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Mary Henrietta Pritchard

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FABLES MORAL AND POLITICAL:
THE ADAPTATION OF THE AESOPIAN
FABLE COLLECTION TO ENGLISH SOCIAL
AND POLITICAL LIFE 1651 - 1722

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Western Ontario
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation consists of two parts: a study of the political use of the Aesopian fable tradition in English fable collections from 1651 to 1722 and a catalogue of the contents of English fable collections from Caxton (1484) to Croxall (1722).

The purpose of the study is to examine the development of the fable into a truly English literary genre, mainly through its involvement in political issues. Aspects of this development include the translation of traditional fables into colloquial language with its associated political implications, the use of the collective characteristics of the fable tradition for fictional and thematic unity, the development of original fables for expressing new political ideas, the use of Aesop as a character in the fictional framework of the fable collection and the application of his legendary wisdom to contemporary politics, the growth of awareness in the fabulists of both the satiric and the didactic qualities of fable, the use of those qualities for political propaganda, and the general movement of English fable through its concern with politics to its use in the depiction of many facets of English social life.

A general introduction to the fable tradition and to the early verse fabulists of the first half of the seventeenth century is followed by a detailed study, in Chapter II, of John Ogilby's use of the fable collection as a unified secondary world which both reflects and satirizes England in the Cromwellian period. The chapter deals with Ogilby's use of politically charged language, recurring imagery and the development of narrative links among the fables to give his collection a unity not previously found in English Aesopian fable collections.

In Chapter III, the fable collections of the Restoration are shown moving toward participation in political controversy and toward a more vigorous use of colloquial language. Chapters IV and V chronicle the development of the fable collections after the Revolution of 1688. In the large prose collections of Sir Roger L'Estrange, the anonymous "De Witt" fabulist and Samuel Croxall, traditional fables provide a springboard for essays on political philosophy. The Grub Street Aesops, on the other hand, contain small collections of verse fables written for political propaganda. By 1722, Aesopian fables had become integrated into the English political and social milieu, and the foundation had been laid for the original English fables of John Gay and his successors.

The appendices are designed to provide the reader with sufficient information to enable him to locate any fable which is known to have appeared in an English

collection between 1484 and 1722; it must be acknowledged, however, that such projects are necessarily fraught with difficulties, all of which one cannot, with any degree of certainty, claim to have avoided.

PREFACE

The dissertation consists of two parts, a study of fable collections in England from 1651 to 1722 and the appendices which catalogue the history of printed fable collections from Caxton to Croxall.

The decision to conclude the study with the work of Samuel Croxall was made because a detailed study of John Gay's Fables would constitute a dissertation in itself and because the work of converting the Aesopian tradition for application to English situations was virtually complete with the publication of Croxall's collection. Gay's is the first major collection of original fables in English, but although it depends upon the development which took place after 1651, it is also a departure from the tradition.

The three appendices are a catalogue of that tradition; providing a basis for the study of fable both as it was used from 1651 to 1722 and as it was developed by Gay and his successors. Appendix A, a catalogue of the fables in the collections, is based on the contents of the traditional school Aesop supplemented by the fables from Caxton to Croxall in the order in which they appeared in the English collections. Although this arrangement is not

strictly chronological, it was chosen to emphasize the dependence of the collections of the period on the school Aesop. Appendix B is an index to the major characters who appear in all the variations of the fables in the collections. Appendix C provides a resumé of the contents of each fable collection by catalogue number, both in the order of appearance in the collection and in a summary in numerical order of the catalogue numbers of the fables in each collection.

The catalogue numbers which are included in the text of the dissertation (e.g. "The Frogs ask Jupiter for a King" [C17]) enable the reader to ascertain when the story first appeared in an English collection, what other stories contain the same characters, and in what other collections the story appears.

For quotations from the fable collections which appear in the text of the dissertation, I have used normalized typographic conventions as regards the erratic use of italics during the period discussed, but the capitalization, spelling and punctuation of the original text have been retained. In Appendix A, the catalogue of fables, however, spelling has been normalized and, where possible, names of beasts modernized in the titles of fables from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to facilitate the use of the catalogue by the modern reader.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to many people without whose encouragement, patience and generosity this dissertation could not have been completed. The idea for a study of fable in the Restoration and eighteenth century evolved from a discussion of John Dryden's The Hind and the Panther in Professor F. E. L. Priestley's Dryden and Pope seminar and was shaped and pruned under the supervision of Professors Ann T. Straulman and James F. Woodruff, whose infinite patience and generous encouragement forestalled many a moment of despair.

Much of this work could not have been done without the cooperation of libraries throughout North America and Britain, and special thanks are due to Diane Burston, Lorna Westman and Bonnie Dow of the Inter-Library Loan Department at the University of Western Ontario for several years of friendly service to me in obtaining materials from other libraries, and to W. J. Herbert for his generous expenditure of time and effort in checking materials in the British Museum. I should also like to acknowledge the kindness of the staff of the Department of Rare Books in the Perkins Library at Duke University in allowing me to make a typescript of their very rare (if not unique) copy of Aesop in

Europe, and the assistance of Ronald Tetreault in the Department of Rare Books, Cornell University Library, for his invaluable assistance in identifying that library's copy of A Collection of Fables taken from the most celebrated Mythologists as another edition of the "De Witt" fables. I am grateful for the permission of Professors A. Edwin Graham and William R. Wray to use material from their doctoral dissertations.

I should also like to thank the Canada Council and the Department of English of the University of Western Ontario for their financial assistance and moral support during my years of graduate work.

Finally, thanks are especially due to my family who, while cheerfully accepting the many encroachments of Aesop upon their daily lives, have given me their wholehearted support.

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CHAPTER I

THE AESOPIAN FABLE COLLECTION BEFORE 1650

The popularity of the Aesopian fable in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has long been a matter of some interest to literary historians and critics, who are intrigued by the development which took place between 1650, when the popular English fable collection was still William Caxton's 1484 translation,¹ and 1727, when John Gay published his first collection of original and thoroughly English Aesopian fables. The historians of this development, however, have been primarily concerned with the growth of the "literary" fable out of the old didactic form, the movement, as one critic calls it, from utile to dulci,² and with the original fables and theories of fable which began to be written in England around the turn of

¹ For information about Caxton's collection, see the introductory volume to Joseph Jacobs, ed., The Fables of Aesop as Printed by William Caxton in 1484, 2 vols. (London: David Nutt, 1889) and the introduction to R. T. Lehmann, ed., Caxton's Aesop (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967). For contents of the collection, see Appendices below.

² Albert Edwin Graham, John Gay's Fables Edited with an Introduction on the Fable as an Eighteenth-Century Literary Genre (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1960), p. 2.

the century.³ In both areas, however, the object of interest has been the individual fable, and the usual treatment of the fable collection deals only with its component parts. Although such studies are, of course, invaluable, our understanding of the development of English fable during this period is equally dependent upon our awareness of the nature of the fable collection and its application to

³Histories of the English fable include Thomas Newbigging, Fables and Fabulists Ancient and Modern (London: E. Stack, 1895), Max Plessow, Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England bis zu John Gay (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1906), Mahlon E. Smith, A History of the Fable in England to the Death of Pope (Unpublished doctoral dissertation: Harvard University, 1912), William Wray, The English Fable, 1650-1800 (Unpublished doctoral dissertation: Yale University, 1950), Joan Hildreth Owen, The Choice of Hercules and the Eighteenth-Century Fabulists (Unpublished doctoral dissertation: New York University, 1969). A short history also appears in Albert Edwin Graham, John Gay's Fables Edited with an Introduction on the Fable as an Eighteenth-Century Literary Genre (Unpublished doctoral dissertation: Princeton University, 1960). The history of fable theory is dealt with in Thomas Noel, Theories of the Fable in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975). Of these treatments of English fable, the first three are of little more than bibliographical interest. William Wray treats only two fable collections from the period 1651-1722, Ogilby's Fables and L'Estrange's Fables, both of which he regards as "literary" and as vehicles for political satire. His treatment of Ogilby is limited by his rejection of the explicit moral and by some faulty interpretations as well as by his neglect of the many collective features of the work. His treatment of L'Estrange's colloquial style is very useful, but this is the only aspect of the collection to which he gives any attention. Graham's short history of fable deals only in passing with the political fables before Gay, and concentrates more on theory than on practice. Joan Hildreth Owen's is a specialized study of the fables in relation to the eighteenth-century interest in Hercules and is useful only for its treatment of the moral value systems of the prose fabulists.

the political issues of the Cromwellian and late Stuart periods.

The development of English fable between 1651 and 1722 took place, for the most part, in fable collections and only toward the end of the reign of Queen Anne began to be exploited in individual fables in both broadsides and periodicals. The many facets of this development included: freeing the fables of the Aesopian tradition from the dull predictability of the standard literal prose translation; experimentation with the use of colloquial language and with both verse and prose forms; the use of the collective characteristics of the fable to describe the complexities of English life; the use of the character of Aesop as a proponent of an assortment of political philosophies or to propagate partisan views of current political events; the exploitation of the satiric capability of fable both individually and collectively; and finally, the writing of new fables, not, at first, as has been suggested, because the tradition had been exhausted,⁴ but because it had to be modified to deal with political events for which there was no precedent.

Although much of the credit for this development has been given to the work of La Fontaine in France, it is evident that the growth of the English fable had begun some time before the publication of La Fontaine's first

⁴Wray, p. 82. Wray attributes the exhaustion of the tradition to the success of La Fontaine.

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collection in 1668. The first, somewhat inept, translations of his work appeared in 1693 in John Dennis's Miscellanies in Verse and Prose to be followed by two editions of a short selection by Mandeville in 1703 and 1704. Sir Roger L'Estrange's prose collection of 1692 had also contained some borrowings from La Fontaine. It can fairly be said, however, that no translator did justice to the tone and style which are so essential a part of La Fontaine's fables until Lady Winchelsea published her Miscellany Poems in 1713,⁵ by which time the political Aesops had very nearly run their course and English fable collections were beginning to move into the realm of polite society, where they were much influenced by the French fabulists and theorists.⁶ Until that time, however, the significant developments in the English fable collections came primarily in response to English political events, and each movement in that development can be seen as a response to the political and social milieu within which it was written.

The immediate problem for any critic or historian of fable is the difficulty of defining the genre, for a fable collection may include not only the familiar animal tale, but also an assortment of aetiological myths, plotless emblematic situations, legends, and stories from

⁵The first complete English translation appears to have been La Fontaine's Fables now first Translated from the French by R. Thomson, 4 vols. (Paris, 1806).

⁶Wray, p. 82.

classical mythology, to name only some of the possibilities. Ben Edwin Perry, one of the best-known historians of Greek and Roman fable, points out that even a simple definition of a fable, such as "a fictitious story picturing a truth," broad as it is, is adequate only provided that one is willing to expand almost indefinitely the definitions of both story and truth.⁷ This stumbling block of definition, which has hampered critics for centuries, seems insurmountable if we confine ourselves to defining fable in its isolated form, for almost any kind of story or situation can be turned into a fable. Even if we regard the explicit moral application as the defining characteristic, at least one critic will insist that this defines fable only as part of the larger species, the moral tale.⁸

Are we, then, to suppose that fable is essentially inseparable from other forms of literature? Surely not, for our common understanding of fable tells us that this is not so. However, the other characteristics which help to make it definable belong to its compatibility with the collective form; its close identification with the intrusive authorial voice of Aesop or his surrogate and its place within the collective expression of Aesop's wisdom

⁷ Ben Edwin Perry, Babrius and Phaedrus, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. xx.

⁸ Thomas Charles Kishler, The Satiric Moral Fable: a Study of an Augustan Genre with Particular Reference to Fielding (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1959), pp. 8-9.

with its consistent dedication to the principles of universal order.

Although stories which can be called fables existed before Aesop and have continued to exist outside fable collections throughout their history, the fable has made its way into the world of western literature in terms of Aesop the man, and our comprehension of it depends largely upon our sense of his existence and of his role in the collections of stories with which he is associated.

Little is known of the historical Aesop. Ben Edwin Perry tells us:

All that can be accepted as historically true in the ancient testimony about Aesop personally is this: that he came originally from Thrace, not from Phrygia; that he was at one time a slave on the island of Samos in the service of a man named Iadmon, who later freed him; that he was a contemporary of the poetess Sappho in the early sixth century B.C.; and that he was famed as a maker and teller of stories in prose.⁹

To this we may add that the stories he told were often satiric allegories of political events of his time.

Aesop's fables are not known to have been collected until late in the fourth century B.C., by which time they had doubtless begun to accrue other similar material and, as Perry tells us, "Aesop had become a legendary figure invested with myth even in the time of Herodotus."¹⁰

Aesop's fables were at first regarded primarily as a source of anecdotes for the use of rhetoricians, however, and the

⁹ Perry, p. xxxv.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. xlii.

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first known collection, that made by Demetrius of Phalerum, was classified according to subject for that purpose.¹¹

The earliest known literary collections of Aesopian fables were assembled and augmented by Phaedrus, in Latin, around the time of Christ and by Babrius, in Greek, in the second half of the first century A.D. The fables survived in various forms during the Middle Ages, during which time new fables were written. Finally, a collection of 127 fables appeared in print in 1474 in an edition published by Bonus Accursius of Milan from a manuscript made by Maximus Planudes at the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹²

Only ten years after the Accursiana was printed, William Caxton published his English translation of Machault's French translation of Steinhöwel's German translation of a Latin collection which had been expanded to include the Renaissance fables of Poggius the Florentine.

As the fable collections drew away in time from the specific situations which the stories had been employed to describe, the myth of Aesop grew, and he became less the critic of his own society and more and more the font of a universal wisdom applicable to all men. The growth of the myth was accompanied by the Aesopian world's continual

¹¹ Ibid., p. xiii.

¹² Ibid., p. xvii. The "spurious" life of Aesop found in Planudes's manuscript became the standard life attached to the many versions of the fables which spread rapidly through Europe. This life of Aesop would become an issue in the Ancients and Moderns controversy in England in the late seventeenth century.

absorption of new fables, which had been written for new situations and which could be taken into the mythological structure rather than be allowed to lapse into obscurity.¹³ The fable collection thus became a reservoir of stories once associated with specific situations but now part of the universal fable world, and long before fables came to be written in England, an Aesopian fable had become that which could be included in a collection which was usually called Aesop's and prefaced with the story of Aesop's life.

More than the simple existence of a consistent narrative voice is necessary, however, to explain our willingness to accept the fable collection as a literary work that is something more than a miscellany.¹⁴ The unity of the fable collection depends upon the perceivable order within the fictional world and upon its rational interpre-

¹³This practice was well established by 1650. Caxton's collection includes the Renaissance tales of Poggio, the Florentine which were still appearing in the 1692 Fables of Sir Roger L'Estrange. L'Estrange, in turn, augmented his collection with borrowings from numerous sources. For the accumulation of fables in the English tradition, see the Index to the Catalogue of Fables, Appendix A.

¹⁴The critical problem is described by Perry, p. xxv. "Because the fables in a collection can have no specific context to which they are subordinated as illustrations, which is the normal function of a Greek fable, but must be put forth as illustrations suitable for use only in imagined situations, accordingly the author is under no pressing obligation to choose a fable that would be effective in inculcating an idea metaphorically by its use. . . . Fables have a new orientation, and their aim swerves back and forth on the compass of a writer's artistic purpose when they are brought into a collection and told one after another independently of any definite context."

tation by the Aesop-narrator. Paradoxically, a world which, at the literal level, defies the laws of nature by presenting the reader with animals that can reason and talk and with personified abstractions is dedicated to the principle that order can be perceived and must be maintained. In this world, the order of nature is presided over by Jupiter, and many fables recount the follies of men and beasts who have presumed to desire improvements in that order.

There is also an established hierarchical order in society at large, in the family, and within the individual himself. At all levels, reason must prevail, and folly is often depicted in a story of an individual's succumbing to the dictates of pride or greed when reason would have saved him. For the rational character, the world of the collection, even at its worst, is comprehensible. Thus, although he can seldom improve his situation, he can avoid the numerous pitfalls that await the unwary. He can, for example, predict the behaviour of most of his fellows. If he is a cock, reason tells him he must avoid the fox, who is not only his natural enemy but also a trickster who will attempt to mislead him. Should reason give way to pride, he will, like Chanticleer, find himself undone. On the other hand, if reason prevails, he will be able to outwit the fox.

Generally speaking, the social order of the fabulous world is a conservative one. Change is potentially dangerous and should, therefore, be avoided. Attempts to

change one's position in the social hierarchy are the result of pride or greed and lead only to unhappiness, so one should be content with one's state in life. Similarly, at the political level, tyrannical governments should be tolerated because the alternative may prove to be even more tyrannical.

Its dedication to social order was very likely the primary attraction of the fable collection in England during the period with which we are concerned. Through a variety of attempts to apply its ordering principles directly and specifically to contemporary political and social disorders the fable collection became a truly English literary form. The first task, however, was freeing the fable collection from the pedagogical ideal of literal prose translation which accompanied its use for the teaching of Latin grammar as well as morals.¹⁵ Aesop was best known through the standard Latin school collection, Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae, from which most translations appear to have been made; apart from Caxton's now archaic collection, no popular English translation existed.¹⁶

During the 1630's, however, the seeds of transformation had been sown through the publication of the first

¹⁵The question of where translation ended and imitation began was, of course, a matter of considerable interest to many authors in this period, including two practitioners of fable, Aphra Behn and John Dryden.

¹⁶For details of Aesopian collections before 1650, see David G. Hale, "Aesop in Renaissance England," The Library, 5th ser., XXVII (1972), 116-25. For the contents of early collections in England, see Appendices.

translations of Aesopian collections into English verse. The earliest extant English verse Aesop, the unknown R. A.'s The Fabulist Metamorphosed and Mythologized, appeared in 1634 and based its fables-in-doggerel upon the standard school collection.¹⁷ It was followed in 1639 and 1650 by William Barret's equally uninspired translations¹⁸ and in 1651 by Leonard Willan's The Phrygian Fabulist.¹⁹ All of these collections are characterized by their literary deficiency. Their contribution to the development of the English fable collection was solely their use of colloquial language in fables, a characteristic which was not so much intentional as it was a by-product of the exigencies of versification, as Barret acknowledges in his address to the reader: "I have endeavoured (as much as might be) after a Grammatical translation; every one knows the laws of poetry, and therefore will friendly excuse me in the free use of my innocent liberty." As time progressed, fabulists would take far less innocent liberties with language and with the structures of both the individual fable and the collection as a whole.

If we can, for a moment, indulge in an inversion of priorities, we will see that what was now necessary for the further development of the English fable was a state of

¹⁷STC 188.1

¹⁸STC 189 and Wing STC A688.

¹⁹Wing STC A732.

affairs which would lend itself to treatment in the fable form. That opportunity was provided by the series of political disorders that began with the Civil War and ended in the settled succession of the Hanoverians. During this period the country would suffer from the beheading of a king, the instability of the Commonwealth, the disappointment of its hopes in the Restoration of Charles II, the Popish Plot, Monmouth's attempts upon the throne, the removal of James II from power and, after the establishment of William and Mary on the throne, the knowledge that unless this branch of the Stuarts produced an heir, it was faced with another crisis of succession. In addition to her political problems, England suffered both plague and fire at home, while abroad she was engaged in wars with the Dutch and later in the struggle against the growing power of Louis XIV.²⁰ Most of these large issues as well as many

²⁰For general information on the political history of the period, see: Sir Keith Feiling, History of the Tory Party 1640-1714 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1924); Antonia Fraser, Cromwell: our Chief of Men (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973), published in America as Cromwell the Lord Protector (New York: Knopf, 1974); T. B. Macaulay, The History of England from the Accession of James II, 3 vols. (Boston: Aldine Press, n.d.); David Ogg, England in the Reign of Charles II, 2d. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956) and England in the Reigns of James II and William III (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955); G. M. Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts, rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1925; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960) and England under Queen Anne, 3 vols. (London: Longmans Green, 1930-32). For additional background material, see bibliography. The background material has been chosen primarily for its richness of detail about the period rather than for its analyses of historical events. No attempt has been made in the dissertation to argue the validity of the assessments of political events presented in the fable collections.

lesser ones were grist for the fabulists' mills, providing almost endless opportunities for experiments which would contribute to the development of the genre. At the beginning of the period the fable had barely begun to take an English form; by the end of the reign of George I, the English canon had expanded to nearly 1,500 stories including a healthy body of original English fable literature which would soon be augmented by the work of John Gay. In the course of the development, unsystematic as it was, the political fabulists had managed to exploit most of the conventions of the fable tradition.

Both the individual fable and the collection have much to offer the social critic. First, and of no small importance, is the inherent anonymity of the genre. Every fabulist becomes an Aesop, so that even when he publishes his fables in his own name, the implicit presence of the Aesop-narrator introduces a distance into the reader's response.

Secondly, the general allegory which is a natural part of the fable tradition lends itself to use for more specific purposes, and, in the case of the traditional stories, the presence of the traditional interpretation can disarm the potentially hostile reader. The courageous author can embellish a familiar story with local detail to bring the weight of both specific and universal criticism to bear upon a situation.

