis" is a previously unnoted pseudonym of Breton. This seems unlikely, however, as Breton usually chose anagrams of his name e.g. "Terilo" and as, stylistically, the additions to The Passion are not in his usual style. The description of Heaven, for example, is more like the allegorical pictorial style of the Fletchers than Breton's impressionism. Examination of his work tells us very little. In the epistle to Sir Francis Castillion in "The Lamentation", he says that he has "(in the like) heretofore pleased many" but none of these works are known to have survived. In the poem in manuscript, if it is his, he tells us of some recent nameless trouble:

I only feare my witts in feebled late
throw the sharpe sorrowes of externall care...¹

He shows himself to have been an earnest Protestant by his analysis of repentance in The Lamentation and his views on

the poet's task in the "Preface" to Adams Calamitie. He had some pretensions to learning (which Breton had not) and puts Latin mottoes before and after "The Lamentation and before Adams Calamitie. He draws upon Plato in each poem and refers also to Seneca, Cicero and Aurelius. It is impossible to trace him through the persons to whom he dedicated his prefaces. The receiver of Adams Calamitie is not named and he confesses that he is "unacquainted" with Sir Francis Castillion to whom he dedicated The Lamentation. One wonders what attracted him to Sir Francis, a descendant of the noble Italian family of Castiglione and a distant relative to the author of The Courtier, but not known as a literary patron.

There was a George Ellis living at Wygan in Lincolnshire in 1623 who died in 1639¹ but no more is known of him. A more likely candidate appears to be Griffin, or Griffith, Ellis who matriculated from Jesus College, Oxford, on 20th September 1575, aged twenty-two, on the same day as his younger brother, John. They were sons of a commoner from Denbigh. Jesus College, then only four years old, was a Welsh Protestant foundation. I have been unable to trace Griffin Ellis any further but it is likely that he attended Oswestry School, a Tudor foundation intended to foster Protestantism and encourage Welsh boys

1. Lincolnshire Pedigrees - Haleian Society, Publications
1, 321, 324.

to migrate to England in search of the posts offered there. There was a branch of the Ellis family at Derwen, two and a half miles north-east of Oswestry. Hugh Holland (1569-1633), noted in his day as a Latin and an English poet, came from Denbigh.

The use Ellis makes of Breton's poem shows too much care to be dismissed as plagiarism and the only assumption seems to be that he liked it and saw its possibilities as an effective poem on repentance. If he can be identified with the "G.E. Minister" who wrote The Christian Schoole-Maister (1613), this assumption is more reasonable. A preacher uses any material he can find to enforce his message. The only link with Ellis in this work, a Protestant Catechism, is the tenuous one of the lucidity of its prose which may be compared to the plainness of the Epistle to Castillion.

For Ellis:

Register of University of Oxford, edit. Andrew Clark, 1889.

E.G. Hardy, Jesus College, 1899.

H.Ellis Hughes, 1946, Emminent Men of Denbighshire, Liverpool
Correspondence with Capt, Richard Oakley of Berkhamsted, who is writing a history of Oswestry School.

For Sir Francis Castillion:

Visitation of Berkshire, Hawleian Society Publications,

Vol. lvi, p.79 and lvii, p.91.

Genealogist, New Series, volume xvii, pp.73, 199, 235

Walter Money, Collections for the History of the Parish of

Speen, in the County of Berks., Newbury, 1892.

GILES FLETCHER (1583 ? - 1623).

Born London (?) Uncle became Bishop of London and was father of the popular dramatist. Giles's father, Giles Fletcher the Elder, seems to have lived continually under the threat of poverty. Author of Of the Russe Commonwealth (1591) and Licia (1593). Often abroad. Sued by nephew for misappropriation of property on brother's death. Eldest son, Phineas went to Eton, Giles to Westminster. 1601 matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge. 1606 B.A., 1609 M.A. Two brothers devoted to each other. 1610 climax of Giles's career, only publication of note. Father died. Turning-point. Turned to study of theology. 1613 ordained. 1615 preached before James at Cambridge. Tutor at Trinity. 1617, rector of Helmingham, Suffolk, gift of Bacon. Mystery why never wrote poetry after 1610 and why left his beloved Cambridge at height of his career. 1618 returned to Cambridge for short time. 1619 B.D. and soon afterwards left to become rector of Alderton, Suffolk. By own account not happy there. Married Ann -.

Joan Grundy, Giles Fletcher the Younger: A Biographical and Critical Study, M.A. Thesis, London, 1947.

JOSEPH FLETCHER (1582? - 1637)

Author of Christes Bloodie Sweate, 1613. Son of Thomas Fletcher, London merchant tailor. 1593-4, at Merchant Taylors' School. 1600, at St. John's College, Oxford. 1604-5 B.A. 1607, took part in a burlesque, The Christmas Prince, with Laud, a fellow-student at St. John's. 1609 rector of Wilby, Suffolk. Patron was Sir Anthony Wingfield to whom he dedicated The Perfect-Cursed, Blessed Man, published 1629. Married May 1610, Grace Ashley, daughter of neighbouring vicar. Six children. Wife's death recorded in parish register by a Latin and English poem by Fletcher. Second wife, Anne, survived him. Died 1637 and was buried at Wilby.

D.N.B.

Poems edit. Grosart in Fuller Worthies Library, 1869.

"Memorial-Introduction."

SIMIONE GRAHAME(c.1570-1614)

Son of Edinburgh burgess. Liberal education under patronage of James VI. Had great reputation for learning, but bad reputation as a libertine. Testifies to unrealized hopes of his early life. Was traveller, soldier, courtier. Went to Italy. Probably voluntary exile for sake of prudence. C.1600, return to Scotland James VI again patron. Literary pursuits. Returned to Continent, entered severe Order of

Minims founded by St. Francis of Paola. Died Carpentras while on way to revisit Scotland.

Anatomie of Humours,

D.N.B.