In applying fable to specific situations, the

fabulist may also take advantage of the fable's propensity to satire, particularly in its most popular sub-genre, the beast fable. The usual intention of beast fable is to amuse and instruct through a fiction which treats animals as if they were humans. The obverse lurks very close to the surface, however, and little effort is required to create a double response by attaching bestial qualities to the identifiable human beings who exist under the lions' skins and sheep's clothing of the fiction. The identification of beast and human is supported by the emblematic qualities which custom has bestowed upon many members of the animal kingdom and by comparison of the order of that kingdom with human social and political order. The dual response can be heightened if the beasts are characterized as heroic humans while they engage in activities which are extraordinarily brutish.²¹ Fables may, in this respect, often borrow from related genres such as beast epic, political allegories which substitute non-human characters for their real-life counterparts, and the dialogue or debate in which non-human characters discuss recognizable human situations.

Further, because the fable is inherently didactic, the author can, while veiling his representation of the situation in allegory, make a forthright appeal for action

²¹For general discussion of animal allegory and satire, see Ellen Douglass Leyburn, Satiric Allegory: Mirror of Man (New Haven: Yale University Press and London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1956).

or criticize the political situation in unmistakable terms. This moralizing, which convention has made acceptable to the reader, also gives the author the advantage of appearing to possess the moral authority which is traditionally attributed to Aesop.

Also, the disjunction between fable and moral allows for a wide variety of interrelationships between them. The two can be tightly knit to form a kind of exemplum at the one extreme, while at the other, the disjunction can be exploited for ironic effect, or the moral can be eliminated completely, throwing the onus for interpretation upon the reader.

The fable collection also provides a flexible tool for the social critic through its ability to absorb new material as well as through the adaptability of its small, independent units. According to the author's purpose, he may expand the collection to include original material written for the occasion, or he may select from the tradition to make a smaller collection of stories dealing with a particular subject. As there is no required order (although there is a fairly common pattern in the school Aesops), the fabulist can arrange the stories to create a structure suitable to his themes. The independence of the individual fables also allows an author to present more than one point of view, so that he may, for example, support an idea in principle in one story while rejecting it in practice in another.

Finally, the flexibility of fables in the period under discussion extended into the realms of literary form, diction, and even their printed form. Fables could be written in prose or in a variety of verse forms, in colloquial language or in heroic eloquence. They could be isolated and used as filler material in a journal or distributed in broadside. Small collections could be published as pamphlets and larger ones bound into books, some of them in exquisitely printed and illustrated folio editions.

Most of these characteristics were exploited, in the political fable collections which appeared between 1651 and 1722, to describe English society and prescribe for its disorders. As has already been noted, there is little evidence of any linear development of the skill with which fabulists were able to apply the fable collection to their respective political situations. There are within the period, however, four quite distinct movements, each of which represents a different kind of literary response to the political and social climate within which it occurred.

Only one significant fable collection was published during the Cromwellian period, but it is, perhaps understandably, the most complex of all. John Ogilby's mock-heroic Fables of Aesop Paraphras'd in Verse (1651) is an unhappy Royalist's response to the excesses and hypocrisies of his fellow countrymen of all persuasions during and immediately following the Civil War. Ogilby combined the

complexities of contemporary lyric poetry with satiric allegory to create the narrative unity which made his fable collection a lively reflection of the complex world around him.

During the Restoration period the fabulists began to move toward more partisan positions. Ogilby published a second collection in 1668, but it was far less complex than the first in its structure and devoted itself to satirizing the court. Toward the end of the period the fabulists began to take up even more specific political positions.

After the Revolution, political fable collections developed in two distinct ways: the large prose collection and the small verse pamphlet. The large prose collection was characterized by lengthy moral applications which, taken collectively, created a political philosophy. Sir Roger L'Estrange pioneered this form with his Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythologists (1692), which provided both a pattern and a challenge for those who objected to his Tory-verging-on-Jacobite principles. Two similar collections would appear over the next three decades: Fables Moral and Political. Translated from the Dutch (1703), a republican collection known as "De Witt's Fables," and Rev. Samuel Croxall's Fables of Aesop and Others (1722), the standard Whig Aesop of the century.

During the same period, Grub-Street took up the fable collection, producing small pamphlet collections in

verse which dealt with specific and immediate political issues. These collections are clearly the products of party hacks, who engage in attacks on political figures and challenge one another's principles. Among themselves they created a microcosm of the political controversies of the period, dealing mainly with the problem of succession in both England and Spain and the growing power of Louis XIV. The Treaty of Utrecht and the peaceful succession of George I brought an end to this use of the fable collection.

With the publication of Croxall's prose Aesop in 1722 the political collection had run its course, although the work of both Croxall and L'Estrange would survive throughout the century and beyond. John Gay's Fables of 1727, described by one critic as "the acme of the genre in England,"²² are the product of a new era of political stability, written for a society which was becoming increasingly interested in bringing order to the social intercourse of a burgeoning leisure class.²³

²² Thomas Noel, Theories of the Fable in the Eighteenth Century (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1975), p. 36.

²³ Bonamy Dobrée, English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century, Vol. VII of The Oxford History of English Literature, ed. F. P. Wilson and Bonamy Dobrée (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 15.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMONWEALTH PERIOD: JOHN OGILBY

The first versè fabulist to undertake a major conversion of the fable collection into English political and social terms was John Ogilby in his Fables of Aesop Paraphras'd in English Verse (1651).¹ Although little is known of Ogilby's intentions in writing his Fables, from the Dedication of the first edition it is evident that he considered them a serious work which he hoped would survive "untill the truest Test of Books shall sign its Commission for milder ages, and perhaps more cleer from Prejudice, Barbarity, and the most cruell of all enemies, Ignorance." Here we can also discover his respect for the Aesopian

¹Wing STC A689. The second edition of Ogilby's Fables published in 1668 (Wing STC A697) is reprinted in facsimile with an introduction by Earl Miner for the Augustan Reprint Society (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1965) and will be used here for the reader's convenience.

John Ogilby (1600-1676) had many careers. He was a dancing master until injury forced him to change occupations, at which time he went to Ireland as tutor and secretary to the family of the Earl of Strafford. Upon his return, after Strafford's impeachment and execution, he took up translation, publishing, and, eventually, geographical work. Throughout his life he was involved with the theatre. For further information, see: DNB; John Aubrey, Brief Lives, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (London: Secker and Warburg, 1949); Marian Eames, "John Ogilby and his Aesop," BNYPL, LXV (1961), 73-88; and Miner's introduction to the facsimile reprint noted above.

tradition, which, he says, has been "in these latter times dishonour'd by unworthy Translators," and we can discern a hint of his dual political and literary intentions in his description of the work as "the old Philosopher in a modern and Poeticall dresse."

Ogilby's achievement of his aims is, generally speaking, far more substantial than most of his critics, who have been guided in their judgments by the satires of Dryden and Pope,² have allowed. As William Wray points out:

All things considered, John Ogilby is by no means so poor a fabulist as Pope and Dryden suggest by their general condemnation of him as a writer. In the best of his fables he

²Dryden mentions Ogilby in MacFlecknoe, ll. 102 and 174 and used the Fables quite extensively as a source for The Hind and the Panther. See Earl Miner's commentary in John Dryden, Poems 1685-1692, vol. I of the California edition of Dryden's Works, edited by E. N. Hooker, H. T. Swedenberg et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 326-459.

Pope refers to Ogilby in The Dunciad Variorum, I, 121 and in the note to that line and quotes Ogilby later in the same book, ll. 256-60. See The Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. John Butt (London: Methuen, 1963), pp. 361 and 370.

Ogilby's translations are also mentioned derisively in Dryden's "Preface to Sylvae," California edition, III, 4, and in the "Preface to the Fables" in The Poetical Works of John Dryden, 2d. ed., ed. George Noyes (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1950), p. 748.

The influence of Dryden and Pope on Ogilby's reputation can be traced in the critical opinion of Sir Walter Scott, which is repeated by Noyes in his notes on MacFlecknoe: "This gentleman, whose name, thanks to our author and Pope, has become almost proverbial for a bad poet, was originally a Scottish dancing master. He translated the Iliad, the Odyssey, the Aeneid, and Aesop's Fables into verse; and his versions were splendidly adorned with sculpture. He also wrote three epic poems, one of which was fortunately burned in the fire of London," p. 969.

approach's La Fontaine himself and deserves a better reputation than he has been accorded.³

However, even Wray's positive reading of the Fables failed to recognize the extent of Ogilby's manipulation of the accepted patterns of the fable tradition to present to his readers a reflection of the world in which they lived and a commentary upon it.⁴ Out of the plain fabric of a traditional collection of disparate tales which comment upon generalized human situations, Ogilby pieced together a picture of life in England during the Civil War and the first years of the Commonwealth, a picture which contained a wide-ranging and often ironic commentary on what he saw.

The coherence of the collection is achieved by Ogilby's use of a broad range of devices which create patterns and link together the individual stories and their characters. At the same time, the fable collection's natural tendency to fragmentation becomes a mute witness to the state of England in 1651.

Ogilby's efforts to unite the collection are indicative of the problems of the age. Like Hudibras, the Fables are the product of a transitional period, "a period of violent political unrest and one in which men's ways of

³William R. Wray, The English Fable 1650-1800 (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1950), p. 54.

⁴Miner, in his Introduction to the Fables, notes that Ogilby "draws upon his personal experience and the experience of his nation," p. iv.

thinking underwent a fundamental change."⁵ Ogilby, like Butler, could, as an observer, only attempt to create a unified vision of this world, and it is perhaps significant that Butler, dealing with the same period, but writing some years later, was able to create a more unified literary appraisal. For Ogilby, writing in the midst of the upheaval, the relationships among the various factions and the nature of the intellectual processes required to maintain any one of the party positions could scarcely have been as clear. Thus, in addition to its role in the collection as such, each fable represents a response to some aspect of the events taking place around him, and each is, to some degree, a separate reflection upon the world as he perceived it at the time.⁶

Let us consider for a moment the situation in which Ogilby found himself. His attitudes could scarcely have conformed totally to those of any one faction. Charles I's abandonment of Ogilby's former employer, the Earl of Strafford, must, for example, have left Ogilby with a residue of resentment and ambivalent feelings about his own essentially Royalist position. At the same time, he was clearly unable

⁵Samuel Butler, Hudibras, ed. John Wilders (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), p. xxviii.

⁶It is perhaps ironic to find Arthur Barker describing Milton's prose works in a similar way as "less the expression of ordered ideas than a record of the painful attempt of a sincere but not markedly precise mind to achieve coherence of thought in the midst of social disintegration," Milton and the Puritan Dilemma 1641-1660 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1942), p. xviii.

to condone either regicide or many of the lesser acts committed by Parliament and its army. Ogilby's displeasure with Cromwell is apparent in the number of satiric allusions to him and the disparaging treatment of his supposed aspirations to kingship.⁷ Finally, we must bear in mind that Ogilby had to get his fables past a censor and for this reason was careful to cloak his political opinions in allegory and ambiguity.

For Ogilby's purposes, the fable collection was an ideal vehicle, not only in its structure, but also in its veil of anonymity and in its role as the purveyor of Aesop's wisdom. Moreover, he was able to bring to it a variety of new techniques and themes even while he retained much that was traditional. For example, like most of the traditional collections, the Fables begin with the story "Of the Cock and Pretious Stone" (C1). Why a proper Aesopian collection should open with the fable of the Cock and the Jewel,⁸ is unknown, but it was a common practice, and Ogilby seems not to have been anxious to draw too much attention to his deviations from that common practice.⁹

⁷Antonia Fraser, Cromwell: the Lord Protector (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), pp. 309 and 324-25.

⁸Miner, Introduction to Fables, p. v.

⁹Ogilby's addition of the Phaedrian version of the fable to the marginal notes of the 1668 edition may explain this custom. For Phaedrus, the jewel represented the wisdom of his fables. See Ben Edwin Perry, Babrius and Phaedrus (London: William Heinemann and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 279.

Similarly, although Ogilby altered and embellished familiar stories quite freely, his collection consists almost entirely of the familiar. Like his contemporaries, he appears to have begun with a core of the first 45 fables from the school Aesop,¹⁰ and, by rearranging and adding to them, gradually to have shaped the collection and forged the links which make it more than a simple gathering of unrelated stories. The collection contains 81 fables divided into four books of 22, 20, 18 and 21 fables respectively.¹¹ Of the 81, only three do not occur in the familiar school Aesop: Fable XXIX, "Of Cupid and Death" (C665); Fable LXI, "Of Cupid, Death and Reputation" (C666); and Fable LXXV, "Of the Cat and the Mice" (C630). Of these, only the second is Ogilby's original tale. The first, according to Mahlon Smith, appeared in Barnfield's "Affectionate Shepherd," and the third appeared in Thomas Blage's Schole of Wyse Conceytes.¹²

In addition to his use of the traditional school Aesop, Ogilby was also probably familiar with the English

¹⁰For contents of these collections, see Appendix C.

¹¹While this pattern was followed in the 1651 edition, the 1668 edition which is being used here for the reader's convenience, has no such divisions and includes an 82nd fable, which was added at that time. Apart from alterations mentioned by Miner in his introduction, the two editions are, otherwise, substantially the same.

¹²Mahlon Ellwood Smith, A History of the Fable in English to the Death of Pope (Unpublished doctoral dissertation: Harvard University, 1912), p. 412. For contents of the Blage collection, see Appendix C.

verse fabulists who preceded him: Henryson, Chaucer, Spenser, R. A., Barret and Willan, as well as with the fables of the beast epic tradition.¹³ From Chaucer he may well have borrowed some of his techniques of characterization, his treatment of courtly love in his first fable, and the device of the parliament of the birds.¹⁴ From Spenser came not only the general political use of fable, but also the alteration of the tale of the she-goat and kid (Fable LXXII: C24); Spenser's version is the only earlier English one I have found in which the kid actually allows the wolf to enter.¹⁵ From the verse collections Ogilby seems to have borrowed occasional details. For example, R. A. refers to the cock in Fable I as an epicure, a designation taken up by Ogilby in his 1668 annotations.¹⁶ He also calls the ass (of Ogilby's Fable XXIV: C13) a "Complemental Ass," and this too finds its way into Ogilby's version.¹⁷ Barret, like

¹³ Although Ogilby uses many of the fables which appear in the prose versions of Caxton and others, what few links can be established with his predecessors seem to indicate his familiarity with the work of the verse fabulists.

¹⁴ From "The Nonnes Preestes Tale" and "The Parliament of Foules" in Geoffrey Chaucer, Works, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2d. ed. (Cambridge Mass.: Riverside Press, 1957), pp. 198-205 and 309-318 respectively.

¹⁵ Edmund Spenser, the May eclogue in "The Shepherdes. Calendar" in The Complete Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser, ed. R. E. Neil Dodge (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1936), pp. 25-26. The "wolf" is a fox here, of course.

¹⁶ STC A188.1, R. A., The Fabulist Metamorphosed and Mythologized, 1634, Fable I.

¹⁷ Ibid., Fable XIII.

Ogilby, sees the stork's rule of the bog (Ogilby's Fable XII:C17) as the rule of will,¹⁸ and both refer to the legs of the hart (Ogilby's Fable XXVIII:C36) as "supporters."¹⁹

Henryson may have made an even more important contribution. As has been noted by Mahlon Smith (although he finds no evidence that Ogilby read Henryson), Henryson's short collection employs a technique which is one of the most outstanding characteristics of Ogilby's collection:²⁰ "the [integration] into sequences [of] fables normally treated separately by earlier fabulists."²¹ For David Hale, this technique, as it is used in Ogilby's sequence of fables dealing with mice (Fables VI-X), approaches "the narrative continuity of the beast epic."²² William Wray is less enthusiastic, feeling that the technique serves little purpose:

To be sure Ogilby does not go very far in developing these linkages. For example, in the three [sic] fables in which the mouse is a character, he does not trouble to endow the mouse with a consistency of character; he does not explain in terms of character, why the mouse who is brought forth by the mountain should be the same mouse who rescues the lion. In other words, the mouse is not such a character as Reynard the Fox in the beast epic.²³

¹⁸STC B189, William Barret, Aesop's Fables Translated into English Verse, 1639, Fable XVIII.

¹⁹Ibid., Fable XLI.

²⁰Smith, p. 415.

²¹Miner, Introduction to Ogilby's Fables, p. viii.

²²David G. Hale, "Aesop in Renaissance England," The Library, 5th ser., XXVII (1972), 124.

²³Wray, p. 53.

A critical position which falls somewhere between the two would be more correct. While it is not at all clear that the collection does, in fact, achieve the kind of narrative continuity that is characteristic of the beast epic, the technique does, nevertheless, serve to create among the stories links which convey the sense of a coherent world in which the characters are related to one another. These relationships are also emphasized by the use of names borrowed from the beast epic tradition. Not only does Ogilby use the familiar names of Reynard, Isgrim, Chaunticleer, Grimmalkin, Partlet and Bruin, as did most of his predecessors,²⁴ but he also adds the less frequently used Keyward, Jeffrey, Tybert, Belin, Kilbuck and Erswind.

The beast epic, best known in England in the cycle of Reynard the Fox (published by Caxton in 1481), achieves its narrative continuity through the picaresque character of Reynard and through its focus upon the court's attempts to deal with him. The relationships in Ogilby's sequences are considerably more tenuous. The Court Mouse in Fable VII (C9) is a relative of the mouse who fought the frog in the previous fable, "a Courtly Dame of Moustapha's great line"; the lion in Fable X (C177) refers to the mouse as one of the race which has suffered the tyranny of the frogs.

²⁴ All the earlier English verse fabulists with the exception of Leonard Willan, The Phrygian Fabulist, or the Fables of Aesop extracted from the Latine Copie, and Moraliz'd, 1650 (Wing STC A 732) use the beast epic names for some of their animals, perhaps, as often as not, for metrical convenience.

More humorously, a mouse is born of a mountain in Fable VIII (C21), and the mouse in Fable IX (C14), bragging of his conquest of the elephant, says, "from a Mouse this Mountain trembling ran." Even in this, the longest sequence of the collection, the narrative continuity is limited.

Similar links are established in the lesser sequences of the Fables. One of the frogs who play leap-frog on the head of King Log in Fable XII (C17) is the proud frog of Fable XIII, "Of the Frog and the Ox" (C31). The plight of the frogs in Fable XII, "Of the Frogs desiring a King," is due to the loss of "good Frogmoreton" in the battle of the frog and the mouse (Fable VI: C3). The wolf who eats the lamb at the stream in Fable XIV (C2) gets a bone caught in his throat and asks the crane to remove it in Fable XV (C6), a logical conflation of two stories usually treated separately. The same technique is used when the treacherous leader of the wolves in Fable XXXI (C38) is betrayed by the fox in Fable XXXII (C35) for the fruits of his treachery.

In a slightly more complex sequence, the lion who looks at the statue with the Forrester, in Fable L (C106), falls in love with the Forrester's daughter and is slaughtered, in Fable LI (C262); in Fable LII (C94/174), the Forrester, over-proud from his conquest of the lion, fails in an attempt to slaughter a bear. Other miniature dramas of this sort include that of the tortoise who recognizes the folly of envying the shellless frogs who are eaten by the

eels, in Fable LIII (C160), and then fails to recognize the folly of making an eagle an impossible promise in order to be able to fly in Fable LIV (C87). Similarly, the ass who is dissatisfied with his masters in Fable LXVIII (C75) is freed by Jupiter to run wild; dissatisfied, he envies a war horse until he sees him on the battlefield (Fab. LXIX; C77); then, in Fable LXX (C90), still on the battlefield, he picks up a lion's skin, behaves as if he were a lion, and for punishment is discovered and repossessed by the last master from whom he had escaped two fables before. There is less coherence in the story of the wolf who is driven off by the boar in Fable LXXI (C20) and then tricks a kid into opening the door to him in Fable LXXII (C24). The continuity between these two fables depends far more upon their common thematic interests than it does upon either character or the linking of plots.

Often, of course, the sequence produces amusing or ironic effects. This is the case of the sequence of stories about a cat who, in Fable LXXIII (C50), is, for a short time, turned into a woman who, still a cat at heart, cannot curb her predatory instincts; in Fable LXXIV (C61) these instincts begin to be refined as she undertakes to argue in justification of killing a cock. Finally, in Fable LXXV (C630), grown old, she moves into a convent and tricks a delegation of mice who come suing for peace.

If creating sequences of fables about the same characters had been the only device Ogilby used to draw his fables together, Wray's criticism would be justified. However, the continuity provided by the sequences is given additional support by many devices, including the occasional appearance of characters in stories in which they do not normally appear. For example, the greedy dog who lost his leg of mutton when he tried to catch its reflection in the stream (Fab. II:C4) reappears in the story of the lion hunting with the other beasts (Fab. III:C5). The party includes "All sorts of Dogs, mongst whom the Spaniel waits, / For Shadows hoping now substantial Cates."

Other devices also serve to stress the interrelationships which exist among the fables. The bear in Fable LII, "Of the Forrester, the Skinner, and a Bear" (C94/174), turns out to be the bear who attacked the bee hives in Fable XLIV (C164), and the lion in Fable X (C177) offers to the mouse who has rescued him, favours which include a promise "by the Eagle's means from Jove [to] obtain / A Stork that shall o'r Croaking Frogians reign"; the stork takes over the bog in Fable XII (C17).

Relationships between species are also stressed, as in the lion's mentioning his relationship to the cat: "Noble Catus boasts his Steck from Us" (Fab. X:C177), and in the relationship between the dog and the wolf, who says, "Dogs, once our brethren, cursed Curs, you lead / Against our

Race" (Fab. XIV:C2) and in the dog whose sire is Isgrim (Fab. LXXXI:C48). Similarly, the Ass of Fable XLVIII (C52) invokes a family relationship to press for the aid of the horse who refuses him assistance:

For thy fair Sisters sake,
Who once did bear
To me a Son, a Mule, my hopeful Heir.

Ogilby's characters are also related to one another through their participation in many events in the fable world, both inside the collection and beyond it. The hart who takes refuge in the ox-stall in Fable XXXVII (C42) recognizes that he cannot flee into the woods because "In Woods there is no Safety, every Bush / My Horns will tangle in," he says, making direct reference to the fate of the hart in Fable XXVIII (C36). Thus, instead of simply failing to see the danger in the situation at hand, he is, ironically, trying to avoid the pitfalls that claimed his predecessor.²⁵

To some extent, the world view Ogilby adopts is contained within his choice of the form itself, which is inherently conservative and which reflects the world view that had prevailed until Renaissance ideas began to dislodge it.²⁶ Fables tend to deal primarily with the folly of attempting to subvert the "natural" order of things, an

²⁵For political implications of this image, see below, pp. 51-52.

²⁶E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (London: Chatto and Windus and Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1943; reiss. New York: Vintage Books, n.d.), p. 83 ff.

order which is built into the relationships which exist in the world of the tales themselves and which is supported by the moral applications. Thus Ogilby can present a world which has declined into a state of near anarchy (a state not unlike Hobbes's natural state of man), while at the same time he can set against this the idea of a natural and proper order based upon the order of nature and the symbolic values which have traditionally been attached to its creatures; and he can do so with all the authority of tradition to support him.

The relationships within the fable world are based on hierarchies within which all members have special responsibilities. Hence, for example, submission to the ruler is a duty, but the ruler too must behave responsibly, and his subjects are well within their rights to defend themselves against tyranny. At the same time, however, the events within this world are not totally determined by the order within it, for the order is administered by Jove, to whom the characters can and do appeal, often foolishly. For example, the frogs who are dissatisfied with a benign monarch are justly sent a tyrant in Fable XII (C17).

In a similar way, the sovereign who does not maintain control over his kingdom brings about his own destruction: the cedar who gives an axe-handle to the husbandman is chopped down (Fab. XXXVI:C39), and the lion who allows himself to be divested of his teeth and claws is destroyed (Fab. LI:C262). On the other hand, in one of the few

examples of a proper order which does not break down, the lion who is merciful to his offensive subject, the mouse, benefits from the mouse's reciprocal generosity (Fab. IX: C14).

Relationships among the various orders of the fable world take two different forms. First of all, the orders are seen as reflections of one another in terms of their structures, in what Miner reminds us is "the old view of correspondences between the orders of creatures."²⁷ This basic premise is inherent in the fable tradition and is the basis of the so-called allegory of fables. If there are no correspondences, then the beast fable is meaningless, for the fabulist must be able to assume that there is an apparent macrocosmic order which is reflected in all the relationships which exist among creatures. Thus there is a parallel to be seen in the relationships between a king and his subjects, a lion and the other beasts, the eagle and the other birds, the oak (or sometimes the cedar) and the other trees. The sly counsellor of the king finds his parallel in the fox among animals and the daw among birds, so that in Fable IV (C10), for example, Ogilby can have the eagle who has been tricked by the daw say:

Ah Treacherous Daw!
By fair pretence, and counsel seeming good,
Thou hast deprived me of my dainty food.
Thus cunning Foxes use the Lyon's Paw;
And by these Arts Subjects from Princes draw
Soveraignty to themselves.

²⁷ Miner, Introduction to Ogilby's Fables, p. x.

In his version of this fable, as in many others in his collection, Ogilby has stressed the applicability of the story to a political situation. In the traditional version, the warning in the moral is directed to anyone who foolishly accepts counsel from someone who stands to gain from his actions.²⁸ Ogilby's expansion of the idea of correspondences into the social and political orders is not at all unusual for his time, but it is unusual in fable collections.

A similar extension of the fable and its application can be found in the parallel between a kingdom and the forest (Fab. XXXVI:C39). The swain convinces the "Royal Cedar" to give him wood for an axe handle, which allows him to chop down all the trees. The swain then realizes that he has destroyed the fodder for his animals and draws the parallel:

Thus Grants of Princes have themselves brought low,
 And oft O'r-throw
 Them, by their fall on whom they did bestow.

In this case, the fable is traditionally applied to one whose generosity is repaid by treachery.²⁹ Ogilby has both

²⁸Willan's version of the standard moral application is as follows:

In Man is found this strange Infirmities;
 What Nature gave not, most affect to bee;
 Whence, soonest they are took with flatt'ries sounds,
 Who, in themselves, have thereof smallest Grounds.
 So, craftie shirks use with success their Art;
 When, by the Ear, they thus infect the Heart.

Fable XI, The Phrygian Fabulist.

²⁹Barret's version of the standard moral application is as follows:

Beware to whom thou giv'st, for some there be
 That with most ill requite a courtesie.

Fable XXXIX

applied the fable specifically to a king and added the implication that such a deed will redound on the ingrate who undertakes it, an unmistakable reference to the financial difficulties Parliament will suffer, having abolished both the king and the House of Lords.

The parallels between the orders in the fable world are also worked out in terms of character types. For example, the foolish character who aspires to a position beyond his right or capability occurs in more than one order. Politically, of course, the character is the subject who aspires to kingship (Cromwell); at other levels he appears as the ass in the lion's skin and the jay who dons peacock feathers.

Another prominent correspondence which Ogilby employs and which is traditional in the fable is that among the predators of the various orders and their prey. In the lower orders the wolf preys on the sheep, the cat on the mice, the hawk on the dove or nightingale, and the eel on the frogs. At the human level, the predator is often a hypocrite who viciously misleads his prey in order to destroy him. As such, he is identified variously, depending upon the application of the fable. The wolf, for example, is often seen in diabolical terms, and very often in the seventeenth century represents a religious group. Familiar examples of this from outside the fable tradition include the famous passage from Lycidas which characterizes the bishops as false shepherds and the Roman Catholic Church as

"the grim Wolf with privy paw."³⁰ Similarly, in the Eikon Basilike pamphlets of 1649-51 there are many examples of this use of the image of the wolf on both sides of the controversy.

In addition to the parallel relationships which exist among the various orders of creatures, other kinds of relationships can be seen. For example, higher orders prey on lower orders: humans hunt, fish, catch birds, chop down trees, use animals as their servants; cats prey on cocks, storks on frogs. There are also wars between frogs and mice and between birds and beasts.

The relationship of these correspondences to the human realm is traditionally indicated through the moral application of the fable, but their relationship to specific political activity in Ogilby's world is indicated mainly through the use within the tales themselves of politically charged language which, for the seventeenth-century reader, alluded to specific political persons and events. There are, for example, several references to covenants and covenanters (Fables III, VIII, XLII) and one to the "Solemn League and Cov'nant" (Fab. XXXII). Civil war is likewise mentioned in four fables (VI, XXI, XL, LXXII) along with a multitude of references to various kinds of rebellion. Cromwell's cavalry regiment, Ironsides, is alluded to in

³⁰ John Milton, Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1957), pp. 123-24.

Fables VIII and XXVII; while the term 'malignant,' a common epithet used by the Parliamentarians to describe the Royalists (OED), occurs in Fables XIII, XVII, XXII, XXXIX, XL and LXXI as both adjective and noun. Two fables, XXIX and LXXII, mention sequestration, and four, commonweal or commonwealth (XXXII, XLVII, LXXV and LXXVII). Reference is made to two issues with which Cromwell was particularly concerned during his Parliamentary career: the draining of the fens (Fable XV)³¹ and the Root and Branch Bill (Fables XL, LXII and LXVII).³² There are, in addition, many references to royalty and its accoutrements, to the court, and, of course, to the military. In Fable XL, Ogilby uses the literary device of the parliament of the birds and ties it firmly to the English Parliament with its banished Lords and the "Master Speaker" of the House. There are also references to Saints, Church-robbers, Roses and thistles, Commons, Ranters, and the Hogen-Mogen Dutch; to the titles of

³¹ Cromwell had taken an early interest in the social problems caused by the draining of the fens and thereby earned the title "Lord of the Fens" from his enemies. Fraser, p. 55.

"In 1638 'Mr. Cromwell,' then of local celebrity only, had opposed the injustice of the drainage award in the interest of the Commoners, but he was not opposed to the scheme of reclamation, and in 1649 advocated an act for its completion." G. M. Trevelyan, Illustrated English Social History, 4 vols. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964), II, 158n.

³² Cromwell's involvement with the Bill of 1641 which aimed at abolishing episcopal church government is discussed in Fraser, p. 70 and G. M. Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts, rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1925; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960), p. 208.

officers in the Parliamentary Army in the term "Plunder-Master General"; and to the buff jerkins worn as battle dress by the cavalry of the New Model Army.³³

The use of such allusive language is a clear invitation to the reader to interpret the fables as political allegory, yet the collection itself does not operate as a complete and simple allegory nor do the individual tales within it. Ogilby has maintained a somewhat ambiguous stance, partly, no doubt, to avoid censorship, and partly because he refuses to identify himself completely with any one faction in the complex world of Cromwell's England. This is not to say that Ogilby does not take a position; he is, however, a moderate, less interested in supporting all the claims of any one party than in presenting a series of tales which, through their ability to shift the terms of allegory, are capable of revealing the true relationships among the various factions.

Ogilby's interest in depicting his world in the Fables goes beyond the parochial as he reaches out in both space and time to expand his scope and to relate England's experience to contemporary events on the continent and to events both mythical and historical of the past. His view of the decline from the golden age to his own is outlined in the opening of Fable XL, "The

³³Fraser, p. 160. William Wray is right in spite of himself when he suggests that these represent the red coats of the New Model Army, p. 48.

Parliament of the Birds" (Cl6):

When Jove by impious Arms had Heaven possest,
 And old King Saturn setting in the West
 Finish'd the Golden Dayes, a Silver Morn,
 Pale with the Crimes success, did Earth adorn,
 And gave its Name unto the second Age.
 Then Skies first thund'ed, Seas with Tempests rage,
 Four Seasons part the Year, Men Sow, and Plant,
 (The Golden Times nor Labour knew nor Want)
 Then Toyl found Ease by Art, Art by Deceits,
 Then Civil War turn'd Kingdoms into States,
 (For petty Kings Rul'd first) then Birds and Beasts
 Did with Republicks private Interests
 Begin to build; Eagles were vanquish'd then,
 And Lyons worsted lost their Royal Den.

With this decline, as we shall see in other contexts, the political activity of Ogilby's time became, in his view, something of a parody of past glory, the sadly flawed shadow of a golden past.

The basis for the political application of Ogilby's fables is the elaborate system of order and correspondences described above, so that disturbance of the proper order becomes a recurring theme throughout the collection. Disorder takes many forms, but the facts of war and of life under a military regime are perhaps the most pervasive elements in the theme and setting of the Fables. Stories dealing with war are plentiful in this collection, but even many of those which, in their traditional forms, contain no mention of it are, in Ogilby's versions, converted into war-time stories, stories with military connections, or stories which are elaborated either by allusions to war and to military events and heroes or by the inclusion of war within the narrative fabric of the work. Over and over

again there are references to battles and to civil war and rebellion.

The fables which traditionally include rebellion and war in their plots are Fable VI, "The Battle of the Frog and Mouse" (C3), Fable XX "Of the Doves and Hawks" (C18), Fable XXIX, "Of Birds and Beasts" (C34), Fable XXXI, "Of the Wolves and the Sheep" (C38), Fable XLV, "Of the Hart and Horse" (C45), Fable XLVII, "Of the Rebellion of the Hands and Feet" (C40), Fable XLIX, "Of the Fox and the Cock" (C352), and Fable LXIX, "Of the same Ass" who envied a war-horse (C77). Beyond this handful, however, Ogilby has integrated the language and events of war into nearly fifty more of his fables. In several instances he links the plots either to the battles described in earlier fables or to other famous battles. In Fable X (C177), for example, the lion mentions the war between frogs and mice, and the frogs of Fable XII (C17) have had problems since they lost their king in that same battle. Another battle within the collection, that between the birds and beasts in Fable XXIX (C34), leads to the jay's acquisition of the peacock's feathers in Fable XXX (C29). In Fable XLIX (C352) the fox attempts to trick the cock with news of a general peace in this same war. Similarly, after the cessation of war between the wolves and the sheep and the breaking of the treaty (Fab. XXXI: C38), the renewal of the war in Fable XXXII (C35) provides the plunder for which the fox betrays the wolf. In the fable "Of the Wolf and the Crane" (Fab.

XV:C6), the wolf wishes the crane well in his battle with the Pygmies, and the crane of Fable XXVI (C27) is invited to dinner by the fox when he arrives home from this same battle.³⁴ In Fable IX (C14), "Of the Lyon and the Mouse," the mouse claims to have participated in Pyrrhus's attack on Rome, and the lion in Fable L (C106), "Of the Lion and the Forester," when he speaks against the distortion of truth, says,

Where first I drew my breath,
I heard a Carthaginian at his Death,
The Roman Nation most perfidious call;
Crying out, by Treason they contriv'd the Fall
Of them, and their great Captain Hannibal.

Three related images emphasize Ogilby's concern with civil war and set England's problems into a universal context: the war in heaven, the overthrow of Saturn by Zeus, and the rebellion of the Giants. In Fable VIII, "Of the Mountain in Labour" (C21), the rebellion is seen as the result of Typhon's "Committing Incest with his Mother Earth," so that

the hopeful Heir
Should pull proud Jove from his Usurped Chair;
The Starry Towers by Mortals should be storm'd
And the Gods sculk in several Shapes transform'd.

Called to assist the labouring mountain are the "long-sided Widdows, six or seven, / Whose Husbands fell in the late war 'gainst Heaven." The power of the labouring mountain is such that "Not all the Covenanting Brethren's Tribes, /

³⁴Homer, *Iliad*, trans. W. H. D. Rouse (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1938; repr. Toronto: New American Library, 1963), p. 39.

That Heaven assaulted, could such Forces boast: / This bigger was than that Gigantick Hoast." In this fable, all three rebellions are evoked to describe the enormity of the overthrow of order. Again, in Fable XIII (C31), the death of the proud frog is compared with the fall of the angels; and in the fable "Of the File and the Viper" (Fab. XXVII: C37), the file is described as wearing a skin

so hard and rough
As that Infernal coat of Buff
The Luciferian General had on
In the first grand Rebellion,
Which no Coelestial arm
Could harm,
Or pierce,
But His, who guides the Stars, and Rules the Universe.

This same file, which wears the coat of buff worn by the New Model Army, is described later in the fable as "strong Iron-sides," linking the Civil War firmly with the fall of the angels.

Military imagery is used to describe many otherwise unmilitary events. In Fable III (C5), for example, the dawn is a military one in epic fashion:

When troops of Beams led by the grey-eyd Dawn
From Eastern Ports rush'd with recruited light,
And beat up all the quarters of the Night.

In the fable "Of the Court Mouse, and Country Mouse" (Fab. VII: C9), the mice attack a fort of food:

Little they said, but suddenly they charge
Huge Venison walls, then Towr's of Paste they batter;
Breaches are made in trembling Custard large,
Here a Potrido the bold Sisters shatter;
This takes a Sturgeon, that a pickl'd Sammon
Then tooth and nail
They both assail
Red Deer immur'd, or seiz'd an armed Gammon.

In Fable XXXIII, "Of the Fly and the Ant" (C30), the troops of ants who are storing their harvest for winter are called "black bands," a military term used to describe the "German mercenaries employed by Louis XII of France in his Italian wars,"³⁵ and in "a great Convoy guard one Grain of Corn." The bear in Fable XLIV (C164) attacks the bee-hives, "Joyful to raise a War on any ground." He overthrows "twelve Waxed Cities of that Nation," and is engaged "in mighty War," fought with "venom'd Weapons." The weasel of Fable LIX (C67) is advised by the soldiers who dine in the house to emulate the "Stratagem of Wit" used by their "gouty Generals" and to make war against the "black bands" of mice by cunning rather than strength. The North Wind in Fable LXV (C89) brags of his victories on land (the overthrow of towns) and at sea, "Where I 'twixt Billows storm the Gates of Hell." He attacks the traveller with "Case-shot of new created Hail," and "beleagures [him] with a suddain Shower." The winds' attack on the oak tree in Fable LXVII (C82) is described in terms of a cavalry charge:

Stout Eurus mounts his Steeds; on Northern Hags
 Rough Boreas rides; Black Auster's Sable bags
 And foul Borachio's fill'd i'th' Southern Main;
 Bright Zephyre now comes muffl'd up,
 And in a Troop
 Did bring a Heurricane
 To rend her.
 They all at once discharge;
 Huge Arms and Branches large,
 'Gainst Sun and Wind a Targe,

³⁵ Albert M. Hyamson, A Dictionary of English Phrases (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1922; facsimile repr. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1970).

From their proud Fury could no more defend her,
 But with a mighty Ruin Branch and Root,
 Groning her last, lights at the Mountain Foot.

Needless to say, many of the military images are ironic. The treatment of the winds as soldiers, for example, calls to mind a number of possible allusions: in terms of the mock heroic tradition, the image could be seen as an inversion of the miles gloriosus,³⁶ while in contemporary political terms it reflects upon those who supported the Root and Branch movement and links the wind image with the Puritan sects, a common reference which alludes not only to their belief in the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, but also to their long-winded sermons.³⁷

Along with the imagery of war and quite often closely linked with it, Ogilby uses images of debased love, sex, marriage, pregnancy and childbirth. In the opening fable (Cl), the cock descends to join "His Wives, his Concubines; and Fair Race." He is simultaneously aware of a different sort of relationship between the sexes, however, as is indicated by his description of the courtly lover who might have had the diamond:

If thee some skilful Jeweller had sold,
 Adorned thus with purest Gold,
 To a fond Lover; He, his Love to flatter,
 Would swear his Ladies Eys out-shine thy Raies
 (Brightest of Gems) although she look nine wayes.

³⁶Cf. the mouse in the following fable, "Of the Lion and the Mouse."

³⁷And, quite commonly, with less genteel activities. See the "Aeolists" in Swift's Tale of a Tub, Section VIII, for example.

There is, of course, irony in the cock's words, for he clearly both understands and despises the tradition: "to look nine ways" is to squint.³⁸ Like his rejection of learning in the final stanza, the cock's rejection of courtly love expresses his preference for the worldly and the material over the ideal and the spiritual. He may be a knight, or of knightly stock ("Of old the Valiant Cock the Eagle-Knighted"), but he is not a knight educated in the Renaissance tradition. The moral of the fable compares him with soldiers, farmers and merchants, the classes which generally supported Parliament against the king, rather than with the court, so that although he seems to be familiar with the values represented by the diamond, he has clearly rejected them and prefers to be governed by appetite.

Like the cock, the dog in the second fable is also governed by appetite, and this is expressed not only in his greed for food, but also in his characterization of it. Both mutton and shrimp are slang expressions for harlots (Partridge), and the meat is characterized as "his Love dear Lady Mutton." The theme of illicit love is carried through to the end of the tale with the allusion to the story of Ixion, who embraced a cloud in the form of Juno, begetting the centaurs.³⁹

³⁸Eric Partridge, A Dictionary of Historical Slang, abridged edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972). All further references will be to this edition.

³⁹See marginal annotation in 1668 edition of Fables.

The inseparability of war and love is perhaps most clearly evident in the two fables, "Of Cupid and Death" (Fab. XXXIX:C665) and "Of Cupid, Death and Reputation" (Fab. LXI:C666). As Mahlon Smith points out, unlike the rest of the collection, these are "not true fable themes but moral myths."⁴⁰ Taken as a pair of commentaries on the world of the Fables, they move in opposite directions, the one stressing the likeness between love and death, the other pointing out their differences. The background of both tales, however, is the disordered world: death is to be found, "where in mighty War, / Against his King, some Valiant General stands / . . . Or when that burning Star / Joyns a pestiferous Ray / With the great Eye of Day, / And Towns infected are." In this world of disease and rebellion, true love cannot thrive either in the court or in the city, as Cupid explains in Fable LXI:

But seek not me, where oft you hear my Name,
 In Princes Courts, nor 'mong the City throngs;
 They all are Atheists, only in their Tongues
 My Deity proclaim;
 Their Bosoms never felt
 My kindly Shafts, nor melt
 With true unequal Flame.
 They Lust, and Wealth adore, to me they bring
 Poesies for Offerings, conjur'd in a Ring.