WILLIAM HUNNIS (c.1530-1597)

First heard of early in Edward VI's reign in service of Sir William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke. 1550, published metrical version of few Psalms. 1550-3 Gentleman of Chapel Royal. At Mary's accession, prudently reverted to "old religion" but involved in plot of 1556. "Master Heneges" of the Chapel "among others seized and put in Tower. Some fellow-conspirators executed. Appears to have had no powerful friends to relieve him. Released, most probably on accession of Elizabeth. In examination of prisoners, described as handsome, and having knowledge of alchemy. Married widow of Nicholas Brigham, who carved Chaucer's tomb. She died 1559. Hunnis married Mrs. Blanck, widow of a wealthy member of Grocer's Company, and through her influence, she having continued husband's business, became brother of Company. Lived near London Bridge. Also owned country house at Ilford. 1567, entered Livery of Company. 1566, Master of Children of Chapel Royal. 1563, supervisor of gardens at Greenwich. 1568 grant of arms. 1570, toll taker on London Bridge. 1588, wife

died. Ceased to have connections with Grocers' Company. Only one child known, Robert, or Robin, page to Essex and then in service of Leicester. Hunnis in royal train at Kenilworth. May have written play on that occasion. No dramatic works have come down to us. 1583, presented petition for increased grant for Children's travelling expenses as they had to go on royal progresses. Granted share in fines imposed on recusants. Died 6th June 1597. Burial place unknown.

W. Bang, Materialien zur Kunde des alteren Englischen Dramas, Louvain, 1910.

C.C. Stopes, "William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal."

LEIGHTON, SIR WILLIAM (fl.1603-1614)

Eldest son of William Leighton (1533-1607), of Plash in Shropshire, one of Council of Welsh Marches. Published adulatory poem Vertue Triumphant, 1603. Probably in return for this knighted, 23rd July 1603. 1608 sued for debt by Sir William Harmon. 1610, outlawed and subsequently imprisoned. 1614, Musically Ayres and Tunable Accents. Still in prison. Leighton must have been elderly in 1614, when he talks of "long attendance on Majestie" and "many extremities and oppressions undergone in later days". Had one son and two daughters by his wife Winifred, daughter of Simon Harcourt of Ellenhall, Staffs. She died 1616.

D.N.B.

CHRISTOPHER LEVER (fl.1627)

Attended Christ's College, Cambridge, but did not graduate. Even Grosart had to confess failure to find any more about him than his prefaces reveal. Dedication of prose treatise, *The Holie Pilgrime*, 1618, to the Dean of Durham and the Master of Sherburne House suggests connections which cannot be certified. Complains of holding "no place" in Church or State. Probably reference to a benefice, as expresses gratitude in preface to Queen Elizabeth's Teares, 1607, to Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury for his unnamed kindness.

A Crucifixe and Queene Elizabeth's Teares, edited by Grosart, Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies Library, 1872, Vol. 111,

"Memorial-Introduction".

D.N.B.

HENRY LOK (1553?-1603)

Third son of Henry Lok, London mercer. His mother, Ann Vaughan, translated into English verse Calvin's Sermons on the Song of

Songs, 1550. Michael Lok the Traveller was poet's uncle. Henry spent some time in Oxford, 1570-5 but took no degree. Continually petitioned for place about Court. 1597, applied to Sir Robert Cecil for pension. 1597, petitioned for "the collectorship of Devon". 1598, applied for appointment of Keeper of Queen's bears and mastiffs. Got some confidential employment. 1599 Cecil gave him a gelding and he spent the spring in Bayonne collecting political news. He was skilled in cipher and would appear to have been too zealous as he was in danger of his life at some time. 1600 living in the Strand, implored Cecil to employ him again. 1606 was in the Gatehouse and 1608 in the Clink for debt where he probably died. Piteous pleas to old protector no use. Married Ann Moyle of Cornwall and had two sons.

D.N.B.

GERVASE MARKHAM (1568? - 1637)

Third son of Robert Markham of Cottam, Notts. Saw military service in Low Countries and was one of Essex's captains in Ireland. Spoke several languages, and advocated advanced methods of farming and horse-breeding. Owned several valuable horses and is said to have brought the first Arab into England. Wrote for his livelihood and did not hesitate to repeat himself. Collected a library. Buried February 1637 at St. Giles, Cripplegate.

D.N.B.

SAMUEL ROWLANDS (1570?-1630?)

Nothing known of life. First two satires burnt, not only in public but also in kitchen of Stationers' Company. 26th October 1600, twenty nine booksellers fined 2/6d. each for buying these books. Rowlands, when storm over, reissued both pamphlets under different titles. Later satires have less asperity. Few literary friends and patrons. Name once on Stationers' Register as "Samuel Rowley" suggested he was actor, Samuel Rowley but no proof of this

D.N.B.

FRANCIS SABIE(fl.1595)

Little known about life. 1587, was schoolmaster at Lichfield. Son, Edmond, apprenticed to Rubert Cullen, London stationer, and admitted freeman, 1594. Published three volumes of verse of different kinds.

D.N.B.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL(1561-1595)

The most attractive personality, as well as the finest poet of all those with whom this study has dealt. Life has been fully written by his Catholic critics. Came of East Anglian family of some standing, grandfather having risen to power under Henry VIII and been given land near Norwich at Dissolution of Monasteries. Extraordinary marital life led to later law-suits between legitimate and illegitimate descendants. Robert third son of eldest illegitimate son. Legend says was kidnapped as a child by gipsy because of his beauty. Influence to Roman Catholicism came from mother's family, the Copleys. 1576 sailed to Belgium with cousin, John Cotton. At Douai for next six months and then sent to Paris. 1578, went to Rome and after being rejected several times entered Society of Jesus. 1580, at English College, where became tutor and later "Prefect of Studies", but petitioned to go on "the English Mission". May, 1586, set off with Garnet (later implicated in Gunpowder Plot). Reached London safely and escaped implication in the Babington plot. Says much for Southwell's resource and courage that he remained at liberty in England for next six years. Spent much time in Arundel House in the Strand as chaplain to the Countess of Arundel, whose husband, Philip Howard, writer of a Four Fold Meditation, had been imprisoned for recusancy

in the Tower, where he later died. At this time Southwell probably wrote his poems, and his prose works were printed. Richard Topcliffe arranged trap for Southwell at the home of the Bellamies at Uxenden, where he was arrested 25th June 1592. Topcliffe exulted over his capture in letter to Elizabeth. Southwell kept in Topcliffe's house in Westminster where he was severely tortured and examined by the Council, but remained courteous and silent. Thrown into the filthy Catehouse prison. Father's petition to Elizabeth prevailed in getting removal to Tower, where he was closely confined for three years. 1594, petitioned Cecil for public trial. 18th February 1595, thrown into Limbo, condemned cell in Newgate, but even there won respect of gaoler. Three days later, tried before Popham, Coke and Topcliffe. Acquitted self with skill and humour, but verdict obvious. In Limbo that night visited by Mountjoy, who was present at his execution, and who gave Elizabeth a copy of Saint Peter's complaynt. Southwell executed at Tyburn next morning before vast crowd, many in tears. Beatified 1929.