In this topsy-turvy world, war provides the imagery to describe love and love becomes the simile to describe war, as in the moral of Fable LXXVI (C58):

Who Hate to Draw a Sword, and Guns abhor,
 Custome hath made most Valiant Men of War.

⁴⁰Smith, p. 410.

Love's Novice so, trembling, fresh Beauty storms,
Which soon lies ruffled in his Conquering Arms.

Love in this fable world sometimes ends in unsuitable choices of marriage partners as, for example, in Fables X (C177) and LI (C262). In the first, the mouse's overweening ambition leads him to request the hand of the lion's daughter, but he is so insignificant that he is stepped on "unawares" and slain. Ironically, the lion, who in this fable recognizes that, "Great are the woes unequal Beds attend," falls in love with the forester's daughter in Fable LI, allows himself to be duped into abandoning his teeth and claws, and is slain.

These two attempts at unnatural unions are not the only ones. Unnatural love reaches a peak in the familiar story "Of the Young Man and the Cat" (Fab. LXXIII; C50) in which, ironically, Venus creates a lady who, though described as a courtly lover might describe his lady, remains only a cat, leaving the young man to "embrace the Wind." Returned to the form of a cat in Fable LXXIV (C61), she engages in the sexual activity of her kind, becomes pregnant, and finally kills the cock, who impregnates the hens, who provide the eggs for her successor, "the Strumpet [who] enjoys the Bed / From whence I'm banished."

Unnatural or debased sexual unions are also responsible for producing some of the more ambiguous, dualistic characters who are half man and half beast. The traditional character of the fable collection who represents this

type is the satyr of Fable [XLVI] (C109)⁴¹ who is half goat and half man and who ironically complains about the traveller who acts in two contradictory ways. These characters begin to take on contemporary meaning through their association with other themes and image patterns within the collection. The dual nature of the satyr is associated with the ambiguous character of the traveller through his genealogy: the satyr was begotten by one of the fallen angels upon a mortal. His connection through the fall of the angels with the rebellion is clarified later in the tale when he declares himself

The Devil's Sister's Son, and to his Dam
As neer ally'd by my dear Mother, which
Is now a famous Caledonian Witch.

The satyr's association with both rebellion and Scotland suggests that he is at least as likely as the traveller to be the object of the fable's moral:

Who smile, and Stab; at once cleer, and attaint;
Like Pictures are, here Devil, and there Saint;
But Fiends and Saints convertible be; for where
We spy a Devil, some say a Saint goes there.

The genealogy of the wolves in Fable LXXI (C20) suggests a background similar to that of the satyr: "A War-Wolf mangy with an entail'd Itch, / Sympling Comprést a Caledonian Witch." The union begot Erswind who married Isgrim, whose genealogy is credited with his Puritan characteristics and with the onset of rebellion and reformation.⁴²

⁴¹ Misnumbered LXVI in 1668 edition.

⁴² Him a she-Wolf bore to a Wandring Jew,

Pregnancy also plays a large part in this tale: Erswind is pregnant and sends Isgrim to attack the pregnant sow to whom he volunteers help in rearing her young, along with his own whelps, to be pastors. The theme of generation in this fable, as in others in the collection, seems not so much to celebrate a fruitful and joyous union as to signify the bestial multiplication of the proponents of disorder.

The unnatural unions and the dualism of the characters tend to reflect the dualistic view of man professed by the Calvinists, and this is supported by the same association of these characters that we found in the case of the wolf, both politically and religiously, with the Puritans. The dualism is compounded in the "Centaur" of Fable XLV (C45), whose duality is clearly defined in the separate characters of the man and the horse whose interests are totally incompatible.⁴³

Both the unnatural union and the dualistic character of its offspring are invoked by the lion of Fable LI

Who by his Humane Nature got the hint
 Of Wolvish Discipline in Geneva Print,
 And his Mad Zeal first made the Forest blaze;
 This by his Howling Rhetorick did raise
 Arms 'gainst his King, did antient Right supplant,
 And made Beasts take a beastly Covenant;
 This Urehins call'd, and stir'd up senseless Moles,
 And innocent Sheep inspir'd with Wolvish Souls;
 Then Females, like Milch Tygres first were seen
 To Rage against the Lioness, their Queen;
 Steers, Colts, and Asses, did like Panthers stare,
 And Bulls Horn-mad for Reformation were.

⁴³ See discussion of political implications below,
 p. 52.

(C262) to support his argument in favour of marrying the Forester's daughter. He cites the advantages to the offspring of such a union:

Our Race deriving from the Father's side
Such active Spirits, Strength, and Valiant Hearts;
From her Womb taking Humane Form, and Arts;
How may we be advanc'd? where shall our Sons
Find limits for their vast Dominions?
The Sibils Man-Lyon, stil'd the wondrous Birth,
Must rule the Conquer'd Nations of the Earth.

Such were Alexander the Great and Orson, says the lion, both offspring of unions between beasts and humans. The argument is, however, meaningless, for the lion is slain, having surrendered his power in exchange for love. The fable could thus constitute a warning to Charles II against the dangers of a marriage such as that proposed with Lady Anne Campbell, daughter of the Marquis of Argyll, in the spring of 1651.⁴⁴ The death of the lion is, of course, connected with the recurring theme of the killing of the king, and this, in turn, is not unrelated to the theme of unsuitable (if not unnatural) marriage. More than one historian has blamed the disastrous outcome of Charles I's reign at least partly upon his marriage and the influence he allowed his queen to exert in the governing of England.⁴⁵

One of the central political issues for England in 1651 was the question of who should govern the land and how

⁴⁴ Maurice Ashley, Charles II: the Man and the Statesman (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1971), p. 41.

⁴⁵ Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts, p. 126.

it should be governed. The choice seemed to be between two extremes: tyranny and anarchy, or so the opposing sides seemed to view it, particularly after the beheading of the king. The theoretical debate was also fuelled by practical considerations: Cromwell had defeated Charles II at Worcester and was rumored to be eyeing the throne, while Thomas Hobbes had just recently published his Leviathan, seen by many as a document which could be used to support anything Cromwell chose to do.⁴⁶

The killing of the king is an image which keeps recurring in Ogilby's collection, and the king as victim is most often characterized as the royal hart. He is dismembered in Fable III (C5), had once been pulled down by the old hound in Fable XVIII (C36), is hunted and slain again in Fable XXXVII (C42), is driven out and exiled in Fable XLV (C45). In each of these fables the situation is presented in a slightly different way. In Fable III, the characterization of the hart as the king leads immediately to the identification of the lion as Cromwell, already playing the role of king and treating his subjects in a manner at least as tyrannical as that of his predecessor, who is now a helpless victim at the mercy of a bloodthirsty and greedy crew.⁴⁷ In Fable XXVIII, the hart brings about

⁴⁶ See, for example, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, 6 vols. 2nd. ed. (Oxford: at the University Press, 1833), I, 341.

⁴⁷ This is not unlike the descriptions of Charles's fate in Eikon Basilike.

his own downfall through his failure to recognize the quality of his "supporters" and the dangers inherent in depending upon the power of his crown of antlers. His successor learns from his mistake in Fable XXXVII, but is still unable to escape from his pursuers. Here one is tempted to see an allegory of the flight of Charles II after the battle of Worcester, although this seems clearly impossible.⁴⁸ Finally, the tyrannous hart is driven into exile by the horse, who is forever after forced to submit to the hand of the soldier who has helped to rid him of the hart. The political implications of this fable are clear. Parliament has rid the land of a tyrannical king, but at great expense, for it is now at the mercy of the soldier, representing the army, which had, by this time, become very difficult to control.

Other images of the killing of the king include the "decollated Head" which is attacked by the wolf in Fable XXII (C28). The head, of course, turns out to be made of oak, which foils the bloodthirsty wolf and, at the same time, suggests both the enduring quality of the monarchy and an identification of Charles I with the religious statues which were destroyed by the Puritans. This latter allusion may again be a reference to the Eikon Basilike.

⁴⁸The Battle took place on 3 Sept. 1651, and Ogilby's Fables were entered in the Stationers Register on October 6. They had, however, been passed by the censor on July 1. Charles had been in Scotland for over a year, so it is possible that Ogilby wrote the fable rather as a warning than as an allegory of current events.

A clearer image is to be found in Fable XLVII, "Of the Rebellion of the Hands and Feet" (C40):

Reason, once King in Man, Depos'd, and dead
The Purple Isle was rul'd without a Head.

In this fable, the old image of the human body is invoked to describe the state, but the fable of Menenius Agrippa is extended to include the image of beheading. In most versions of the tale, including that used by Shakespeare in Coriolanus,⁴⁹ the head plays no part in the tale: the members simply rebel against the belly.

The image of the king as victim is offset by the fables which portray the king as a tyrant who has brought about his own downfall, as a duplicitous trickster, as a fool who has been tricked by false friends and counsellors into giving up his power or as a foolish lover who surrenders his power for a love affair. In several of these instances Ogilby seems to be taking issue with Hobbes's theories of kingship, and in all of them he is concerned with the problems of monarchical government.

In Fable XII, "Of the Frogs desiring a King" (C17), Ogilby takes up the problem of the relationship between the king and his subjects. The Frogs, having lost their king, cannot get along with one another:

Since good Frogmoreton Jove thou didst translate
How have we suffer'd turn'd into a State?

⁴⁹William Shakespeare, Coriolanus, I, i in The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, ed. William Allan Neilson and Charles Jarvis Hill (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1942), p. 1290.

In several Interests we divided are;
 Small Hope is left well grounded Peace t'obtain,
 Unless again
 Thou hear our Pray'r
 Great King of Kings, and we for Kings declare.

While they are willing to allow the theory that "Supreme Power may on the People be / Settled," their problems are practical: they are ruled by "factious Counsels," and they need a King to direct their business. When they get a King, he is not to their liking, because he is not active enough, so they ask for another "To lead them out, / One that did love, / New Realms to Conquer, and his Old Improve." So far, the situation sounds somewhat akin to that described by Hobbes: the people need a sovereign to protect them, and they willingly surrender their power to him. For Hobbes, however, it is to the people's advantage to give up some of their freedom for the security a monarch can provide.⁵⁰ For the frogs, a "cruel Prince that made his Will a Law" is intolerable, and they petition Jove once more for relief, but he refuses them. The situation would seem to be Hobbesian, and the frogs should, therefore, be grateful for their subjection. The problem is, of course, that absolute monarchy from which there is no recourse is quite likely to be tyrannical, a probability which Hobbes tended to ignore. Moreover, Hobbes believed that subjects required a king to protect them from one another and from outside powers,⁵¹

⁵⁰ Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, ed. C. B. Macpherson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p. 264.

⁵¹ Ibid.

and here the frogs desire a more active King who will lead them in conquering others. Finally, according to the moral, the issue is not at all clear to the people:

No Government can th'unsettled Vulgar please,
Whom Change delights, think Quiet a disease.
Now Anarchy and Armies they maintain,
And wearied, are for King and Lords again.

In Fable XXIII, "Of the Lion grown old" (Cl2), the tyrant, having lost his power, finds himself at the mercy not only of those who take rightful revenge, but also of those whom he has foolishly befriended. The moral makes no differentiation between the two, but suggests that all subjects will respond in this way to weakness in a king:

When Kings are weak, then active Subjects strive
To raise their Power above Prerogative;
Both Friends and Foes conspire with Time and Fates
Oft to reduce proud Kingdoms into States.

Czilby may well be addressing himself here to one of the problems raised by Hobbes: what happens when the sovereign loses his power but fails to relinquish it by naming a successor. Clearly, according to Hobbes, the subjects have no obligation to a weak king:

The Obligation of Subjects to the Sovereign, is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasteth, by which he is able to protect them. For the right men have by Nature to protect themselves, when none else can protect them, can by no Covenant be relinquished. The Sovereignty is the Soule of the Commonwealth; which once departed from the Body, the members doe no more receive their motion from it. The end of Obedience is Protection; which, wheresoever a man seeth it, either in his own, or in anothers sword, Nature applyeth his obedience to it, and his endeavour to maintaine it. And though Sovereignty, in the intention of them that make it, be immortall; yet is it in its own nature, not only subject to violent death, by forreign war; but also through the ignorance, and passions of men, it

hath in it, from the very institution, many seeds of a natural mortality, by Intestine Discord.⁵²

Hobbes postulates no process by which a weak king is to be replaced, and Ogilby seems to be suggesting that the result will be a return to something approximating the natural state in which the struggle for power will resolve itself, not in the creation of another sovereign but in the creation of a "state" (OED: a republic, non-monarchical commonwealth). However, Ogilby's own royalist preferences are given away here in the use of the verb 'reduce.'

The weak king's inability to protect himself from outside powers is matched in Fable LVI, "Of the Eagle and the Beetle" (Cl21) by the king's inability to protect himself from the revenge of the subjects he has wronged. The beetle notes the ingratitude of the king, for whom he had fought in the past:

Then said the Beetle, I that kill'd a Horse
With Hornets nine in that Victorious day,
And dost thou thus thy Souldier's service pay?
Those that can Help, to Hurt may find a way.

Even Jove is unable to protect the Eagle's eggs from the beetle's revenge and pronounces a moral of his own at the end of the tale:

I that have made, and can unhinge
This World's great Frame, yet cannot curb Revenge.
And therefore Mortals, you that strongest are
Of injuring the smallest Worm, beware;
Since they Our Lap, a Sanctuary, not spare.

The foolish king who is tricked by false counsellors

⁵²Ibid., p. 272.

is treated in two fables: IV (C10) and XXXVI (C39). In the first, the greed of the royal eagle is outdone by the greed of the daw, who offers the king advice about opening the shellfish. Ironically, at the end of the tale, the king recognizes his own folly and, in a parody of the Hobbesian theory of kingship, says:

the Monarch's wing
 Must be stretch'd out to his own ruining;
 No other power
 So high can towre,
 'Tis the King only must destroy the King.

The same advice to kings is repeated in the moral of the fable:

Let Princes of the best Advice beware,
 Nor trust the Greedy, they still Treachefous are;
 Subjects to Kings Exchequers have no way,
 Unless themselves deliver up the Key.

In Fable XXXVI, the "Royal Cedar" is the victim of a conspiracy. The swain appeals to the under Cops (that did complain / Their Sovereign / A Tyrant was). He is aided by

Some Rotten-hearted Elms, and Wooden Peers, [who]
 Run with the Stream, spurr'd up by Hopes and Fears;
 Avarice, Pride,
 Make others side;
 Hoping more wide;
 Some mighty Trees remov'd, they in their stead
 Branches might spread
 From Sea to Sea, and raise to Heaven their Head.

Finally, "unwilling, the forc'd King consents, / And soon repents." The folly of taking bad advice is underlined in the moral:

Who Weapons put into a Mad-Man's Hands,
 May be the first the Error understands;
 But Kings, that Subjects with their Sword intrust,

If they do Suffer, seems not much unjust.

In these fables Ogilby seems to be suggesting that Charles brought about his own downfall, first through allowing Parliament to restrict his supply,⁵³ and secondly through losing control of the army to Parliament.⁵⁴

Two stories deal with the king as trickster, perhaps in recognition of the duplicity Charles was wont to practise. In Fable XXXVIII, "Of the Lyon that was Sick" (C43), the fox is too cunning to be tricked into the den into which many footprints lead, but from which none return. The carefully chosen wording of the passage suggests that there is a deliberate political implication as well:

Because he many Tracts espi'd
Of Visitants repair'd to's Royal Den;
But saw no Print of those return'd agen.⁵⁵

The passage apparently refers to censorship. The moral, on the other hand, probably refers to the duplicity of Charles who was not above promising one thing and doing another.⁵⁶

Not too much Credence to Kings Letters give;
In Flowry Eloquence black Serpents live;
Conster th'ambiguous Words, and wary read,
For I'll advance, that's I'll take off thy Head.

The second example of the duplicitous king also deals with a lion whose power has vanished. In Fable LXIV,

⁵³Trevelyan, England Under the Stuarts, pp. 132-48.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 212.

⁵⁵Italics mine.

⁵⁶C. V. Wedgwood, The Trial of Charles I (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1967), p. 12.

"Of the Lion and the Horse" (C32), the lion is old, "his pow'r grown weak, his Crown / By Bestial Commotions tram-pled down." In a country where "Law hath no Force / When Plains are eaten up by Armed Horse," he can no longer be a king, nor can he have a career in law. Nor can he become a preacher, for the preachers too have suffered since the pulpits have been taken over by the Independents. He sees that his only opportunity is to become a physician, and he undertakes to cure a horse, who, inevitably, sees through his disguise and tricks him into being kicked. Again, there is a suggestion of Charles's duplicity, particularly in the period before the Second Civil War, the outcome of which was swift and, perhaps, comparable to the lion's experience:

I am with Fraud for Fraud most justly paid,
And my own Stratagem hath me betray'd.

Who lay a Bait,

Should see lest others use not like Deceit:
Too late

They may repent, having their Error then
Writ on their Brow, thus, with an Iron Pen.

His understanding of the situation becomes doubly ironic if we imagine that the lion's understanding is that he has been conquered by "Ironsides," and if we then recognize that the iron pen might also represent the sword with which Charles was finally beheaded.

While Ogilby is, apparently, raising questions here about Hobbes's theories of absolute monarchy, he is clearly in agreement with him on two points: the problems inherent in the king's need for counsel and the difficulty of

obtaining agreement among the members of a sovereign body such as Parliament. In addition to the two fables dealing with false counsel, which have been discussed above, Ogilby uses the fable "Of the Fox and the Lyon" (Fab. LXXVI:C58) to demonstrate how the counsellor becomes familiar with the king of whom he is at first afraid. Ironically, the moral of the story moves away from the counsellor to relate him with the combined images of love and war which characterize the fables of conflict:

Who Hate to Draw a Sword, and Guns abhor,
 Custome hath made most Valiant Men of War.
 Love's Novice-so, trembling, fresh Beauty storms,
 Which soon lies ruffled in his Conquering Arms.

Through the moral, Ogilby is able to depict the counsellor's widening spheres of influence as he becomes both more self-confident and more dangerous.

The difficulties of sovereign bodies in making wise decisions spring from the various interests of their members. Hobbes sets forth the problem in Leviathan II, 19, where he cites several reasons for preferring monarchy to assembly.⁵⁷ In the Fables, the problem is depicted in the familiar tale of "The Parliament of Birds" (Fab. XL:C16). The assembly's inability to come to a wise decision is founded in the private interest represented by the linnet. The result is a foolish decision, which is as self-destructive as the decision of the members to rebel against the belly and for the same reason: "This House by Reason was

⁵⁷Hobbes, pp. 241-51.

not rul'd, but Sense" (p. 99). For Ogilby, not only will a ruling assembly make mistakes, but it will make them consistently.

In perverse Counsel best Advice is scorn'd,
The worst, with Art and handsome words adorn'd,
Enacted is; But private Interest blinds
The Wisest, and betraies the Noblest, Minds.

If an absolute monarch can be misled by false counsel, a sovereign assembly is likely to act against wise counsel.

Even within an absolute monarch himself there are conflicting interests which can lead to his making decisions which are not in the public interest. This question is raised by Hobbes in Leviathan, II, 19, wherein he recognizes that this problem could arise, but asserts that "in Monarchy, the private interest is the same with the publique."⁵⁸ The reason for this, according to Hobbes, is that

The riches, power, and honour of a Monarch arise only from the riches, strength and reputation of his Subjects. For no King can be rich, nor glorious, nor secure; whose Subjects are either poore, or contemptible, or too weak through want, or dissention, to maintain a war against their Enemies.

For Ogilby, in the story "Of the Lion and the Mouse" (Fab. IX:Cl4), although the motives may be different, the results are much the same:

Kings be to Subjects mild; and when you move
In highest Spheres, with Mercy purchase Love.
From private Grudges oft great Princes have
'Midst Triumphs met with an untimely grave:
And Swains have power sometimes their Lords to save.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 241.

Moral

Mercy makes Princes Gods; but mildest Thrones
 Are often shook with huge Rebellions:
 Small Help may bring great Aid, and better far
 Is Policy than Strength in Peace or War.

Unlike Hobbes, Ogilby could find no unifying principle which would solve the political problems of the nation. If, like Hobbes, he saw the absence of restraint as making the "life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short,"⁵⁹ he also saw the dangers of tyranny which could create a life of similar misery. Hobbes's absolute monarch would surely be as much a creature of unrestrained appetite as were the Parliamentarians.

References to Leviathan itself occur in only two fables, VIII and LXXVI. In Fable VIII, "Of the Mountain in Labour" (C21), the coming rebellion is compared with Hercules who, "In Cradle strangled Serpents; but this [Rebellion] can / Crack 'twixt his nail, Ironside Leviathan." The reference is ironic in its fusion of the originally rebellious "Iron-sides" with the all-powerful government of Leviathan. It makes a complex image indeed, and one that is highly ambiguous, for it suggests an absolute government headed by the army.

The second allusion to Leviathan is equally ironic. The fox's first vision of the lion whose "spreading Robe / Covers at least half the Terrestrial Globe" (Fab. LXXVI: C58) is at least suggestive of the famous title-page

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 186.

illustration of the 1651 edition of Leviathan in which the absolute monarch, clothed in the people, stretches out his arms, holding sword and sceptre, to embrace half of the visible world. The lion in Ogilby's fable is, at the same time, characterized as one "whose hard Teeth can / Crack Brazen bones of the Leviathan." The lion as absolute monarch is seen to be capable of destroying the covenanted state. This portrait is, of course, undermined in the later stanzas of the fable as the lion falls more and more under the influence of the fox.

Beyond direct allusions to Leviathan, Ogilby deals with many of the philosophical questions which concerned Hobbes and his contemporaries: the nature of kingship; the problem of tyranny; the roles of will, appetite and reason; the nature of man; the nature of power and prerogative; the question of equality; the conflicting motives of public interest and private interest, based on the possibility of material gain; the duties of counsellors and the abuse of their role; and the use and abuse of civil law.

A major treatment of some of these problems occurs in Fable III, "Of the Lyon, and other Beasts" (65). The basic story raises the problem of tyranny under an absolute sovereign who defies the claims of justice. Here Ogilby has created a complex situation with a fable containing two royal beasts, the lion and the hart.⁶⁰ the royal hart,

⁶⁰The presence of two royal beasts is a matter of some concern to William Wray, even though he understands

slain by the people, can only represent the murdered Charles I. The lion becomes, more or less by default, Cromwell, who, in 1651, was gradually acquiring something of the stature of a monarch, a development which Ogilby is able to cast back into the past as part of the final phase of the Civil War. The lion and the sun become one, in Ogilby's picture of the sunrise with its completion: "Then was the Lyon up, and all his Court." This fusion of the rise of the monarch with the rise of the sun is probably not accidental, given its structure.⁶¹ The sunrise is described first in military terms:

When troops of Beams led by the grey-eyd Dawn
From Eastern Ports rush'd with recruited light
And beat up all the quarters of the Night.

Spirits are "routed" and "Dreams and Fantastick Visions put to flight." All the images suggest military action and, therefore, the role of the military in the establishment of the Commonwealth.

The imagery of this passage, however, suggests more in terms of Hobbes's description of the relationship

their signifying Cromwell and Charles I respectively (p. 46). Ogilby might, of course, have known that Cromwell's coat of arms included a lion (Burke's Complete Armory).

⁶¹ Although the sun image has many implications, it is probably not a reference to Louis XIV, who was only thirteen years old in 1651, nor is it very likely to be making use of the sun/son pun which was so common during the period. There seems no place here for the Christian implication of the play on words, nor for its use to designate Charles II. Similarly, it seems unlikely that Ogilby is alluding to the pervasive sun imagery of Shakespeare's Richard II with its portrayal of a martyred king who might be equated with Charles I.

between sovereign and subject. In the presence of the sovereign, subjects, "though they shine some more, some lesse, when they are out of his sight; yet in his presence, they shine no more than the Starres in the presence of the Sun."⁶² Thus, the stars which "disorder'd hid in Sea-Nymphs Beds, / Or back to Heaven did shrink their golden heads" become an image for the powerless beasts at the end of the fable:

None of the Beasts their grievances dispute,
 All home return, sad with a Hungry Maw.
 But as they went, one said, Though Equals must,
 Yet when they please Superiors may be Just.

The beasts are eclipsed by the lion's absolute power:

No Subject 'gainst his Prince durst try his Suit;
 Not Reynard, though most learned in the Law.
 Vain are all Pleas against the Lyon's Paw,
 'Tis onely Force must Violence Confute,
 Just Title, present Power doth over-aw.

The imagery of light, begun in the opening stanza, is continued in the description of the beasts in the third stanza. Ambiguously, Isgrim, Bruine and all his bears are described as "Attending in the Presence yet being dark." Jeffry, the ape, is "a gallant Spark," and the spaniel hopes to dispel the shadows. In the following stanza, the hunt is successful very shortly after the rising of the sun. While it may be suggested that the confluence of Hobbes's imagery and Ogilby's is merely fortuitous, it is very difficult to deny their relationship in the face of Ogilby's moral which is clearly concerned with matters discussed by Hobbes:

⁶²Hobbes, p. 238.

When mighty Power with Avarice is joyn'd,
 Will is obey'd, and Justice cast behind;
 So Tyrants to ingage the People, grant,
 And at their Pleasure break the Covenant. :

Here Ogilby may be attacking the Hobbesian idea that a ruler cannot make (and therefore cannot break) a Covenant. He may also be warning the Scots about the Covenant that was made with Charles II in 1650. This interpretation would almost certainly have occurred to the Restoration reader, at any rate, for he would have been aware of Charles's ultimate treatment of that Covenant:

Charles II swore to the Scots that he would abide by it, and therefore they crowned him in 1651 at Dunbar; but at the Restoration he not only rejected the Covenant, but had it burnt before the common hangman.⁶³

As we have seen, Ogilby has used recurring characters as a basis for his treatment of the problems of government, and we shall find that he uses similar techniques in his treatment of the religious aspects of the political issues. His manipulation of the recurring character for thematic purposes is perhaps most clearly demonstrated in his handling of the character of the wolf. Second only to the fox in number of appearances, the wolf is a considerably more complex character and receives far more detailed

⁶³William Rose Benet, ed., "Solemn League and Covenant," in The Reader's Encyclopedia, 2d. ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965), p. 943. Benet's source is probably The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. E. S. de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), III, 289.

treatment. Ogilby took advantage of the familiar political and religious symbolism of the wolf to create an ambiguous character, who is identified with either of the religious extremes.⁶⁴

The wolf's first major role is in the familiar fable "Of the Wolf and the Lamb" (Fab. XIV:C2), in which he accuses the lamb of several offenses which he cannot have committed. He is the classic wolf, "with Glowing Eyes and Brisly hair," who confutes the traditional characterization of the lamb by calling him sacrilegious, claiming he is the sheep's scapegoat, and reversing the old "wolf-in-sheep's-clothing" by accusing the lamb of robbing graves while wearing "Wolves Habit." He accuses the sheep of turning dogs, the "former brethren" of the wolves, against them, and ends up with an irrelevant account of "rebellious Jupiter's" transformation of King Lycaon into a wolf. The wolf pictures himself as innocent and the sheep as a guilty race, "still plotting harmless Wolves to overthrow." However, he styles himself as a ruler, and undermines his case by identifying himself with Lycaon, king of the iron age when all

⁶⁴The wolf was an image used by each side to describe the other during the Civil War period. A great deal of this imagery can be found in the pamphlets of the Eikon Basilike pamphlet war of 1649-51. See Wing STC L2640, [David Lloyd], Eikon Basilike, 1649, p. 58; Wing STC E267, Eikon Alethine, 1649, p. 66; Wing STC S6350, Edward Symons, A Vindication of King Charles, 1648, p. 19; Wing STC J451, Joseph Jane, Eikon Aklastos, 1651, p. 200. Wing STC H3071, James Howell, Epistolae Ho-Eliauae, 1650, concludes: "They err, who write no Wolves in England range, / Her Men are all turn'd Wolves, O monstrous change!" p. 253.

manner of evil existed. This was the age when the giants attempted to overthrow Jupiter. Lycaon was the Arcadian tyrant who scoffed at his people's worship of Jupiter, and, in an attempt to test Jupiter's deity, served a banquet of human flesh. For this, Ovid tells us, he was punished by being turned into a wolf.⁶⁵ The bloodthirsty wolf, then, reveals his own character by identifying himself with Lycaon, and confirms it by his attack on the lamb. The wolf's appetite for flesh and blood appears, in this fable, to represent an attack on the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, although Ogilby never says so directly.

In the very next fable, in fact, Ogilby hints in the opposite direction. Nothing in the story itself denotes any comparison, but the wolf is likened in the moral to the impious who think they are doing a favour by letting statues stand. The wolf clearly does not belong to those who accept statues. In Fable XXII (C28), however, the wolf is again presented ambiguously; he is characterized by his "Eys casting malignant Light," and 'malignant' is an epithet "applied between 1641 and 1660 by the supporters of the Parliament and the Commonwealth to their adversaries" (OED). He looks forward to feeding on "blood and humane Slaughter," but he is again betrayed by his failure to recognize what has happened; he mistakes broken statues for human remains (not divine, as we might expect were he

⁶⁵Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Mary M. Innes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955), pp. 33-35.

being maliciously represented as a Catholic), and he fails to recognize the beheaded king. He also has no sympathy with those who are taken in by "Idol stocks and stones."

Again in Fable XXXI (C38) we are confronted with wolves, but this time the detailed attention to flesh and blood is absent. The wolf is simply one who makes a treaty and breaks it, suggesting far more the breaking of the Covenant than any dealings with the Catholic Church. Indeed, in the next fable, "Of the Wolf and the Fox" (C35), we discover that this is precisely what has happened. The wolf who emerges from the pack is the one called "Plunder-Master-General," a title which designates him as leader in a form which approximates Cromwell's titles during his army career.⁶⁶ The wolf's withdrawal into "a State alone like King's" expresses the fear of the English that Cromwell will become nothing more than a new tyrant.⁶⁷ The wolf's pretence of illness, while part of the traditional fable, is clearly the result of "Zeal / To serve the Common-weal," and suggests the illnesses suffered by Cromwell after the massacres in Ireland in 1649.⁶⁸

Ah dearest Cousin, I
Am Sick, am like to dy;

⁶⁶ Cromwell's various titles included Lieutenant-General and Lord General. Henry Ireton had a title of which "Plunder-Master General" could be an echo; he was Quartermaster General.

⁶⁷ Fraser, pp. 309 and 324-25.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 347-48. See also Fraser's discussion of possible psychosomatic illness in 1647, pp. 185-86.

In a hot Feaver all my body burns.
 In that nights Service I, provok'd with Zeal
 To serve the Common-weal,
 After much Toyl, would needs stand Centinel,
 Where I took Cold, which did my Blood Congeal.

In my stopp'd Veins rules adventitious Heat;
 Swift doth my Pulse like an Alarum beat,
 My throat so dry, that Seas of Sheepish Blood,
 Which still did use to cure
 The Wolvish Calenture.
 Commix'd with Humane gore, will do no good.

This wolf is also characterized as a Puritan preacher in terms similar to those used by Dryden in The Hind and the Panther. Ogilby's wolf who, "Cow'ring 'twixt his Legs . . . claps his Tail," is surely borrowed by Dryden to describe his wolf:

His ragged tail betwixt his leggs he wears
 Close clap'd for shame, but his rough crest he rears,
 And pricks up his predestinating ears.⁶⁹

Ogilby's wolf has also been fattened by over-eating, so that "His pamper'd Belly left him leaden heel'd." Fable XXXII (C35) represents both a warning to Cromwell against greed, lest it should cause another Civil War in which he would surely be killed, and a warning to those who would overthrow Cromwell and themselves be overthrown as punishment.

Ogilby again clouds his picture of the wolf in Fable LXVI (C49) by employing the legend of the founding of Rome to associate the wolf once more with the Roman Catholic Church. Again the wolf's thirst for blood suggests the

⁶⁹The Hind and the Panther, I, 163-65, California edition, III, 128.

Eucharist, but as before Ogilby's treatment of the character is ambiguous. In fact, Ogilby himself seems to have sensed the ambiguity in his treatment of the wolf in this fable. He finally turns it to his advantage by extending the possibility in two directions with a marginal note in the 1668 edition raising the question of whether the twins were nourished by a wolf or by a harlot named "Lupa." Whichever it is, he has managed to suggest that danger can come from two directions, one of which is Rome. The ambiguity is maintained through the moral by Ogilby's failure to identify the source of the "strange Tenets," so one might easily shift the ground of the fable by seeing Geneva as the source of tenets as least as strange and dangerous as those of Rome.

The ambiguity does not remain, however. In the last appearances of the wolf in his collection, Ogilby weds his wolf firmly to the Calvinist position. In Fable LXXI (C20) he is a Puritan, and in Fable LXXII (C24), an anti-Royalist.

The close relationship between dog and wolf is established by the wolf in Fable XIV and supported throughout the collection by the association of both with imagery of the Eucharist. The introduction of the image begins in the fable "Of the Dog and the Shadow" (Fab. II:04), in which the dog is faced with the difference between shadow and substance, a clear reference both to the problem of transubstantiation and to the question of the nature of

reality as it had begun to be posed by materialist philosophy.⁷⁰ The main emphasis of the image, however, begins with the "bloody meat" and "Humane slaughter moist with putrid gore" in the fable of the eagle and the shellfish (Fab. IV:10). The most obvious uses of the image occur in connection with the wolf, beginning with Fable XIV (C2) in which the wolf eats the innocent lamb, the symbol of Christ, as is emphasized by the wolf's characterization of the lamb as a scapegoat. In Fable XXII, "Of the Wolf and the Carved Head" (C28),

The Sacrilegious Wolf, who preys by Night,
 In Sacred and Prophane Abodes,
 Came, and with Eye casting malignant Light,
 Through gloomy Shades espy'd this joyful Sight;
 And thought
 Some Battel had been fought,
 Or fatall Vespers had, with blown-out Lights,
 Mix'd bloody Butcheries with Sacred Rites.
 Where best
 To feast
 And be with Blood and humane Slaughter fed,
 He mus'd a while, then with much Purple red,
 Painted to life, he saw a decollated Head.

In this use of the image, Ogilby seems to be identifying the wolf with the Catholic Church, though, as we have seen in the development of the character of the wolf, the blood-thirstiness soon comes to represent equally the alleged rapacity of the Parliamentary army.⁷¹ The imagery of feasting on flesh and blood is borne out over and over again in

⁷⁰ For example, Leviathan, I, 1.

⁷¹ For the "general malevolence of the Parliamentary troops" and their legendary iconoclasm, see Fraser, pp. 102-5.

the tales of various predators. The fox in Fable XLIX, "Of the Fox and the Cock" (C352), talks about "The Sacrilegious Wolf [who] in Graves must feed, / And Birds of Prey / [who] With Humane slaughter must supply their need." The lion of Fable LI (C262) had impregnated the lioness when he was "High with man's flesh, and draughts of humane blood," and the hags of Fable LXXI "Of the Wolf and the Sow" (C20), are "Heighten'd with Bacchus blood and Bisket sops." The wolf in Fable LXXII (C24) killed the goat, "pierc'd his Throat, / And drank his best blood hot, / Then on his Bowels and his Liver fed." In Fable LXVI (C49), the wolf prays to Romulus (presumably implying he's a Roman) for food and blood, and the cat in Fable LXXIV (C61) kills the cock and "eats his Flesh and drinks in Blood his Soul." Finally, the dog in Fable LXXXI (C48) cheats the sheep, kills him, and "Sucks his warm Blood and eats his panting Heart." The ambiguity of Ogilby's use of this image lies in its occasional reference to Rome on the one hand and to the Puritans on the other. The wolf, a malignant in one fable, becomes a "new malignant" in another, suggesting, at least, that Ogilby finds both extremes equally distasteful and prefers the Anglican via media.

In a similar series of allusions, Ogilby takes up the question of fasting, another issue which can be associated with the two religious extremes. Like the Puritans in their political activities, when the frogs ask Jove for a king (Fab. XII:C17), they first proclaim a fast. The fox

who pillages the larder (Fab. XLII:044) does so because:

With Fasting Long, Reynard was grown the Type
 Of Seven years Famin,
 Inforc'd with Hunger, which so much did gripe
 His Clem'd and empty Tripe,
 At last he came in
 To a full Larder, through a straiter hole;
 Than ever Body past, or scarce a Soul.

The cock, in the very first fable of the collection, establishes one attitude toward fasting when he says, "I'll be to Nature kind; / My Body I'll not Starve to Feed my Mind." In the fable "Of the Rebellion of the Hands and Feet" (Fab. XLVII:040), the belly complains of being forced to "keep perpetual Lent," and the cat of Fable LXXV (0630) joins a monastic order, whose members are "contented with long Fasts, and Lenten Fare." The master of the dog who is bribed by the thief (Fab. XXI:019) "keeps a stricter Lent / Than wiser Mortals," and the tempter tells him that "Wise sects, who Nature serve, forsake no Meat."

One of the afflictions suffered by Ogilby's world is the alteration of its religious life, and Ogilby describes the new breed of divines in terms with which we have become familiar through the works of Dryden and Samuel Butler. The first allusion to the Puritan divines comes in the fable "Of the Dog and the Ass" (Fab. XXIV:013), in which the Ass:

pricks his notorious Ear,
 And like a Hobby-horse, or dancing Bear,
 Begins to move, now like a Spaniel plaies,
 But still his own Voice frights him when he brays.

Two characteristics in this passage are familiarly

associated with the Puritan clergy: the prominent ears, which are the result of the close cropping of the hair, and the "braying," which refers to the nasal intonation they used for preaching.

In Fable LXIV, "Of the Lion and the Horse" (C32), the state of religion is described again:

Nor Isgrim's Preaching Tribe now better fare,
 Though great Incendiaries of this War,
 Since Beasts in Buff full as long-winded are:
 The Sheep-skin Gown,
 Lin'd with Hypocrisie and Rebellion,
 Is down;
 In his own Cloaths th'Ass stands without a Ruff,
 Beating the Pulpit with an unpar'd Hoof.

Clearly Ogilby is referring to the decline from the Presbyterians to the more radical sects associated with the Army. No longer are wolves disguised in sheep skins; the more radical Puritans are revealed simply to be asses.

In Fable LXV, "Of the Sun and Wind" (C89), the wind is related to the more extreme Puritan sects through the use of the term 'Ranters,' although, ironically, the sun itself is revealed as little better when it is described with the expression "Yea and nay" in the moral.⁷²

The violent zeal of the Puritan reformers is presented as part of the genealogy of the wolves in Fable LXXI (C20), and Isgrim is revealed as a hypocrite in his reply to Erswind's desire for meat. His first response is "Leave off complaints, / Afflictions have been wholsom to the Saints." This appeal to clichéd piety, however, is

⁷²"Yea and nay man. A Quaker." Partridge.

immediately offset by his promise:

But if the Boar her Husband be abroad,
My mortal Foe, by Force or Pious Fraud
I'll get thee one, no Scruple is in Meat,
And Thou and I abundantly will Eat.

In his approach to the Sow, Isgrim undertakes his "Pious Fraud," offering to bring her sons up with his own,

Not in Prophaner Arts, like Popish Pigs,
To pettitoe-it on the Organs Jigs,
When Surplic'd Asses Chant it to the Lyre;
Nor they supine shall wallow in the Mire;
But Pastors be, and them I'll teach to keep
The Sheepish Souls of Flocks, and shear the sheep.
They have Prick-ears, and as we Teachers wear,
Howling in hollow Trees, such is their Hair.

Finally, of course, Isgrim is attacked by the Boar who rips him open so that "The deep Hypocrisie and bloody Ends, / Writ in his Heart, were read by Foes and Friends." The "new Malignant" had been destroyed.

Again, in Fable LXXXI (C48), the dog is characterized as a Presbyterian with "trundle Tail, a Prick-ear'd Cur." Here once more hypocrisy is part of the character as the false witnesses swear to his having refused bond for the alleged loan, saying "Without such things Brethren should Brethren aid." There is, in fact, a religious tone to the entire fable with its loan of "The Staff of Life . . . A Loaf . . . of the purest Wheat." This suggests the Bread of the Eucharist, an image which is revived ironically at the end of the tale in the dog's consumption of the flesh and blood of the sheep.

The relatively common characterization of the Puritans as being puffed up with pride is also the basis for

the implications of the fable "Of the Frog and the Ox" (Fab. XIII:C31). The frog is clearly of the Puritan kind, having trod "Upon the Head / Of his own gracious Sovereign, mild King Log." He has also become "fat with mighty Spoyle / Of the rich Wooden Isle," and is characterized as a "new Malignant," like the clearly Puritan wolf of Fable LXXI. The ox, with his "crop'd ear," suggests that giant of Puritan policy and pamphlety, William Prynne, who had his ears cut off under sentence of the Star Chamber in 1637.⁷³ The reader is driven to search for one whose pride reveals an envy of Prynne and an attempt at greatness. While it seems quite possible that the allusion refers to John Lilburne,⁷⁴ Ogilby himself avoids giving us any further hints except to present the frog as one who thinks he "once greatest of our Nation seem'd."