Christopher Devlin, The Life of Robert Southwell, 1956

Pierre Janelle, Robert Southwell the Writer, Clermont-Ferrand, 1935.

Christabel M. Hood, The Book of Robert Southwell, 1926,

"Introduction"

JOHN SWEETNAM (1580-1622)

Author of Marie Magdalens Pilgrimage, St. Omer, 1618.

Born Northamptonshire. Educated at English College, Valladolid. Ordained. Went to Portugal. Entered Society of Jesus, 1606, and entered College at St. Omer some years later. 1617, came to England. 1618, banished, but returned to Lancashire. 1620, at Loreto, where died two years later.

Joseph Gillow, Bibliographical Dictionary of English Catholics, 1885-1903.

RICHARD VERSTEGAN (c.1550-1640)

Grandfather left Gelderland c.1509 because of wars with Burgundy, settled in London. "Rowland", name always used by Verstegan, while in England, was grandfather's second name. Not wealthy or noble family, and Verstegan's enemies sneered at him as son of a cooper. Verstegan sizar at Christ Church, Oxford, 1564, left 1570 without degree. Unable to enter a profession because of Catholic sympathies, and so apprenticed to a goldsmith. 1574, Freeman of Company. Active on behalf of Catholics and imprisoned for two days in January, 1578, in the Poultry. 1582, set up secret printing-press for Catholic literature. Upon its seizure three months later, Verstegan and wife escaped to Paris, and reverted to Dutch family name. Supervised printing of Catholic literature and

involved in spreading news from England. Imprisoned through agency of English ambassador, but released by Queen Mother. 1584, in Rome, but back in Paris nine months later. 1586, wars in Netherlands ended, went to Antwerp. Became important Catholic agent between England and Continent. More propagandist writings, financed, edited, and supervised printing of Catholic books, and arranged for their distribution abroad. Translated controversial works, and sent dispatches from England to Rome. Poor. 1591, pension from Pope. 1612, held passport on importation of English cloth. Date of death of first wife unknown. 1610, married young, rich Catherina de Sauchy of Antwerp. Owned two large houses. Period of his Dutch works. 1640, died. Costly and elaborate funeral. Widow married an Irish captain three months later.

A.G.R. Petti, A Study of the Life and Writings of Richard Verstegan (c.1550-1640), M.A. Thesis, London, 1957.

HENRY WALPOLE (1558-1595)

Eldest son of Christopher Walpole of Anmer Hall, Norfolk, who was for some time a consulting barrister. Attended Norwich school and St. Peter's College Cambridge. Left without degree, 15th January, 1575. 1578, entered Gray's

Inn, Government spies reported that he resorted with recusants, and was supporter of Edmund Campion. 1st December 1581, present at Campion's execution, when his clothes were splashed with Campion's blood, which was interpreted as call to continue Campion's work. Wrote fine elegy on Campion which attracted great attention, and cost his friend, Valenger, the printer, his ears. Walpole forced to hide in Norfolk, but managed to escape to Continent. 7th July 1582, arrived at Rheims. 1583, entered English College, Rome, where Southwell was Prefect of Studies. 1584, entered Society of Jesus and sent the following year on two years' probation to Verdun. Ordained priest at Paris, 1588. Because of linguistic ability, appointed chaplain in Spanish army, but taken prisoner by the English at Flushing the following year. 1590, released. July, 1592 sent to Jesuit College at Bruges to Translate Parson's Responsia ad Edictum. Joined Parsons at Seville, where his brother, Richard Walpole, was at Jesuit College. Petitioned to join the "English Mission". November, 1593, sailed from Dunkirk with two soldiers, one of whom was his other brother, John. Hoped to reach Norfolk, but, after disastrous voyage, landed at Bridlington where he was arrested the next day. Imprisoned at York. Stubborn under examination. Acquitted self well in public discussion with Yorkshire clergy. February 1594, entrusted to the notorious Topcliffe, who took him to London and put him in Tower.

Examined 27th April. Severely tortured, but confessed nothing. 1595, taken back to York, where he was tried and condemned on capital charge. 17th April, executed. The long and detailed accounts of trial and death show contemporary interest. Probably author of poems in A Song of Mary, 1601.

D.N.B.

SWITHIN WELLS (c.1536-1591.)

Fifth or sixth son of Thomas Wells of Brambridge, an old Hampshire family. Visited Rome, and was retainer of Earl of Southampton for some years. Married pre-1577. One daughter, Margaret, became non. Kept school near Bath. 1583, became Catholic, and in 1586 was examined in Newgate, suspected of complicity in the Babington Plot. Became well-known shelterer of priests. 1591, had house facing Gray's Inn Fields. Father Edmund Geninges captured there. Wife taken in Wells's absence, but he was imprisoned when he interceded for her. Hanged with Geninges outside his house, 10th December, 1591. Wife reprieved, and lived devoutly, close prisoner in Newgate, till death in 1602. Wells beatified, 1929. Probably author of three poems in the Peter Mowle Commonplace Book.(see Chapter VII.)

L.I. Guiney. Recusant Poets, 1938, pp.171 - 173.

B I B L I O G R A P H I E S

1.

A Descriptive Bibliography of Primary Sources.

Nicholas Breton, A Diuine Poeme, 1601. STC 3648

(Head ornament) A / Diuine Poeme, di-/uided into two
Partes: / The Rauisht Soule, and the / Blessed Weeper./
Compiled by Nicholas Breton, Gentle-man. / (Device,
Mckerrow 215B) / Imprinted at London, for John Browne,
/ and John Deane. 1601.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o: A-F4 : no pagination.

CONTENTS: (A) title; (Av) blank; A2 dedication to Countess
of Pembroke (signed); (A2v) "To the Reader"
(italics, signed); (A3) "In Auctorem" (italics,
signed "H.T.Gent"); A4-(D3v) "The rauisht Soule";
D4-(F4) "The blessed Weeper".

COPY DESCRIBED : B.M.C. 39, C.19.

OTHER COPIES: O; HH; HN; WH

STATIONERS' REGISTER III. A1.

NOTES: 1.Type-ornaments at head and foot of page
Same in An Excellent Poeme (1601)
2."Gloria in excelsis Deo" - (D3v)
3.Park's signature and date 1795 thrice. His
initials and "Tho Hill" (?) once.
4.Reprint: Grosart, 1879.

Nicholas Breton, An Excellent Poeme, 1601 STC. 3649

(Type ornament) / AN / Excellent Poeme, /vpon the longing

of a blessed / heart: which loathing the /world, doth long
to be / with Christ. / With an Addition, vpon the definition
of loue. / Compiled by Nicholas Breton, Gentleman. / Cupio
dissolui, & esse cum Christo./(line)/(type ornament)/(line)/
 Imprinted at London, for John Browne,/and John Deane. 1601.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o : A-F4 : no pagination.

CONTENTS: (A) title; (Av) blank; A2-(A2v)dedication to Lord
 North (signed); (A3) "To the Reader" (italics, signed
 (A3v) "Two hopefull Twin^{es}" (italics, signed
 "H.T.Gent); (A4) "Ad Librum" (italics); (A4v) blank;
 B-(D4v)"Bretons Longing"; E2-F" What is Loue";
 (Fv)-F3 "Solus in toto laudandus Deus";(F3v)-(F4)
 "When the Angels all are singing."

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. 11632 df. 37.

OTHER COPIES: 0; HN; WH.

STATIONERS' REGISTER III. 191.

NOTES: 1. Companion volume to A Diuine Poeme (1601).
 2. "Solus Amor Deus" - F
"Gloria in excelsis Deo" - F3, (F4).
 3. Reprint: Grosart, 1879.

(Nicholas Breton?), The passion of a Discontented Mind, 1621

S.T.C.3681

(Within an ornamental border) THE / PASSION / of a / Disconten-
ted Mind./(type ornament) / LONDON, / Printed by Nicholas Okes
 for Samuell/Albyn, and are to be sold at his shop / in

Chancery lane, neere the six /Clarkes Office. 1621/(Tail ornament of the two thorn-trees twisted together.)

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4⁰ : A-C4 : no pagination

CONTENTS: (A) title; (Av) blank; A2-(C4v) "The Passion of a Discontented Minde".

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.117. b.46

OTHER COPY: HN.

NOTES: 1. Imperfect title-page.

2. Type-ornaments at beginning and end.

3. Other editions. 1601, 1602.

4. Reprint, Fry, 1810 (from Egerton MS 2403)

Nicholas Breton, The Pilgrimage To Paradise, Ioyned With The Countesse of Pembrookes loue, Oxford, 1592. S.T.C.3683
THE/PILGRIMAGE TO PARA-/DISE, IOYNED WITH THE/Countesse of Pembrookes loue, compiled /in verse by NICHOLAS BRETON / Gentleman. / Coelum vertutis patria./(Oxford University crest) /At Oxford printed, by Ioseph Barnes, and are to be solde in/Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Tygres head. 1592.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4⁰ : (4) + A - N4: signs of pagination (cropped)

CONTENTS: (1) title; (1v) blank; 2-(2v) dedication to Countesse of Pembroke (signed); (3) "To the Gentlemen studients and Scholers of Oxforde"(italics signed); (3) poet's disavowal of Jones's edition of

Bretons bower of delights (3v) "To My Honest True Friende,
Master Nicholas Breton" (signed "John Case, M.D."); 4-(4v)
complimentary verses; A-(Iv) "The Pilgrimage to Paradise";
I2-(N3v) "The countesse of Pembrockes loue"; (N4) "Errata".

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.39. C.42.

OTHER COPIES: HN; CL; WH

Nicholas Breton, A Solemne Passion Of the Soules S.T.C. 3696.
Loue, 1623

(Within two ruled lines) A Soleme /PASSION/OF/THE/SOVLES/LOVE/
(line)/BY/Nicholas Breton/(line)/(Device, McKerrow 281)/LONDON,/
Printed by George Purslowe/1623.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 8^o: A.B4: no pagination.

CONTENTS: (A) title; (Av)-(B4v) "A Soleme Passion of the
Soules Loue."

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.39. a.26.

OTHER COPIES: None.

STATIONERS' REGISTER III. 48

NOTES: 1. Type ornaments at head and foot of page.

2. "frances wolfreston hor book" - A2

3. Other editions: 1600, 1623.

Nicholas Breton, The Soules Harmony, 1602. S.T.C. 3699

THE/Soules Harmony. /Written by Nicholas Breton./ (Device,
McKerrow 281)/Imprinted at London by S. Stafford, for Randoll
Bearkes: /And are to be sold at the signe of the / white
Vnicorne in Popes - head/Alley. 1602.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 8^o A2-C4: no pagination.

CONTENTS: (A2) title; (A2v) blank; A3-(A3v) dedication to
Lady Sara Hastings (italics, signed); A4; (A4v)-(C4)
sonnets, lyric (B6v-C)

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. 161. k.6.

OTHER COPY: HN.

STATIONERS' REGISTER III. 215.

- NOTES: 1. Set out to make book look larger.
2. Type-ornaments at head and foot of page.
3. "Gloria in excelsis Deo" - C, C2, C3.
4. Ninth edition, 1635.