⁷³References to Prynne's punishment were probably quite common. The Thomason Collection contains a pamphlet published [Feb. 17] 1645, entitled Crop-Eare Curried, or Tom Nash his Ghost, declaring the pruning of Prinnes two last parricidicall . . . Pamphlets, wherein the one of them he stretch'd the Sovereigne Power of Parliaments, in the other his new-found way of opening the counterfeit Great Seale. By John Taylor. Printed at Oxford (Wing STC T446). Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, Collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661, 2 vols. (Nendeln: Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1969). David Ogg also refers to him as "crop-eared Prynne" in his England in the Reign of Charles II, 2 vols., 2d. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), I, 23.

⁷⁴Lilburne is described as "vain, quarrelsome, and pigheaded" in the introduction to The Leveller Tracts 1647-1653, ed. William Haller and Godfrey Davies (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964), p. 5. His pamphlet exchange with Prynne took place in 1645.

Pride and ambition are vices which are constantly associated with Cromwell himself as well as with the Puritans in general. He is characterized as the "unseen Aspirer" who will subdue the "Factions with a Civill War imbrud" (Fab. VI:C3), and is, perhaps, warned against fulfilling his ambitions to be king in Fable XXX, "Of the Jay and Peacocks" (C29):

Whether Ambition, Vertue be, or Vice?
 Hath rais'd great Disputations 'mong the Nice:
 Who by unseen gradations reach a Crown,
 Heroes are still'd, but Traytors tumbling down.

In Fable LII (C94/174), "the ambitious Bear," after the death of the lion, "aspires his Master's Chair," and in Fable LXXX (C63), the Crow who attempts to imitate the eagle, having failed, is ridiculed:

He thought he was an Eagle, and a King:
 But to his grief he now too well did know
 He is a foolish Crow,
 Who 'bove his Power great things attempting, fell
 A Sport to Boys, as Merciless as Hell.

In all of these examples Ogilby avoids direct references to Cromwell, who, in one popular view, had first brought down the King in the name of Parliament, and then wrested power away from Parliament.⁷⁵ A parallel situation is presented in the fable "Of the Crow and the Fox" (Fab. V:CII), in which the narrator presents the crow as the one

That robb'd the King his Master of his meat;
 And now to make his Cozenage more compleat,
 On Man, his King's King, puts the second cheat.

⁷⁵ Cromwell's alleged hypocrisy is recorded after the Restoration in Wing STC H1328, Flagellum: or the Life and Death, Birth and Burial of Oliver Cromwell, 1663.

The crow himself confirms this identification:

I that robb'd Man, whose Plot
 Spoyles from the Eagle got;
 A Beast hath cozen'd of no less
 A dainty now than my whole second mess.

However, his loss of the cheese becomes a warning to those who believe flatterers: "What cannot glozing Flatterers do, / When our own selves we flatter too?"

There are hints as well that Cromwell is to be equated with the "Monarch-hating Storks and Cranes" (Fab. XL:CL6). There is certainly at least the suggestion that he should be identified with the stork who was sent by Jove to rule over the frogs in Fable XII (CL7). He also may be the crane who makes a covenant with the (Presbyterian) wolf in Fable XV (C6), and is probably also the crane of Fable XXVI, "Of the Fox and the Crane" (C27), who accepts the fox's invitation to dinner because "a savoury Steam did him invite, / And his long Nose now stood in his own light." Cromwell's long nose was often the butt of contemporary satire.⁷⁶ Moreover, this is a "mounted" crane, suggesting Cromwell's long association with the cavalry.

More than any other single target, Cromwell provided Ogilby with the means for expanding the traditional fable collection into a commentary on contemporary political events. In breaking with the tradition, Ogilby strengthened the voice of the Aesop-narrator so that while he omitted the traditional Life of Aesop from his Fables,

⁷⁶ Fraser, pp. 63, 230 and 309.

Ogilby more than compensated for it by creating for his collection a distinctive narrative voice which expresses itself in the language, form, imagery and tone of the fables. The narrator is present not only in the moral applications but also in the narration itself, so that the traditionally objective presentation of the narrative with its general application gives way to a more complex, more personalized, and more particularized narrative style with applications which are not always conventional. Because the fables can never be totally separated from the Aesop character, we can say that Ogilby has created a truly seventeenth-century Aesop, who discusses contemporary events in a contemporary style without losing the authority of the tradition.

CHAPTER III

FABLE COLLECTIONS OF THE RESTORATION PERIOD

Ogilby published both a second edition of his Fables and a new collection, Aesopics, in 1668,¹ and his work dominated the world of English fable until the Revolution of 1688. The complex Ogilby technique was far too individual to be imitated, however, and the other fabulists of the period took up the task, begun by the early verse fabulists, of adapting the traditional fable collection to the English language and to English political life. Although they produced mainly traditional fables in conventional narrative couplets, these fabulists moved away from precise translation toward an easy, colloquial style, which permitted the use of contemporary political allusion and opened the way for party propaganda. By the end of the period, fable collections had begun to take partisan positions, and we find Mrs. Behn supporting the Stuarts and Nathaniel Crouch, the Revolution.² In the first significant collections of the period, however, a saddened and

¹Wing STC A697 and A698.

²Although Crouch's collection was not published until 1691, as will be seen below, it is a document of the Revolution, more an attempt to conclude James's reign and to support William's than one which proceeds from the

embittered John Ogilby was still attempting to stand outside his society and condemn its faults without party prejudice.

When Ogilby published the second edition of his Fables in 1668, the most striking alteration was the addition of copious marginal annotations, of which the primary tendency was to reinforce the extension of the fables into this broader context through the elaboration of the allusions with quotations from ancient history, the classics, and natural history. As the second edition was, in a sense, the adaptation of the fables for a new audience, which, by this time, "had awoken from its dream of Restoration bliss into a day of political realities,"³ we should perhaps avoid reading the annotations simply as a commentary which was added to enhance "what might be termed the dignity and truth of his fables."⁴ At the same time, however, we know that many of the problems which had troubled England in 1651 remained unresolved in the reign of Charles II. The Civil War was to haunt the political activities of the

established fact of the Revolution. L'Estrange, on the other hand, while opposed to the Revolution, makes his proposals for society with the recognition that the Revolution is an accomplished fact, albeit a dreadful mistake.

³Maurice Ashley, England in the Seventeenth Century, Vol. VI of the Pelican History of England, 3d. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), p. 129.

⁴Earl Miner, Introduction to facsimile reprint of John Ogilby, Fables of Aesop Paraphras'd in English Verse, Augustan Reprint Society publication (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1965), p. v.

country for years to come, and the Fables, along with other remnants of the Cromwellian period, functioned as reminders of a mistake that must not be repeated. For the Restoration reader, then, the Fables could be read as the first edition must have been in 1651, but with an added layer of meaning; they had become no longer a castigation of present practice, but, expanded into a universal context, fragments to shore against a future threat of ruin.

The recognition of the new world of the Restoration occurs in Ogilby's addition of one fable to the collection, "Of the Frogs fearing the Sun would Marry" (Fab. LXXXII: C374). The story characterizes the Dutch as the frogs and deals with their relationships with both Louis XIV and Charles II. Their fear of the Sun-king is foolish, Neptune tells them, for the new maritime power is Charles, "a second Neptune . . . / Who Three great Nations Swaies, and two fair Isles, / His People Ruler of the Ocean stiles." Ogilby's flattery of Charles in this fable suggests an early optimism about the Restoration that is not to be found in his second collection of fables.

Along with the second edition of the Fables, Ogilby published an additional collection because, Aubrey tells us, "people did then suspect, or would not believe that 'twas he was the Author of the paraphrase upon Aesop, and to convince them he published a 2d Volume which he calls his Aesopiques."⁵

⁵John Aubrey, Brief Lives, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick

For the casual observer at least, it may not have been absolutely clear that the Fables and the Aesopics were the product of the same hand. To begin with, the new collection took the regular form of heroic couplets in place of the complex stanzaic form and irregular line lengths that characterize the earlier one.

Further, the Aesopics are confined to 50 fables, 40 stories from the tradition, along with seven which appear in English for the first time here.⁶ The collection includes two long narrative poems, "Androcleus, or the Roman Slave" and "The Ephesian Matron; or Widow's Tears," both of which have roots in the fable tradition, but neither of which is allowed by its form to act in any way as a traditional fable. Like several other stories in Aesopics, these first appeared in English in Caxton's still popular collection, but unlike the others, these stories have been developed into independent fictional units with internal moral themes which do not lend themselves to an Aesopian moral application.

Attempts to draw these two poems into a coherent relationship with the fables proper seem destined to failure. The differences in style and tone, combined with the clearly

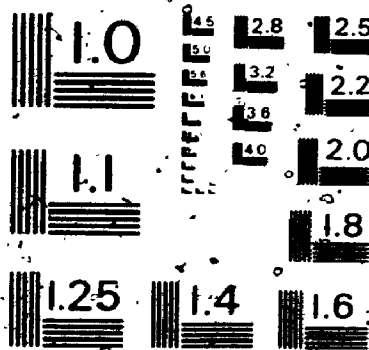
(London: Secker and Warburg, 1949; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962), p. 382.

⁶The numerical discrepancy here is due to Ogilby's grouping of fables. His Fables XXI-XXIII represent a three-part version of fable C59, and fables XLVI-XLVIII, a three-part version of C301. Fable XXXII, on the other hand, is an amalgamation of fable C10 and a new story, C669.

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different intent of the stories, restrain the critic from treating them as a continuation of the collection.⁷ There is a possibility that the tales were intended as a serious contrast to and comment upon the frivolous world of the fables themselves, analogous perhaps, to the contrast between the often-humorous fable and its serious moral. However, even this theory is difficult to support in the absence of any attempt on Ogilby's part to create links between these poems and the fables. It is, after all, at least as likely that Ogilby simply considered these poems, with their historical links to the fable tradition, suitable material with which to fill out the companion volume to his lengthier Fables. The critic can safely consider the Aesopics a unified fable collection which is separate and distinct from these two poems.

⁷Some notice must be taken here of the comments made by Earl Miner in his Introduction to Ogilby's Fables, p. iv. Miner treats "Androcleus" as an integral part of the fable collection, although he ignores "The Ephesian Matron." He speaks of the "thirty-one parts or fables" of "Androcleus," suggesting that these divisions of the poem are comparable to the sequential fables of Ogilby's first collection. He does not, however, suggest the more obvious comparison of the segmentation of the poem with the sequences of fables in Aesopics. In this collection, as we shall see, some of the sequences are actually single fables in which the episodes have been separated into two or more parts.

Miner also accounts for the absence of a moral from "Androcleus" (but again, not from "The Ephesian Matron") by regarding it as having been incorporated in the fable. While he may be correct in this assessment, it does not seem to be adequate evidence that "for this reason, and because of his concentrating on men as much as on animals [presumably in the entire collection], it might seem that in the Aesopics Ogilby is not a fabulist at all."

Just as Aesopics differs from the Fables in its structure, it differs too in mood; less heroic in its tone, it is peopled with courtiers and kings who are treated in a familiar way suggesting the spirit of life surrounding the court in Restoration London. Coupled with this familiarity and quite likely related to it is an alteration in the sequential technique which characterized the earlier collection. Sequences of tales which, in the Fables, are a series of stories linked mainly through their common characters become, in Aesopics, detailed sections of individual stories. This new effect is the result of a removal of distance, of moving the camera's eye closer to the action with increased attention to the detail and complexity of the event. The stance of the fabulist, despite his apparent intention of remaining distanced from his society, has shifted from that of an external observer to that of an insider. If the Fables reflected the political disorder of 1651, the Aesopics may be said to reflect the social nature of the political order of the Restoration and Ogilby's familiarity with it.

As we have seen, Ogilby added a new fable to his first collection in an apparent attempt to flatter Charles. His second collection makes no such attempt. As a chronicle of the first eight years of the Restoration, it is a sorry tale of moral, social and political corruption in a world which is threatened from within as well as from without.

Political theory now has no place in Ogilby's work. Aesopics presents the world as it is, and although it refrains from a great deal of direct criticism of Charles (who had, after all, given Ogilby several appointments),⁸ it is clear nevertheless that the attitude of the king toward his responsibilities provides the explanation for the state of the kingdom.

The collection was, nevertheless, popular. Pepys, writing in June, 1666, looked forward to the publication of Aesopics which, rumour said, would be "very fine and very satiricall."⁹ Indeed, no doubt at least partially due to Ogilby's innovations as a bookseller,¹⁰ both collections sold very well, as is attested by their appearance in many catalogues of contemporary libraries.¹¹

As Pepys anticipated, the Aesopics are indeed "very satiricall," and the familiar tone and extensive social detail give the impression that the fables are allegorical

⁸Marian Eames, "John Ogilby and his Aesop," BNYPL, LXV. (1961), 73. "In addition to holding the post of Master of the Royal Imprimerie, Ogilby was also His Majesty's Cosmographer, Geographick Printer, and Master of the Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland."

⁹Samuel Pepys, Diary, 11 vols., ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970-), VII, 184.

¹⁰See Eames, pp. 80-84; and Sarah L. C. Clapp, "The Subscription Enterprises of John Ogilby and Richard Blome," MP, XXX (1933), 365-79.

¹¹See, for example, Wing STC O274, [Elizabeth Oliver], Catalogue of Valuable Books, 1689; Wing STC W2052, [Wm. Whitwood], Catalogue of Choice Books, 1683; Wing STC L705, George Lawson, Catalogus Librorum, 1681.

attacks on specific persons and events. Nevertheless, as in the Fables, Ogilby has apparently deliberately frustrated the process, preferring to satirize his world without being absolutely specific. This is not to say the characters are not identifiable. Rather, they are cloaked in details which tend to subvert identification, planting doubt in the mind of the reader, and leaving him with an unresolvable ambiguity. A prime example of this technique can be found in the first fable in the collection, "Of Juno and the Peacock." If, as seems likely, this fable is directed at the Queen and the Duke of Buckingham, then, Ogilby has created from the traditional fable a complex, ironic work. The traditional version of the fable confines itself to an attack on the folly of the peacock. Ogilby, however, takes advantage of the character of Juno as well, setting up an ironic tension far greater than anything contained in his source.

The flattery of the peacock clearly overemphasizes the power of the queen, for the Star Chamber was abolished in 1641, and the influence of Catherine over the courtiers seems at the best of times to have been negligible. In Juno's reply there is an awareness of this, for she can only grant favours not already granted by her husband or "any other Deity above." A more straightforward relationship can be seen in the matter of jealousy, for Catherine's fury at her husband's mistresses, at least at the beginning of their marriage, was equalled only by that of

Juno.¹² Her lack of success in ousting her husband's mistresses may, however, have been, like Juno's, unrecognized; in myth, the goddess continually appears to think she has succeeded in preventing Jupiter from liaisons which, like Charles's, are usually fruitful.

If the peacock is Buckingham, he is outfitted in a livery which would suit the finest courtier, and he draws the queen's carriage, a fitting occupation for the Master of the Horse. His desire is to obtain the position of the nightingale, a post already granted by Jove, and not, therefore, at Juno's disposal. There is at least a suggestion here that the post is that of Poet Laureate, which was granted to John Dryden in 1668. Although we are assured by the historian of the laureateship that there was no rival candidate for the post,¹³ we do know that there was opposition to Dryden, and that Buckingham was part of it.¹⁴

Buckingham's membership in the elegant Court party would, of course, support the characterization of the peacock. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that Buckingham or, for that matter, any of the other courtiers who opposed

¹²G. M. Trevelyan, England Under the Stuarts, rev. ed., (London: Methuen, 1925; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960), p. 336.

¹³Edmund Kemper Broadus, The Laureateship: A Study of the Office of Poet Laureate in England with some Account of the Poets (Oxford: Clarendon, 1921), p. 60.

¹⁴Hester W. Chapman, Great Villiers: A Study of George Villiers Second Duke of Buckingham (London: Secker and Warburg, 1949), p. 171.

Dryden, had gone out of their way to support the Queen's opposition to Lady Castlemaine, particularly as it would have meant supporting the Chancellor, Clarendon, whose removal was spearheaded by Buckingham in 1667.¹⁵ Thus, an apparent allegory is turned aside by details which contradict it, forcing the reader either to see it as an ironic treatment of Buckingham's actual behaviour or to turn back to the broader general application of the fable as it appears in the moral.

Similar cases appear throughout the collection. Who, for example, is the "King's Canary-Bird" in Fable V? He is a former supporter of the Puritans now turned Royalist. Could he be the poet laureate? He is associated with "baies" and with the stage, but he is not a playwright. Moreover, it is the post-Restoration reader who is likely to see Dryden in the character of a time-server as a result of his much later conversion to Roman Catholicism.¹⁶

In Fable IX, "Of the Crab and her Mother," the contemporary reader may well think he is reading the story of Lady Muskerry as she is described in Hamilton's Memoirs of the Comte de Gramont,¹⁷ yet again it is impossible to work

¹⁵ Clarendon's role in the Castlemaine affair may be hinted at in Ogilby's use of the term "Canceleere" in Fable I.

¹⁶ Dryden had, of course, praised Cromwell in his "Heroic Stanzas," but only "after the celebration of his funeral."

¹⁷ "[Lady Muskerry], whom her husband had certainly not married for her good looks, was built after the pattern

out the detail in allegorical terms. The reader is suspended between the apparent allusion to contemporary society and the fiction which cannot be fused with it. The result is a fabulous world which begins to approximate the real contemporary world, marking out its targets for satire, but withdrawing into the safe haven of its fictions.

In one case, however, Ogilby does not withdraw. In the one fable in which the lion appears (Fab. XIV:C78), Ogilby identifies Charles openly, while warning prospective courtiers against the dangers of the court. The tale tells of the lion who tries to beguile a kid down from a high rock into his presence. To soothe the kid's fears, the lion describes his belief in recreation and his one-time friendship with a lamb:

'Mongst Calves and Colts, if not a Counsel-day
Tir'd with State-works, I for diversion play;
The Crown Affairs, and serious business sours,
Not sweetned by some recreating hours:
He is no King that at his leisure wants
His Drolls, Buffoons, and fawning Sycophants,
Rich Wine, sweet Musick, choyce of beauteous Dames,
To kindle, and to quench Loves pleasing flames.
I, once made captive, driven from my Crown,
Was as a Wender, shew'd from Town to Town;
A Lamb and I, Companions there did play
To fresh Spectators, the whole Summers day,

of most rich heiresses, to whom nature seems to have been avaricious in proportion as fortune has been prodigal of its gifts. Without being so, she had the figure of a hunchback, but the stumbling way in which she walked was more understandable, since her legs were both extraordinarily short and one of them far shorter than its fellow. A face, made to match, put the last touch on a generally disagreeable appearance." Anthony Hamilton, Memoirs of the Comte de Gramont, trans. Peter Quennel, intro. and commentary Cyril Hughes Hartmann (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1930), pp. 119-20.

He my sharp Teeth not fear'd, nor griping Paws,
Would run his Head into my open Jaws.

The Kid remains unconvinced, for he has heard tales of Charles's court, including its attempts at domestic economy:

Grim Sir, be you the King! The Kid replies,
Though you Speak mildly, dreadful are your Eyes!
Should I your Favourite be, and very near,
I still should Tremble when you, Sir, appear!
Princes as well as Courtiers, now, they say,
Sign Debts, make Grants, Promise and seldome pay;
They talk abroad, Exchequers are lock'd up;
At Court no Tables, scarce a Cheering Cup;
Rather than to Necessities aspire,
I'll tarry here, and feed on humble Brier.

This theme of courtly extravagance helps to bind the Aesopics together, and yet it also differentiates the collection from the Fables. The main link between the two collections is Ogilby's abiding hatred of hypocrisy, particularly in its Puritan manifestations. In Aesopics, attacks on the Puritans are augmented by a new resentment of those of Cromwell's supporters who had managed to shift their positions sufficiently to survive and indeed to thrive after the Restoration.

Representative of this new class is the stork of Fable V (C667):

That Formal Fowl, the grand Canary-Bird,
Who first in our so late Rebellion stird;
Prime Leader of the Hypocritick Crew,
Who Swearing hate, as much as telling True;
Th'Antimonarchichal Republick Stork,
Steps forth be-moded, now your only Spark:
His Steeple-Hat reduc'd, and treacherous Ruff,
To a Low crown, short Sword, Vest, Coat and Muff;
Struck into fresh Employment, new his place
Chang'd, with his Habit, Character and Face:
Who after Scepter-rifling, Wealthie grown,
His Nest well Feather'd, Pluming of the Crown:
The long-bill'd Bird his old Note changing sings,

I am the King's Canary-Bird! the Kings!

The swan of the same fable expresses his surprise and resentment at the stork's success and is confronted with a blatant exposure of the stork's hypocrisy:

Then said the Stork, Birds of my Coat and feather,
Like Steeple-Cocks, turn round with wind and weather;
And I that late at Directories sate
Hearing demurely tedious Pulpit-prate;
Am pleas'd with wit, and Sanctifie as well,
When pretty Ducklings Dance like Mis or Nell.
I care not so my self not tumble down,
Who gets the best, the Copper or the Crown:
All Winds serve us, we Tack to every Port,
Committee-Birds, Canary now at Court.

The stork then goes on to indicate the king's complicity in the advancement of such courtiers:

Kings Chambers open lye, the Eagle Knights
Daws, Rooks, and Owls, 'mongst gentle Falcons, Kites.