John Bullokar, A true Description of the Passion of Our Sauour
Iesus Christ, 1622. S.T.C. 4085

(Within two ruled lines) A true /DESCRIPTION/OF THE PASSION/OF
OVR SAVIOVR/IESVS CHRIST: /As it was acted by the bloodie/Iewes:
And registred by the blessed /Euangelists./(line)/In English
Meetre by IOHN BVLLOKAR,/Calend:Nouemb.1618/(line)/(Device,

McKerrow 281)/LONDON,/Printed by George Purslowe, for Samuel/
Rand, and are to be sold at his shop neere/Holbourne Bridge.
1622.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 8^o:A2-C3

CONTENTS: (A2) title; (A2v) blank; A3-(C3) "A true Description
of our Sauours Passion."

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.122. a.8.

OTHER COPIES: None.

NOTES: 1. Type-ornaments at head and foot of page.
2. Stanzas numbered in ink.

1.C., Saint Marie Magdalens Conuersion (Douai?), 1603.
S.T.C. 4282

(Within a border of type ornaments) SAINT MARIE/MAGDALENS/
CONVERSION./ (Within two ruled lines, a cross, IHS)/Printed
with Licence.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o: A-D2: no pagination.

CONTENTS: (A) title; (Av) "The ~~A~~uthor to the Reader"(italics,
signed "I.C."); A2 Verse-dedication to "Mistris
F.B."(signed "I.C."); A3-(D2) "Saint Mary Magdalen's
Conuersion."

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.39. e.51

OTHER COPIES: L2; WH.

NOTES: 1. Large cross of type-ornaments - (D2).
2. Date 1603 inscribed in an early hand on title-page.

2. Thurston (Month, Vol.Ixxxiii,1895) suggested Joseph Cresswell as author. This is not supported by Gillow or Allison and Rogers.

Thomas Collins, The Penitent Publican, 1610. S.T.C. 5566.

(With ornamental capitals) THE/PENITENT/PVBLICAN,/HIS/
CONFESSION OF MOVTH./Contrition of heart. Vnfained Re/pentance.
And feruent Prayer/vnto God, for Mercie and forgiuenesse./
(type ornament) /AT LONDON,/Printed for Arthur Iohnson, dwelling
in/Paules Churchyard,at the signe of the white/Horse, neere the
great North doore of/Paules Church. 1610.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o: A-F4: no pagination.

CONTENTS: (A) title; (Av) blank; A2-(A3v) dedication to
Countess of Huntington (italics, signed); (A4)
"To the Rader, whosoewer"(italics, signed "T.C.");
(A4v) blank; B-(F4v)"The Penitent Publican.

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. Huth 88

OTHER COPY: HH.

NOTES: 1. Type-ornaments at head of page. Ornament at
beginning and end of poem.
2. Marginal reference - (Dv).

John Davies of Hereford, The Holy Roode, 1609. D.T.C. 5330

(In oval frame surrounded by allegorical figures with fruit and flowers, head-ornament of two cherubs and a ram's head, tail-ornament of Diana and Acteon) THE/HOLY/ROODE,/OR CHRISTS/CROSSE:/Containing CHRIST Crucified,/described in Speaking-picture./((line))/By IOHN DAVIES/((line))/And who in Passion sweetely sing the same,/Doe glorifie their owne, in Jesus NAME./((line))/Crux Christe clavis Coeli./((line))/LONDON/Printed for N.Butter

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o: A-K4: no pagination.

CONTENTS: (A) title; (Av) blank; A2-(A3) dedication to Countess of Derby and daughters (italics, signed); (A3)-(A3v) complimentary verses; (A3v) "To all passionate Poets" (italics, signed); (A4)-(Kv) "The Holy Roode" (text and poets signature at end); (K2)-(K4) sonnets; (K4) FINIS/LONDON/Printed by John Windet for Nathaniel/Butter, and are to be sold in Pauls Church-/yard, by Saint Austins Gate/1609.

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.57. e.26.

OTHER COPIES: O; HH; HN.

NOTES: 1. Head-ornament incorporating royal arms -A2
(Cropped) Type-ornament, head (A3v)
(Cropped) Head ornament - (A4)
2. Reprint - Grosart, 1878.

G. Ellis, The lamentation of The lost Sheepe, 1605. S.T.C. 1606
THE/LAMENTATION/OF/The lost Sheepe./By G.E./ (device:
portcullis within buckled belt inscribed with Garter motto,
surrounded by crown)/LONDON,/Printed by W. Iaggard dwelling/
in Barbycan. 1605.

Size and Collation: 4^o: A2-G3: no pagination; stanzas
numbered.

Contents: (A2) title; (A2v) blank; A3 (within
ornamental border) Latin motto; (A3v)
blank; (A4)(within ornamental border)
Latin motto; B.(Bv) dedication to Sir
Francis Castillion (signed "G.Ellis");
B2 "vpon his Name"; B3-(G2v) "The lost
Sheepe"; (G3) "The Conclusion.

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C. 39.c.37

OTHER COPY: HN

STATIONERS' REGISTER III 290.

NOTES: 1. Facsimile leaf. E3.

2. Stanzas 23 and 24 misnumbered 19 and 20.

3. "3d." on title-page.

4. Latin mottoes:

(a) Ibi res humanae numqua(m) prospere succedunt,,
vbi negliguntur Diuinae.

(b) Si Christum discis, Nihil est si caetera nescis:
si Christu(m) nescis Nihil est, si caetera discis.

(c) (After "The Conclusion" italics) *Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum.*

Giles Fletcher, Christs Victorie, and Triumph, Cambridge, 1610, S.T.C. 11058.

(Within two ruled lines)(line)/ (Head ornament)/(line)/
CHRISTS/VICTORIE AND TRI-/umph in Heauen, and Earth,/over, and
after death./(line)/A te principium, tibi desinet, accipe
iussis/Carmina caepta tuis, atque hanc sine tempora circum/
Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros/(double lines)/
(device, McKerrow 264)/(line)/CAMBRIDGE/Printed By C.Legge.1610.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o:(8) + A-L2:pp.(xvi)± 84: stanzas of each part numbered separately.