Ogilby's mixed emotions about the Puritans are displayed in several fables. In Fable III (C73), the leopard, "the new made Master of the Royal Game," calls upon the ass to divide the spoil because "Reynard's a cunning Snap, you may be Just, / But ah! in this bad world whom shall we trust? / When Beasts call'd Saints, that only have a Form / Of Godliness, rage with a greedy Worm." Yet, when the ass divides the quarry equally, the leopard accuses him of being "in some Malignant City bred." Then, ironically, he compares the ass's fair division of the spoils to the results of the Civil War, noting his own losses in the process:

Thus measur'd they Rebellion 'gainst their Prince,
Dividing in the late unnatural stirs
The Lyons Ermine, and his Nobles Furs;

Skinner on Stalls, took in their cruel toils,
Hung Panthers Vests, and Leopards gaudy Spoils.

Having killed the ass, the leopard then commends the fox
for his ability to ~~act in his own interest.~~

In the tale "Of the Ox and Steer" (Fab. XIII:Cl14),
Ogilby again displays his mixed feelings about the Puritans.
While he manages to ridicule their habit of using reli-
giously-inspired names by calling the ox Praise-Jove Bare-
bones, he is clearly of the ox's opinion about the frivoli-
ty he sees around him:

Thus the Industrious, Idle Beasts deride,
Each guzzling Bulchin, Buffle-headed Calf,
At all indeavours whatsoever, laugh;
Business they hate, pursuing no Design,
But what concerns the Belly, or the Groyn;
Rather than I my precious time would wast,
And winged Minutes spur, that fly too fast,
Lead to Spring-Gardens, Mulberry/shades, and Parks,
Vizard-Mask'd Heifers, and their pye-bald Sparks,
Proud giggling Females still unwell'd attend,
And be on Duty, my Estate to spend,
I would endure both stinging Flys, and Goads,
And Yoak'd, hot Summers draw in dusty Roads.

Like many who had welcomed the freedom that followed the
Restoration, Ogilby obviously felt a good deal of disgust
for his new world, the world discovered in Fable XVII (Cl04)
by Phoebus when he is sent by Jove to examine the state of
mankind:

The God thus ordered, leaves his shining Robe,
Vested in Clouds, and makes the Terrene Globe
Swifter than Thought, swift as the quickest Eyes,
Through Empires, Kingdoms, and Republicks flys;
Saw the seven deadly Champions Flags unfurl'd,
And open Vice Encamp't about the World;
Finding Crimes much alike, as on a Stage,
Here, Act they Comick Shifts, there, Tragick Rage;
Though he no Gyants found, 'gainst Heaven to fight,

Nor Rigg out fifty Chambermaids a night;¹⁸
 Nor blazing-Comets, Drinkers that could swill
 Whole Oceans off, and yet be Thirsty still;
 Yet All well-wishers were, did what they could,
 And each where swarm'd Offenders, Young and Old.

Here we find Ogilby not only denouncing the amount of vice in his world, but also despising his fellow men for the pettiness of it all: even their sinfulness is not of heroic proportions. Indeed, in comparison with the Fables, the Aesopics present a diminished world in several ways. Gone is the idealism of the political theory that echoed in the verses of the Fables. Gone too is the heroic treatment of kingship with the overwhelming image of the beheading of a king. The great military scenes of the Fables have dwindled to the social swaggering of the "Hectors," and the corrupt relationship between the sexes which produced the imagery for debased religion in the Fables is no longer an image but a reality.

The scene for the condition of sexual relationships in this society is set in Fable I (C66), with Juno's jealousy of Jove's mistresses, and it is picked up again in Fable VIII (C11), the old story of the fox and the crow, in which the fox's flattery becomes, in Ogilby's version, an attempt to lure her into becoming a mistress of the king:

O thou most Heavenly Fair,
 Whose Plumes like Peacocks trains, or Rainbows are:
 Th'imbroider'd Lights and Shadows of thy Wings
 Richer than Coronation Suits of Kings:

¹⁸As Ogilby points out in his notes to Fable XIII, one of the labours of Hercules was deflowering fifty virgins in one night.

I thought you Black, when in a Mourning Gown
 And Vizard-mask you lately came to Town:
 But now that shade and envious Curtain drawn,
 So Venus glitters ushering in the Dawn.
 Ah could you sing! To these add Heavenly Notes,
 I should procure you both the Houses Votes
 To be the King's White Crow; He keeps fine Birds,
 That please him with new Songs, and well-set Words,
 When he from burthening care himself unloads,
 Musick and Beauty conquer Men and Gods.

Again in Fable IX (C88), the crab's mother is training her to become a court lady, an enterprise in which, in view of current court behaviour, she believes her daughter will be successful despite her awkward gait:

Court Madams waddle now like me or you;
 Who should Exemplars be, give others Rules,
 Waving Formalities of Boarding-Schools,
 Taking proud freedoms scorn restraints Law,
 Like Ships in Storms at Anchor rowl and Yaw.

The state of marriage in the Restoration world is described in the tale "Of the Rustick and his Ox" (Fab. XI:C409). Here the ox resents his master's having castrated him. He envies the bulls, "the bellowing Hectors," or imagines what it would be like to be "the Parson's Bull":

By this I might have been the Parson's Bull,
 And like him round, Choicé beauties pick and cull;
 Had sweet-breath'd Wives, and black-ey'd Concubines,
 And a Fair Issue sprung from my own Loyns,
 Who now thus live a solitary life,
 Barr'd from the dear enjoyments of a Wife.

The realities of the marital state, however, are revealed in the master's tale of his wife's infidelity, and the unhappiness of the husband is akin to that of the painter in Fable XXX (C668) who makes a pact with the devil to preserve his wife's fidelity.

Promiscuity and the venereal disease that goes with

it are characteristic of city life, according to the wolf in Fable XXII (C301):

I from a populous City came of late,
Where all Diseases sell at any Rate,
Who Golden showers poure in a Danae's Lap,
Only to purchase a sufficient Clap:
Small-pox is little valued, lesser Swine,
All seek the best, they barter may for Coyn.

Ogilby's disgust with his society's attitude toward sexuality is stated in other terms in Fable XXXI. (C281), the tale "Of the Rustick and the Flea." Here the rustick's sexual dream is more important than the very life of the flea. The flea is given the opportunity to tell the story of his life with its slavery and unjust imprisonment, and he tells it in such a way that he gains in dignity, while the man in the tale is reduced by his motive to something less than human. His response to the flea's story is ironic: "Thou Fables dost devise, / Hast hope to save thy Life by telling Lyes?" His only concern is for the unreality that is his sexual dream.

The moral decadence of the social order is paralleled by the corruption of the legal system. The business of the lawyer is explained to the fox by the leopard in Fable III (C73):

Lay the whole Burthen on the Asse's back,
Then shall the Countrey, and the City too,
Bring thee more Work than all the Inns can do,
For such a Lawyer, active, wise and stout,
That labours well, can bring what's what about,
Blanch Crows, turn Cat in Pan a thousand wayes,
Who will not such to Wealth and Honour raise?

In Fable XXXVI (C63), the chough abandons the legal

profession for an attempt to imitate the military "Royal Eagle." If his description of his profession is ironic, it is perhaps less so because he sees that the soldier is above the law:

Why toyl we thus at Inns of Courts?
 Sweating at Breviates, Cases, and Reports;
 Drain Ployden, Dyar, Littleton, and Cokes,
 About a Jack a Styles, and John an Okes;
 Attend seven years e'r call'd unto the Bar:
 When Sutes no Fortunes raise, like Chance of War,
 We a long life may spend, and sweating trudge
 To be a Tell-Clock, or a gouty Judge;
 Make Term by Term the Hall with Pleadings ring;
 When one Field, one short Battel Crowns a King;
 We spin out Causes, Clyents to beguile,
 One Lucky Hit concludes the Souldiers toyl;
 We only Fleecers be, this Eagle came
 And made one business both of Fleece and Lamb;
 Litigious Fools Estates we oft impair,
 Get for our selves perhaps, the better share:
 But if in Military Power they fall,
 Their Lands are swallowed, Moveables and all.

Like the law itself, the lawyer in this tale becomes the toy of the military, suggesting that the corruption of the legal system is rooted in the power the military has acquired through its king-making role, both in the Cromwellian period and in the Restoration.

The standard story of the legal profession's profiteering is played out in the absurd tale "Of the Rustick and Wolf" (Fables XXXIV-XXXV; C418 and C470). The suit arises from absurdity and is settled to the advantage of no one but the fox-lawyer. Similarly, in Fable XVI (C243), "Of the Heathen and his Idol," a legitimate suit is lost until the client is miraculously enabled to afford his greedy lawyers.

The cruelty that is part of the legal system is spelled out by the porcupine in Fable IV (C193), and the conniving of the legal system in the trickery of the court is apparent in the description of the fox in Fable VII (C240).

The corruption within the world of the collection is combined with danger from without, particularly from the Dutch. The collection had, presumably, been written during the recent war, and there are throughout disparaging references to the Dutch, including the characterization of the dog in the manger as a "Dutch Cromwell" in Fable II (C64):

Jaws dropping foam, his fierce eyes darting flame,
 A cursed Curr, Cromwell his loathed Name;
 Dutch Cromwell a wild Sooterkin his Sire,
 The Off-spring of a Stove and smothering Fire;
 Whom, ere the Nurse or Midwife could attach
 To stifle, preghant made his Mothers Brach,
 She in her pangs had all the Ufroes help,
 When her whole Litter prov'd this single Whelp.

The weapons of the porcupine lead the fox in Fable IV (C193) to speculate on the benefit such arms would be in a war with the Dutch:

Had th'Okeland Fleet, in every Vessel two
 Such Engins quivers could unload like you,
 Useless were bouncing Broad-sides, without noyse
 Decks would be cleer'd of big bon'd Belgick Boys.

The danger and corruption depicted in the Aegopics are emphasized by such references to current events and local scenes. Juno in Fable I is, for example, the "Empress . . . of Heavens White-hall," and the rebuilding of St. Paul's is beginning in Fables XXVIII and XLIII after the Great Fire (Fables XII and XLIII). Mention is also

made of such extremists as the Fifth Monarchy Men (Fable XII) and the Calves Head Club (Fable X).

The influence of the Royal Society is apparent in the pseudo-scientific approach of the crow to the problem of getting the water out of the pitcher in Fable XXVIII (C105), and more amusingly in the comparison of the crabs of Fable IX (C88) with a community of maggots observed through a magnifying glass:

Had ever Hieling Crabat such a Miene?
 Stil hobling side-ward, thy foul claws turn'd in:
 Base Maggots in a Magnifying Glass,
 'Mongst Chedar Common-wealths more comly pace,
 Conducting busie Mites from Grange to Grange,
 Forts raising or to build their new Exchange.

Despite the humour of this passage, the image is symptomatic of Ogilby's distaste for his society and of the tone which lies only just below the surface of the Aesopics.

The new society of the Restoration had proven no better than the old, but Ogilby's responses to both had opened the door for the involvement of fable in English political life. Although translations of La Fontaine's fables are often credited with stimulating the development of English fable literature in the latter part of the century, the credit for inspiring experimentation with fables and with their contemporary implications belongs to Ogilby. His work dominated the world of English fable for at least three decades, culminating in his known influence on John Dryden,¹⁹ and through Dryden on the Grub Street fabulists

¹⁹See Earl Miner's commentary in John Dryden, Poems

of the period around the turn of the century. In fact, without presuming to denigrate La Fontaine's accomplishment, one might well ask whether, indeed, Ogilby's influence had not extended into France.²⁰ Be that as it may, Ogilby's influence was clearly at work in England before La Fontaine's first collection of fables was published in France in 1668, and his influence had extended to Dryden some years before the first English translations of La Fontaine's fables were published.²¹

Ogilby's work was inimitable, and the Restoration verse fabulists who succeeded him returned to the task of translating the standard prose Aesop into colloquial English verse. The movement away from traditional interpretation toward political involvement can be seen in two distinctly different sets of verse collections which appeared during the Restoration period: Aesop Explained and Aesop Improved; and the polyglot Aesops of 1666-1687, which included English fables by Thomas Philipott and Aphra Behn.

1685-1692, Vol III of the California edition of Dryden's works, ed. E. N. Hooker, H. T. Swedenberg et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 326-459.

²⁰The likeness between Ogilby's approach to fable and that of La Fontaine has been noted by Eames, p. 77, and by William R. Wray, The English Fable 1650-1800 (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1950), p. 50.

²¹See above, p. 4.

The first pair of collections; Aesop Explained, and Rendered both in English and Latine Verse (probably published in 1672)²² and Aesop Improved or, Above three hundred and fifty fables, mostly Aesop's with their Morals, Paraphrased in English Verse (1673),²³ are clearly intended to be applied to the contemporary state of England. The preface to Aesop Explained suggests that the fables might be of "great Advantage, especially in these tumultuous times, wherein men use Fraud and Equivocations, to carry on their devilish Designs." The author has, he says, "prepared this Book as a Looking-Glass, wherein are lively represented the Insinuations, Frauds, Deceits and Equivocations that are now on foot." The reader, he suggests, "may by well observing the Precepts and Instructions which are laid down in these Morals, escape many Deceits, Dangers and Troubles, which others less wary have run themselves into." Similarly, Aesop Improved claims to be useful in practical terms:

Certainly Aesop's Fables is a book not only to be read, and contemplated but to be followed and practis'd; and may

²²William T. Lowndes, The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature, new ed., 4 vols., ed. Henry G. Bohn (London: George Bell & Sons, [1857]), I, 16. Lowndes cites a 1672 text, but only a 1682 edition appears in Wing (A727). Although a comparison of the 1682 version with Aesop Improved suggests that Aesop Explained was written first and improved by the author of the other collection, the evidence is not sufficient to prove conclusively that this was the case. It can be said with some degree of certainty, however, that both collections are based on the same verse translation of Aesop.

²³Wing STC A742.

serve to guide and govern our civil, domestical, and political affairs, (in many cases) as the Marriners compass doth direct his Steerage, and conduct his voyage.

Give me leave to say that a due observation of some few Fables in this little book, I mean a due compliance with the wise directions therein given, had preserved divers individual persons, and not only persons but Families, not only Families, but kingdomes, and nations, from those courses which have proved to be their ruine.

Clearly both authors are aware of the world around them and of the reader's need to recognize the disorder in that world. Aesop Explained, however, having said this, goes on to present its 86 fables in primarily traditional terms.

It does, to be sure, use some colloquial language and a fair number of English proverbs, but it does not bring the fables into the English world in the way that Aesop Improved does. This second collection, while closely related to the other, contains a far greater number of allusions to contemporary concerns.

The relationship between the two collections is evident in a comparison of parallel lines in many of the stories, as for example in the opening lines of the fourth fable in both collections, the tale of the dog and the shadow (C4). The Aesop Explained version begins: "With flesh in's Mouth, a Dog a Pond swam o're," while the Aesop Improved version begins: "A Dog with flesh in's Mouth a pond swam o're." Oftentimes the difference between the two versions is simply this kind of reordering of the lines. More often, however, there is an attempt on the part of the author of Aesop Improved to make direct connection with English politics and social practices, and when this occurs

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the collection moves away from the traditional interpretation which characterizes Aesop Explained to find its own directions.

The author of Aesop Improved clearly saw that the competition for sales lay in Ogilby's two-part collection, and he took great pains to justify his collection in the light of Ogilby's. When, in his preface, he discusses the value of fables for adult readers, he does so in terms of Ogilby's collection:

Doubtless the famous Oglesby had never provided so elaborate a Translation for but one hundred and twenty Fables, or thereabouts, or found encouragement to print but such a number in two volumes, with excellent Sculptures at a very great charge, and price, if notwithstanding the seeming prostitution of that book to the use of children, it had not had a very great esteem, amongst the wiser part of mankind.

Later in the same preface, the author develops the points he has already made, recommending his collection specifically for children:

True it is that Mr. Oglesby hath helpt the world to a Translation of some part of Aesops Fables, which is incomparably good; for such as can reach the sense and price of it, but certainly to understand so lofty a Poem as that is, requires a better capacity, and more skill in Poetical phrases, and Fictions, than the generality of those who are willing to read Aesops Fables are endowed with. And doubtless the price of his two excellent Folio's upon Aesop, doth as much exceed most mens purses, as the Style and language thereof doth their capacities. Moreover there are not above one hundred and thirty two Fables of that excellent Translation, whereas the book which is now in thy hand containeth about three hundred and fifty.

The preface is followed by an endorsement of the collection by a schoolmaster, perhaps an indication of the market for which the collection was intended.

In addition to the obvious commercial intent of the author's comparison of his work with Ogilby's, a reading of the collection suggests that he may indeed have seen himself as the poor man's Ogilby, though, as he points out, the collection possesses neither the elegance nor the complexity of its model. There is clearly an attempt to link fables together, not through Ogilby's device of setting fables containing similar characters into a series, but through his device of cross-references which require a consideration of one fable in the light of another. For example, in the second fable of the collection, the tale of the lamb whose life is taken by the wolf after several attempts at justification for the act (C2), the question is raised: "What if the Woolf will say th' Lambs ears are horns?" The question, seemingly irrelevant in this context, suggests another fable in which the powerful animal (usually the lion) bans from his kingdom all animals with horns (C1024). This action frightens the hares, who are worried that their ears will be mistaken for horns (or, in the more applicable version, will be declared to be horns) and that they will be killed. The connection is clear and, as in Ogilby's use of this device, the weight of two stories is brought to bear on the moral.

Similar allusions link Fables 17 (C17), 27 (C27) and 33 (C33) with the familiar tale of the frog and the ox in Fable 31 (C31). In Fable 17, "The Frogs swell'd like Toads with Pride"; in Fable 27, the fox, who is cheated

of a meal by the stork, "swell'd himself in bigness to an Ox" in an attempt to bully the stork into feeding him properly. Finally, in Fable 33, the ass tells how he has foreseen the downfall of the arrogant horse from broken wind:

I did find
By your great cracking you would break your wind,
And when I found you were so proud and curst,
I said you swell'd so much that you would burst.

In a similar narrative link, the cat who becomes a woman in Fable 50 (C50) vows to become a midwife and "deliver Alpes of mice." This serves not only as a suggestion that she will deliver many mice, mountains of them in fact, but also that she will be the midwife for the mountain which brings forth a mouse in Fable 21 (C21).

Evidence that the author had been reading Ogilby goes beyond their similar uses of the narrative link. Like Ogilby's, the fox in this collection is often called Sir Reynard, though the author seldom borrows the rest of the beast-epic nomenclature. He does, however, refer to the eagle in Fable 10 (C10) as "Munteagle," a borrowing from a different tale of an eagle in Ogilby's Aesopics, Fables XLVI (C59) and XLVII (C59). Similarly, the cat, who is "Madam Puss" in Ogilby's Fables (XLVII), becomes "Dame Puss" in Aesop Improved.

In another apparent borrowing from Ogilby, the idea of the cloud's representing Juno, which occurs in the notes to Ogilby's Fable II (Fables, 1668), the story of the dog

and the shadow, appears in the same story in Aesop Improved (Fab. 4:C4). Beyond this, there are several echoes of Ogilby's versions of the tales. The ass of Ogilby's Fable XLVIII is "Heart-broke," and in Aesop Improved (Fab. 52:C52) has his heart broken by the horse's refusal to help him carry the load. The "wanton heifer" of Aesop Improved (Fab. 120:C114) suggests the "vizard-masked heifers" of Ogilby's version of the same tale (Aesopics, Fable XIII), and the bear of Aesop Improved (Fable 175:C164), like Ogilby's bear (Fables, XLIV), is stung by a "wasplish bee." Finally, the author, like Ogilby, has augmented the traditional use of proverbs with a host of common English proverbs.

Although this evidence does indicate that the author of Aesop Improved had given some attention to Ogilby's version of the fables, his primary interest seems to have been in making the fables more accessible to the ordinary reader, and his style is, consequently, far less formal than Ogilby's. His intention is to delight his readers by turning the fables into colloquial language with allusions to English affairs and contemporary concerns.

The range of allusions to English life is extensive in Aesop Improved. There are references to common foods such as "White-pot," "a kind of Devon custard or milk-pudding" (OED), which appears in Fable 27 (C27), and to venison-pasty in Fable 42 (C42). The fables also contain references to English places, including Whitehall (among

the list of palaces inhabited by the fly in Fable 30, the familiar story of the fly and the ant [C30]), and York (designated as the "distant place where the sow would prefer the wolf to be," in Fable 10 [C10]). The city mouse of Fable 9 (C9), of course, comes to London. In Fable 33 (C33), the proud horse is "brave as a Lord Mayor on Lord Mayor's day," and the Mayor of London is compared with the "Mayor of Quinborough" in Fable 217 (C206).²⁴ The Corporations under seige by Charles are warned against internal discord in the application of Fable 51, the tale of the countryman who teaches his sons about the strength of unity by having them attempt to break a bundle of fragile sticks (C51); Cockneys are encouraged to interest themselves in the rest of the world in Fable 140 (C127), and the "fatal spirit" of the Welsh is mentioned in Fable 151 (C138). In a borrowing from both real life and the theatre, Mercury is compared to Moll-Cut-Purse in Book II, Fable 40 (C40).²⁵

The author of Aesop Improved also borrows terms

²⁴ If we extrapolate from Partridge's definition of "quin" (see "quim"), "the female pudend," this allusion suggests that London is something akin to an oversized brothel. See also Stationers Register, Jan. 30, 1672/73, entry: Major of Quinborough.