CONTENTS: (i) title; (ii) blank;(iii)-(viii) "To the Reader";
(ix)poem by Phinease Fletcher (signed)(~~x~~xii) dedication to Dr. Neville (italics, signed); (xiii)-(xvi) complimentary poems; 1-25 "Christs Victorie in Heauen"; 26-45 "Christs Victorie on Earth; 46(within two ruled lines) (head ornament)/(line)/CHRISTS / TRIVMPH O-/uer and after death/(line)/Vincenti dabitur./(two lines)/ (device, McKerrow 264)/(line)/Printed by C.Legge.1610/ (line); 47-66 "Christs Trivmph over Death"; 67-83 "Christs Trivmph after Death;(84)"Ruina Coeli pulchra" (signed "G. Fletcher," Greek motto at end).

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.117. b. 25.

OTHER COPIES: O; C; LINC; WN: HN: CH: CL: EX:

- NOTES: 1. Type-ornaments
2. Margins and annotations
3. "Wheateff" (?) on title-page in italic and
secretary hand
4. Editions: 1632, 1640, 1640. Reprint: Grosart, 1868, 1876.

Joseph Fletcher, Christes Bloodie Sweat, 1613. S.T.C. 11076.

(Within ruled line) CHRISTES /Bloodie Sweat/ or the/SONNE OF
GOD/in his/AGONIE/ By I.F./(line)/(type ornament)/(line)/LONDON/
Printed by Ralph Blower, and are to be sold/at his house vpon
Lamberthill./1613

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4° : A²14: pp.(viii) ± 64.

CONTENTS: (i)-(ii) blanks; (iii)title; (iv)blank; (v)-(vi)
dedication to Earl of Pembroke (signed "I.F.")
(vii) "To such as shall peruse this Booke" (italics);
1-64 "Christes Bloudy Sweat"

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. 11623. bb.14.

OTHER COPIES: O; DUC: WH.

- NOTES: 1. Type ornaments
2 Margins and annotations
3. Reprint⁴Grosart. 1869.

Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, A Fovre-Fovld Meditation 1606.
S.T.C. 22949

FOVRE-FOVLD/Meditation,/Of the foure last things:/viz)

1	}	of the	{	Hour of Death
2			{	Day of Iudgement
3			{	Paines of Hell
4			{	Ioyes of Heauen

Shewing the estate of the Elect and Reprobate./Composed in a
in a Diuine Poeme / By R.S./The author of S. Peters complaint./
(Ornament of two ferns)/Imprinted at London by G. Eld. for
Francis Burton./1606.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o: A3-B4: no pagination

CONTENTS: (A3) title; (A3v) blank; (A4) dedication to Mathew
Saunders (*italics*, signed "W.H."); B-(B4) "Of the houre
of Death"; (B4)-(B4v)"Of the day of Iudgement."

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.40.e.74

OTHER COPY: HM

STATIONERS' REGISTER III.322

NOTES: 1. Imperfect.

2. Type-ornaments at head and foot of page

3. Complete poems in five manuscripts, where evidence
is in favor of Howards authorship, not Southwell's
though it was ascribed to him by Charles Edmonds
who reprinted complete poem in 1896. Entered
under Southwell in S.T.C.

Christopher Lever, A. Crucifixe, 1607.

S.T.C. 15535.

A Crucifixe:/OR,/A meditation vpon Repentance,/and,/ The
holie Passion./Written by CHRISTOPHER LEVER./Nocet indulgentia

nois. /(type ornament)/AT LONDON/ Printed for V.S. for John Budge, and are to be sold /at this shop at the great south doore of /Faules. 1607.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o : A2-F2: no pagination

CONTENTS: (A2)title; (A2v)blank; A4"To the Reader"

(italics) A3 dedication to Richard Bancroft

(signed); B-(F2) "A Crucifixe" (text at end)

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. 11626. d.31

OTHER COPIES: L² :CH: WH.

STATIONERS' REGISTER III. 335.

NOTES: 1. Ornaments at head and foot of page

2. A3 and A4 misplaced.

3. Reprint = Grosart, 1872.

Henry Lok, Sundry Christian Passions, 1597. S.T.C.16697

SVNDRY CHRISTIAN/PASSIONS,CONTAINED/in two hundred Sonnets./
Diuided into two equall parts:/ The first consisting chiefly
of Meditations, Humi-/liations, and Prayers. /The second of
Comfort, Ioy, and /Thanksgiuing./By H.L./ Call vpon me in the
day of trouble, so will I deliver thee,/and thou shalt glorifie
me./(Device, McKerrow 192)/LONDON,/Printed by Richard Field.
1597.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 8^o : Ivj-Cviii:pp(viii)± 106

CONTENTS: (i)title; (ii)blank;(iii)dedication to Elizabeth I;

~~Bib. 14. 507~~

(iv)-(v) "A Square in verse" and explanation;

(vi)-(viii) "To the Christian Reader"; 1-106 sonnets.

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.51. c.7.

OTHER COPIES: O; C; HH; HN; WH

NOTES: 1. Printed with Lok's Ecclesiastes, Affections of a Feeling Conscience and Sonnets of the Author to diuers, collected by the Printer.

2. Ornaments and type-ornaments

3. Reprint - Grosart, 1871. 1st edition, 1593.

Gervase Markham, The Teares of the Beloved, 1600. S.T.C.17395

THE TEARES/OF THE BELOVED:/Or, /THE LAMENTATION /OR/ Saint Iohn,/Concerning the death and passion of Christ Iesus our Sauour./By I.M./ (Device, McKerrow 281)/Imprinted at London by Simon Stafford:/And are to be sold by John Browne,/at the signe of the Bible /in Fleete-streete./1600.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o: A-F2.

CONTENTS: (A) title; (Av) blank; A2-(A2v) "To the Christian Reader" (italics signed "I.M."); B-(F2v) "The Teares of the Beloued."

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. 11621. c.27

OTHER COPIES: C; D2; HH; HN

NOTES: 1. Ornaments. Type-ornaments at head of page.

2. Reprint - Grosart, 1870.

Marie Magdalens Lamentations for the Losse of Her Master Jesus,
1601.

S.T.C. 17569

(Head ornament) /MARIE MAG-/DALENS LAMEN-/TATIONS FOR THE/
LOSSE OF HER/MASTER IESVS./ Disce mori mundo vivere disce Deo./
(Type ornament)/LONDON,/Printed by Adam Islip for Edward White,
and are to/be sold at his shop, dwelling at the little North
dore/of Paules, at the signe of the Gun./1601.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o: Aij-Hij.

CONTENTS: (Aij)title; (Aijv)blank; Aij-(Aiiijv) "The Preface"
(italics); B-(Giiijv) seven "Lamentations"; H-(Hiiijv)
"The Conclusion."

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.122 d.5. (not entered in S.T.C.)

OTHER COPIES: D2; HH; HN

NOTES: 1. Ornaments. Frame of type-ornaments round each title
2. Ascribed to Markham by Grosart, D.N.B.
Thurston but not by S.T.C.
3. Second edition, 1604.

Samuel Rowlands, The Betraying of Christ, 1598. S.T.C. 21365

(Within a border depicting the nine emblems of the Passion)

THE BETRAYING/OF CHRIST./IVDAS in despaire./The seven Words of
our Sauior on the Crosse./WITH/Other Poems on the Passion./
(line of ornament)/LONDON/ Printed by Adam Islip/1598.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o: Aij-Hij: no pagination

CONTENTS: (Aij)title; (Aijv)arms of Sir Nicholas Walsh(?)

Aiiij-(Aiiijv) dedication to Walsh (signed "S.R.");
 Aiiij)-(Biiijv)"The betraying of Iesus", (Biiij)-(
 (Diiij)"Iudas in despaire; (Diiij)-(Diiij)"Peters
 teares at the Cokes crowing; (Diiijv)-(Ev)"The Iewes
 mocking of Christ"; Eij-(Fiiijv)"The seuen words
 of Christ vpon the Crosse ; G-(Gijv)" The death of
 Death, sinnes Pardon, and soules Ransome"; Giiij-
 ((Giiijv)"The wonders at Christs death; (Giiij)-(
 (Hiiijv)"The funerals of Iesus".

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.37 d.31

OTHER COPIES: O; GWU; HN

NOTES: 1.Ornaments. Titles in frames of type-ornament

2.Inscription. Authors presentation-copy to Eleazer
 Barnes.

Francis Sabie, Adams Complaint, 1596

S.T.C. 21534

ADAMS/Complaint./THE/Olde Worldes Tragedie./Dauid and/Bathsheba/
 A Ioue Musa./ (device, McKerrow 283)/Imprinted at London by
 Richard Iohnes at the Rose and Crowne next aboute Saint Andrewes
 Church/ in Holborne. 1596.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o: A3-G3.

CONTENTS: (A3)title; (A3v)blank; (A4) dedication to Bishop of
 Peterborough (*italics*, signed); B-(DV) "Adams Complaiⁿt";
 D2-~~Q~~E4v)"The old Worldes Tragedie"; F-(G3)"Dauid and
 Beersheba."

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.40 e.73.

OTHER COPY: HN.

NOTES: 1. Type-ornament - (A4)

2. On title-page" praetiu(m) : 4^d

SAINT PETERS TEN TEARES, 1597.

S.T.C. 19797

(Within a border of type ornaments) SAINT/Peters Ten /Teares
/Ten Teares of S. Peters, /supposedly written vpon /his weeping
sorrowes for/denying his Maister/Christ./(type ornament)/LONDON/
Printed by Gabriel Simson for William/Iones, and are to be
solde at his shop neere /Holburne conduit, at the signe of/the Gu
Gunne/ 1597.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o : A-C3: no pagination.

CONTENTS: (A) title; (Av) blank; (A2) "An Intraduction" (italics);
A3-(C3) ten six stanza poems, each headed "The first
Teare, " etc.

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.39. e.28.

OTHER COPY: HN

STATIONERS' REGISTER III. 93

NOTES: 1. Type ornaments

2. Signature, "Tho Hill" (?) on title-page

3. Second edition, 1610 omits "ten" in title and
separate headings. Gatherings same.

The Song of Mary the Mother of Christ, 1601.

S.T.C. 17547

THE/SONG OF/MARY THE MO-/THER OF CHRIST:/Containing the story
of/his life and passion./The teares of Christ in the garden./
With/The description of heauenly/Ierusalem./(device, McKerrow 284)
/LONDON,/Printed E. Alldes for William Ferbrand,/dwelling neare
the signe of the /Crowne. 1601

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o: A - F4: pp. (ii) ± 45.

CONTENTS: (i) title; (ii) blank; 1-21 " The Song of Mary "
22-27 "The teares of our Sauour in the Garden", 28-29
"A heauenly Prayer in contempt of the world, and the
vanities thereof" (*italics*); 30-37 "The description of
heauenly Ierusalem"; 38-41 "Another on the same
subiect"; 42-45 "A sinners supplication."

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.117.b.37.

OTHER COPIES: HH;HN;OL

STATIONERS' REGISTER: III.188

NOTES: 1 Ornaments at beginning and end of poems

2 Ascribed to Walpole by Guiney

Robert Southwell, Moeoniae, 1595.

S.T.C. 22954

Moeoniae/OR,/CERTAINE/excellent Poems and spiri-/tuall Hymnes:
/Omitted in the last Impression of Peters/Complaint; being
needfull there -/unto to be annexed, as being both Di-/uine and
Wittie./All composed by R.S./((type-ornament)/LONDON/Printed by
Valentine Sims, for John Busbie/1595.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o: A3-E4: pp.(iv) + 32.

CONTENTS: (i) title; (ii) blank; (iii)-(iv) printer's epistle (signed "I.B."); i. "The Virgine Maries conception"; 2 "Her Natuilitie"; 3 "Her Spousalls" ; 4 "The virgins salutation"; 5 "The Visitation; 6 "His circumcision "; 7 "The Epiphanie"; 8 "The Presentation; 9 "The Flight ~~into~~ Egypt"; 10 "Christs returne out of Egypt", 11. "Christs bloody sweat"; 12-13 "Christs sleeping ~~Christs~~ friends"; 14 "The virgin Mary to Christ on the Cross" (*italics*); 15-17 "A holy Hyme"; 18 "St. Peters afflicted mind"; 19-21 "S. Peters remorse"; 22-3 "Man to the wound in Christs side"; 24-26 "Vpon the Image of death"; 27-30 "A vale of teares"; 30-31 " The prodigall childes soule wrack" (*italics*); 31-32 "Mans ciuill warre" (*italics*); 32 "Seeke flowers of heauen."

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.30 e.18

OTHER COPIES: B.M. 238 g.7; c; O(2); Jesus College, Oxford.

C.2; HH; Wellesley College; HD; Harvard University; HN.

STATIONERS' REGISTER III. 50

NOTES: 1. Type ornaments at foot of page. Titles in frames of type-ornaments.

2. Last two pages sig.A missing

3. Two editions in 1595 (see McDonald, pp.101-5)

4. For reprints, see Chapter III.

Robert Southwell, Saint Peters complaynt, 1595. S.T.C. 22956

(Within a border of type-ornaments, head-piece of two kneeling figures with crown of thorns and "IHS" in middle) SAINT/Peters com-/playnt./With other Poems /(device, McKerrow 112B)/ AT LONDON/ Printed by I.R. for G.O./1595.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 4^o A-I4: pp(vi) ± 66

CONTENTS: (i) title; (ii) blank; (iii)-(iv) epistle to cousin; (v) "The Author to the Reader"; (vi) "The author to the Reader" (italics); 1-34 "Saint Peters Complaynt"; 35-36 "Mary Magdalens Blush"; 37-38 "Marie Magdalens Complaint at Christes death"; 39 "Times goe by turnes"; 40 "Looke home"; 41-42 "Fortunes falshood"; 43 "Scorne not the least"; 44 "The Natiuitie of Christ"; 45 "Christs childhood"; 46 "A child my choyse" (italics); 47-49 "Content and rich"; 50-51 "Loue in delayes"; 52-55 "Loues seruile Lot"; 55-56 "Life is but losse"; 57 "I dye aliue"; 58-59 "What ioy to liue"; 59-60 "Lifes death loues life"; 61-62 "At home in Heauen"; 63-64 "Lewd Loue is Losse"; 65 "Loues Garden grieve"; 66 "From Fortunes reach."

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.39 e.27.

OTHER COPIES: HN; FOLG.

STATIONERS' REGISTER II.295.

NOTES: 1. Printer, John Roberts; bookseller, Gabriel Cawood.
2. On title-page "4d"
3. Later editions and reprints - see Chapter III.

John Sweetnam, St. Mary Magdalens Pilgrimage to Paradise,
(St. Omer), 1617.

S.T.C.23532

S.MARY/MAGDALENS/PILGRIMAGE TO/PARADISE./ Wherein are liuely
imprinted the foote-/steps of her excellent Vertues, for/
Sinners to follow, who desire to/accompany her thither./
By I.S. of the Society of IESVS./(Jesuit device)/Permissu
Superiorum, M.D.C,XVII

SIZE AND COLLATION: 8^o: A-I7: pp.142

CONTENTS: (1) title; (2) Anagramma"; 3-8 dedication to St.
Mary Magdalen; 9-10 the preface (italics) signed
"I.S"; 11-139"St. Mary Magdalens Pilgrimage to
Paradise"(prose and verse); 140-142"A Dialogue Betwene
a Devout Sinner and his Patronesse Saint Mary
Magdalen" (italics)

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.26 h.9.

OTHER COPY: HH

NOTES: 1.Ornaments

2.On fly-leaf: poem "Vpon St. Mary Magdalene Weeping"
in seventeenth-century hand. On title-page: "Joannes
Smeaton" written in what appears to be same hand and
in a later hand "Liber Lamspringensis Monasterij
Ordinis S. Benedicti Congregat: Anglicanae".

3.Press-mark of monastery(?) on ^{inside} cover

4.Ascribed to Sweetnam by Gillow and Allison and Rogers.

Richard Verstegan, Odes, (Antwerp), 1601. S.T.C.21359.

ODES/IN IMITATION/OF THE SEAVEN PE-/NITENTIAL PSALMES,/With/
Sundry other Poems^e and ditties ten-/ding to deuotion and pietie./
(device: winged heart inscribed "IHS"within an oval,
surmounted by crown)/IMPRINTED,/ANNO DOMINI/M.D. C.I.

SIZE AND COLLATION: 8^o: A-H4:pp(iv) ± 115.

CONTENTS: (i) title; (ii) blank;(iii)-(iv)dedication to
^{To the}
"Vertuous Ladies and Gentlewomen Readers"(signed "R.V.");
1-20 "Odes"; 21-24 "Extracts Of the Sibyllaes
Prophecies Of Christe"; 25-40 "The Fifteen Mysteries
Of The Rosarie Of Our Blessed Lady"; 41 "Ave Maria";
42-49 "Epithets Of Our Blessed Lady"; 50-54 "Our
Blessed Ladies Lullaby"; 55-56 "A Reprehension Of The
Reprehending of our ladies praise"; 57-75 "The Triumphe
of feminyne Saintes"; 76 "A Resemblance Of Martyrs";
77-79 "Te Deum Laudamus"; 80 "How God In All Ages
hath bin serued with Sacrifise; 81-84 "Saint Peters^e
Comfort"; 85-88 "Sacrum Conuiuium"; 89-90 "A Complaint
Of S. Marie Magdalen"; 91-93 "Of The Invention,Or
fynding of the Crosse of Christ; 94-97 "Complaint of
Church Controversy"; 98-102 "An Exposition Of the Ave
bel"; 102-104 "A Secondary exposition"; 105-106 "Of the
State Of Solitary lyf dedicated to the seruice of
God;" 107-8 "The Substance of humaine flesh"; 109-112
"Visions Of the worlds instabillitie"; 113-115 "Verses

B.23.516

Of The worldes vanitie".

COPY DESCRIBED: B.M. C.38. b.29

OTHER COPIES: O;HH;HN.

NOTES: 1. Distinctive ornaments before each poem and filling space at bottom of pages

2. Separate title-page, p.25: (Type ornaments)/

THE/FIFTEEN MYSTERIES/OF THE ROSARIE,/OF/OVR BLESSED

LADY./WHEREOF/The first fyve are ioyful./Thesecond

sorowful./And the third glorious./(Ornament)/

(Type ornaments).

2.

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