²⁵ "Moll Cutpurse: Mary Frith, a notorious thief, fortune-teller and forger, who lived about 1584-1659 [who] did penance at St. Paul's Cross in 1612 [and] is the heroine of Middleton and Dekker's 'The Roaring-Girle.'" The Oxford Companion to English Literature, ed. Sir Paul Harvey, 4th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), p. 551. The exploits of Moll Cutpurse were apparently of some interest at this time. There is an entry in the Stationers Register, 30 September, 1671 for The Merry Conceits of Mrs. Mary Frith, commonly called by the name of Mal Cuttpurse &c.

from an assortment of occupations, among them the herald, the lawyer and the doctor. In Book II, Fable 40 (C262), for example, the lion who wishes to marry the countryman's daughter is attacked by the countryman after having given up his teeth and claws for his love. Says the countryman:

Sir Lyon, if that now you rampant be,
I'll make you couchant e're I've done with you.

From legal language comes the description of the lion's agreement to share with the beasts who are hunting with him (Fab. 5:05) as "Gavell-kind," "a form of land tenure involving equal division of a tenant's land among his sons at his death" (OED). The greed of the legal profession is also mentioned in the fable of the sheep who eat their shepherd's coat along with the acorns (Fab. II, 128:C347):

(So Inns of Court men Students, if not Benchers,
Together with their meat do eat their Trenchers).

There are similar allusions to the medical profession and its concerns. In Fable 91 (C91), for example, when the frog turns physician, he leaves the Fens, "though Doctors in the Fens most practice have." The fox in the same story is amused that the frog should be in skill with "Bates and Coxe."²⁶ There are two references to "fox-lungs" ("some medicinal preparation" [OED]) in the collection, both in fables about foxes (Fables 11 and 27). In

²⁶Dr. George Bate, physician to the Cromwell family could be one of the subjects of this allusion. See Antonia Fraser, Cromwell the Lord Protector (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), passim. Coxe remains unidentified.

Fable 11, the tale of the raven and the fox,²⁷ fox-lungs forms the base for a complex pun in the moral:

Fox-lungs consum'd the Raven, a presumption
Though't be Fox-lungs are good for a consumption.

In this application, "fox-lungs" presumably represents the fox's flattery.

Finally, medical and political allusions join forces in the moral of Fable 40, the story of the belly and the members (C40). Here the author develops the political parallel with the Levellers, who demand "that none should live but they that work with hands." He then identifies both belly and head as members which do not work with hands and shows that the belly is essential by cataloguing its functions in a scientific analogy:

Bellies are Laboratories for our food,
For to digest it in, and turn't to blood:
Intestines, Liver, Spleen, veins great and small,
Milkie and mesaraicks, there are all
Belabouring Chyle, and still renewing blood,
And proper nourishment, as they see good.

From this scientific evidence in support of the belly's importance, the author needs only to make an analogy of the importance of the head:

Statesmen and Scholars who despise [the head], I tell ye,
Are like the mutiners against the belly.

A similar mixture of medical and political allusion occurs in Fable 133 (C122), the tale of the owl who warns the birds against nesting in the "Royal oak." This fable

²⁷The familiar story of the fox and the crow in which the fox flatters the crow into giving up its prey (C11).

alludes to the use of mistletoe, which grows as a parasite on the oak, as a source of treatment for epilepsy and of bird-lime. Advised to nest in the oak, the owl replies:

The falling-sickness I have not, I trow,
Said he, o'th Oak I need no mistletoe.
That is the plant wherewith men undermine us,
Give epileptick folks, viscus quercinus.

The allusion to the "Royal oak," a symbol of Charles II, suggests the political attitude of the fabulist, particularly when we notice that the birds finally come to respect the owl after his prophecy is fulfilled and they find themselves stuck in bird-lime. The birds then flock about the owl:

not to jeer and flout him.
Nay further they agree'd, we may conjecture,
To make the owl, his highness, their Protector.

Like most of the political fables in this collection, this fable warns not so much against Charles himself as against the dangerous parasites who surround him.

Fear of Charles's advisors is also expressed in an ironic inversion of the tale of the trumpeter who is captured in battle and asks to be spared because he has struck no blows (Fab. 55:055). As in the traditional tale, the captors insist that the trumpeter is guilty of inciting others, but in this case the war he has encouraged is called a Rebellion. In the moral of the fable he is treated not as the usual encourager of military action, but as a trouble-making advisor of the king:

Who stirs up others he is most in fault,
And dearest ought to pay, if he be caught.

No Trumpeter no war; who ill dispose
 The minds of Princes, they are most our foes;
 Wish them to draw their swords, flatter them so,
 Say all is well that Princes please to do.
 When such like fawning flatterers shall cease,
 Then, not till then, there's hope t' have all in peace.

Similar allusions to the English situation occur in religious terms. The ass who imitates the fawning dog in Fable 13 (C13) is described as "Pope-like" when he presents his master with his foot to be kissed, and in a variation on the same idea in Fable 32 (C32), the horse pretends to agree to be the lion's patient and "Pope-like, the Lion [gives] his toe to kiss." In both cases the allusion acts not as part of a larger allegorical tale, but simply as a reminder of Stuart Catholicism and the relationship the author sees existing between the Papacy and its adherents.

Other passing allusions also suggest a mistrust of the Catholic Church and its associated institutions. In Fable 18 (C18), for example, the tyrannous hawk is described as "that bird with Roman nose." This is associated with the political application made possible by the play on the word "state" in the moral:

Change of condition like to change of Air,
 Some think will mend them, who then worst do fare.
 If it be not too bad, this thou shouldst doe;
 Keep thy old State, rather than seek a new.

In Fable 43 (C43), lions' dens, dangerous because many footprints go in and none come out, are analogous to nunneries, "for once got in, though they repent amain, / I wiss there is no getting out again." In what might be thought of as a more medieval allusion, the grasshopper of

Fable 84 (C84) is described as being "like Friar mendicant, / [who] Came to the Pismire for some good provant."

The general mistrust of Charles's Catholic advisors is expressed in the complex metaphor developed in Fable 158, "Of the Seamen who implor'd the help of Saints":

A Protestant Tarpaulin was at Sea
 And in a storm, midst Papists sure was he;
 For why the Saints they forthwith did implore,
 Whom their Religion teacheth to adore.
 Said he it is in vain to pray to Saints,
 We shall be drown'd e're they can know our wants;
 Or come at Jove to have his gracious ear,
 But Jupiter himself is always near:
 Let us repair to him immediately,
 They did, he heard and gave serenity.

Mor.

Whene're thou art in hast this ever mark,
 Go to the Justice, go not to his Clerk.
 If thou dost need dispatch, of this be wary,
 Go to a King rather than Secretary:
 It holds not true in all things though in some
 It may, furthest about is nearest home.

In this fable, the saints become identified with the Catholics and then with the King's Secretary, suggesting that Charles himself would be responsive to his people if they were able to approach him directly.

Beyond the allusions to English events and places, and perhaps more important, is the sheer joy the author of Aesop Improved exhibits in his exuberant use of the English language. The result, while it remains doggerel, brings a new informality, playfulness and vigour to the English fable. The basis for the development is the author's enthusiasm for word play, which finds a ready outlet in the characteristics of the animals he describes. The cock of Fable 1 (C1) is a coxcomb; the crane who helps the wolf in

Fable 6 (C6) "cran'd up the bone"; the tusked boar of Fable 8 (C8) is dubbed the Duke of Tuscany; the timid hares of Fable 23 (C23) are "hair-brain'd"; the fly berated by the ant in Fable 30 (C30) has "no cause to be fly-blown"; the horse of Fable 45 (C45) is, ironically, an ass; the weasel of Fable 67 (C67) has grown "weasel-fac'd," and the "waspish bee" who attacks the bear in Fable 175 (C164) is "no humble bee." In Fable 175 the natural rhyme for pigeon is widgeon, denoting both a duck and a fool, and "each Pigeon call[s] himself a noddy," another term for both a bird and a fool, giving this verse about birds a double twist.

The author's love of word play leads him to have the fox prescribe a "sovereign medicine" for King Lion in Book II, Fable 81 (C301). He says of country folk in Fable 9 (C9), "Though they fare worse, they commonly fear less." Those who would be thieves are warned to be like the cuckoo in Fable 146 (C133) because it is "better [to] eat Neck-beef than come to Neck-verse." Finally, the cock who is excusing himself from the accusations of the cat, in Book II, Fable 18 (C61), tells him "We Bruits have Bruets . . . whereby we may / Lye with each other, else we cannot lay / Eggs as we do."

The author is not even above making bilingual puns, as he does, for example, in Fable 165, the story of the magpie's ambition to go to court. The moral plays on the Latin for magpie, pica, to warn the reader against those who cannot keep what they know to themselves:

Admit him not thy servant whom thou thinkst
 To have a blab-tongue, or brest full of chirks;
 Upon a Magpye always look asquint,
Pica's a Letter and puts things in print.

Play on individual words is augmented occasionally by word play that involves both puns and shifting word order. In Fable 27 (C27), for example, after being invited by the fox to a meal he was incapable of eating, "The Stork full empty went, empty, but full / Of heaviness, fasting made him less dull." Similarly, in the moral of Fable 29 (C29), the tale of the jay dressed in peacock feathers, we are assured that "Fine feathers make birds fine, but not fine birds."

The energetic use of language in Aesop Improved combined with the collection's criticism of Restoration society marks another step in the transformation of the fable collection into a partisan political tool. During the same period, a similar transformation was taking place in the polyglot Aesops, which were published and illustrated by Francis Barlow. Two distinct editions of the collection exist: the original 1666 version, with English fables by Thomas Philipott, and the final 1687 edition, with English fables by Aphra Behn.²⁸

²⁸Wing STC A694, A695, A696 and A703. This collection has a complex publishing history. It has generally been assumed that the first edition was "largely destroyed in the London fire" (National Union Catalogue: Pre-1956 Imprints). However, in work now in progress, William J.

Thomas Philipott's English fables in the 1666 edition of Barlow's Aesop are, for the most part, as unimpressive as the verse translations of the earlier part of the century, partly because of their conventional use of language, but also because of the limitations imposed upon them by the printed form. In the opening devoted to each fable, the French version occupies one complete page, while the illustration, the English version and the Latin appear on the second. As part of the engraving, the English version is confined to a limited space, and consists of a tale told in three or more decasyllabic couplets followed by a couplet presenting the moral.

The result of these limitations is a collection in which there is only one notable allusion to contemporary life, and that could as easily belong to an earlier part of the century:

Hypocrisie drest like a seeming Saint
 Improves its guilt by that religious paint.
 (Fab. XI: C612)

The allusion is humorous, particularly with its play on "guilt," but it remains unique; the collection is otherwise devoid of both humour and the political awareness which mark Mrs. Behn's 1687 version. By then, of course, the

Cameron is demonstrating that there are many interim states of the text which contain fables by both Behn and Philipott. When Cameron's work is complete it may be possible to determine which of Mrs. Behn's fables were substituted at any particular time. In the meantime, I have had to be satisfied with comparing the first edition with the final version in which all the fables are Mrs. Behn's.

controversy which characterized the reign of James II was in full swing, and Mrs. Behn had taken up the cause of the Stuarts in her fables.

The Behn collection is arranged in the same order as the Philipott version. The new English fables, however, are even shorter, each being confined to a tale told in a pair of decasyllabic couplets with a couplet for the moral. Although the shift to the shorter form required alterations within the stories, the collection borrows liberally from the Philipott version, and Mrs. Behn clearly felt free either to borrow couplets in their entirety, as she does, for example, in the moral of Fable XXI (C594), the story of the mice belling the cat, or to alter the tone of the fable completely as we can see she has done in the very first fable of the collection (C1). Here the Philipott edition contains the traditional tale of the cock and the jewel in language which echoes the traditional prose translations:

A graine of Barly and a Iem did dwell
 Ith' Caskett of a dunghill as their Cell
 Till the rude clawes of a keene hungry Cock
 Did that dull Cabinet of Dire unlock
 And haveing rak't them forth with cheape disdain
 Waves ye bright Iem to taste ye coorser graine.

Moral

Some earthly natures choycer pleasures find,
 In sordid joyes then in a vertuous mind.

Mrs. Behn, on the other hand, has moved away from the traditional prose, directing her attention beyond the standard "earthly nature" to its manifestation in her own society:

A Cock who to a neighbouring Dunghill tries,

~~Finding a gemme that mongst the Rubish lyes:
 Cry'd he—a Barly corne woud please me more
 Then all the Treasures on the eastern shore.~~

Morall

Gay nonsense does the noysy fopling please
 Beyond the noblest Arts and Sciences.

Here we find not only the reference, fairly common in tradi-
 tional versions, to the riches of the east (a reference
 which does not occur in the Philipott version, and which
 may reflect the controversies surrounding the East India
 Company at this time), but also a clearly contemporary
 reference to a "fopling." At the same time, the frivolity
 which characterizes the fopling and, to some extent, the
 Restoration court as a whole, is balanced by the reference
 to Arts and Sciences, perhaps suggesting the concern this
 same court manifested for more serious matters through its
 generous support of the arts and through the establishment
 of the Royal Society.

The remainder of the collection contains a fair
 measure of support for the Stuarts through allusions to
 topical issues, and well-known events. For example, in the
 moral of Fable XXIII (C14), the story of the lion and the
 mouse, we are reminded that "an Oak did once a glorious
 Monarch save," an allusion to the popular story of Charles
 II's escape after his defeat at the battle of Worcester.

Among the more contemporary allusions are those to
 the fate suffered by the Duke of Monmouth for his attempts
 to usurp the throne. The moral of Fable XII (C54), the
 story of the fowler who, intent upon killing a ring dove,

fails to notice an adder nearby and is fatally stung is an obvious allusion to Monmouth:

The young usurper, who design'd t'invade,
An others right, himselve the victim made.

A less obvious allusion to the same case is almost certainly contained in the moral of Fable XXIV (C177), the story of the mouse who wishes to marry the lion's daughter and is crushed by her when she accidentally steps on him:

To false ambition if thy thoughts are bent,
Reflect on a late pitt'y'd president.

A more obvious allusion occurs again in the moral of Fable LXXX (C4), the familiar tale of the dog and the shadow:

So fancy'd Crownes led the young warriour on,
Till loosing all he found himself undone.

Fable XCVIII (C39) perhaps suggests moral support for James's Declarations of Indulgence, but at the same time it sounds a warning of their likely result:

The Clowne implor'd the tree, that he woud spare
A but of Wood his Hatchett to repare
The trees consent but the false Clowne betry'd
The generous Stock and all in ruines lay'd.
Morall.

Ungrateful People thus on Princes pull
And given some liberties rebell for all.

If there is support for the Stuarts in Mrs. Behn's collection, there is at the same time, as we found in Fable I, a mistrust of the more frivolous aspects of Restoration London. The fopling of Fable I is related to the "spark" of Fable XLVI (C295), the story of the ass who thinks he has frightened the lion:

The forward spark who thinks his noys may pass
Incountring sense perceives himself as Ass

and Fable LVIII (C116), the story of the fox and the leopard discussing the relative merits of brains and beauty:

Not the gay spark that in guilt Coach does roule,
Can forme the Hero, but the nobler Soule.

Similarly, the world of foppery is disparaged in references throughout the collection to coxcombs, raillery, debauchees, mistresses and excesses of all sorts, including the affectation of literary competence, as we can see in the moral of Fable XXVI (C31), the tale of the toad and the ox:

The woud-bee Witts to Lawrels woud aspire,
And write till damn'd they shamefully retire.

Mrs. Behn's concern with the frivolity of the Restoration court is matched by that of Nathaniel Crouch, even though they are clearly political opponents. Crouch, who published many books on historical and religious subjects during the 1680's and 1690's under the pseudonym "R. B." (variously interpreted as Richard or Robert Burton), had, according to John Dunton, "a talent for collection" (DNB). He had also a talent for bookselling and was the first of the fabulists to undertake the fairly common practice of altering the title page and little else and selling his book a second time as a totally new work. Delightful Fables in Prose and Verse. None of them to be found in Aesop (1691) reappeared as Aesop's Fables in Prose and Verse and was alleged in the preface to be the second part of a collection of which no first part seems ever to have

appeared: "As to the ensuing Fables, they are collected from the famous Aesop, the learned Camerarius, and other noted Authors, both Ancient and Modern; few or none of these that were formerly published in the First, being to be found in this second Part, so that this may be reckoned wholly new." We can only conclude that the first part was the Delightful Fables, which actually differs from this collection in only one fable, a new fable 30 having been introduced into the new edition.²⁹

Each of the 42 fables appears in a prose version followed by a versified version which seldom differs substantially from the prose. Crouch tells us in the preface that he first translated the fables from Latin into English prose, and that he then versified them, but he does not tell us why. Whatever may have been his motive in this regard, his political and social purposes in the fables are fairly obvious; the fables support the Revolution and oppose any Jacobite sentiment. Apart from the specifically political fables, the collection castigates the vices which are generally believed to have characterized the Restoration court: ambition, vanity, covetousness, debauchery, arrogance, ingratitude and a propensity for keeping bad

²⁹There are only two extant editions of Crouch's Fables: Wing STC C7311, Delightful Fables published in 1691 and Aesop's Fables (the fifth edition, according to the title page), published in 1712. The Term Catalogues indicate that another edition of Delightful Fables appeared in 1692 (II, 399) and that two editions of Aesop's Fables appeared in 1695 (II, 541) and 1696 (II, 596).

company and minding everyone else's business to the neglect of one's own affairs.

Occasional allusions to contemporary life link the non-political fables to the political as in the case of the wolf in Fable XXIII (C396 and 403). His ambiguous moral character is revealed by his knowledge of both French and Dutch in addition to English and Latin. Similarly, in Fable XIX (C757), the cowardice of the ass who runs away from his alliance with the dog against the wolf represents that of "the Bullies and Huffs of the Town, who make such a bustle with their Red Coats and Feathers, [but] are upon Tryal very far from being valiant and stout."

The folly of ambition is discussed at unusual length in the moral of Fable XXXII, "The Captain and the Puppies," a fable which makes its first English appearance in this collection:

How many idle and ridiculous quarrels are there in the World about Titles and Preheminence [sic] of Place or Office? and how many weak men appear extremely ambitious of Honour and Dignity, and are mightily pleased when they attain thereto, although as uncapable and as little deserving it as the Boys Puppy-Dogs merited to be made Captains? Whereas a generous and gallant spirited person is sensible of the vanity of empty Names and Titles without suitable Qualifications, and is so far from pursuing Honours and Preferments, that he is often courted and entreated to accept of them by those who do really understand what value is to be put upon the conduct and prudence of men of true worth and courage.

The politics of self-interest which so concerned those who had cause to deal with government in the Restoration period is attacked in the opening fable of the collection (C761), "The Monkey, the Cat and the Chestnuts."

The tale itself is given no political implications, but the application makes it absolutely clear:

Some men care not what abuses they put upon others, nor what troubles and dangers they bring them into, so they can but compass their own ends and purposes; And how many were lately made use of to bring about the Designs and Contrivances of ill men, who when their turn was served, were so far from gratifying them, that they scott and laugh'd at their easiness and folly.

The traditional healing power of the king is the basis for an attack on the Stuarts in Fable III (C777), "The Fox and the Lion." In this tale, which makes its first English appearance in this collection, the fox refuses the lion's offer of a cure unless he first divests himself of his claws and teeth. The lion's claim to have healing power reveals his Catholic leanings when he asserts that his medicine is infallible.³⁰ The moral of the fable attacks the treachery of the Jacobites through its reference to the plots which inevitably followed the revolution:

Though some do treacherously contrive
Their Neighbours overthrow,
Yet wise men oft their Plots descry,
And so prevent the blow.

The reactions which followed the accession of William and Mary to the throne are reflected in Crauch's fables, which defend the "best of Princes." Fable VI

³⁰ Papal infallibility, though not an official declared dogma until the nineteenth century, was an issue in the seventeenth century. The OED cites an example from 1624, and such pamphlets as one entered in the Stationers Register for 14th August, 1674, Romes most specious cheates laid open, or the fallacy of her infallibility and the novelty of her pretended sic antiquity . . ., are not uncommon in this period.

(C689), the tale of the sheep who resents the comfort enjoyed by the dog who guards the flock, is turned to an attack on those who resent the apparently easy life of the king: "Some people are apt to think that their Rulers lead too easie lives, and though without Government they would soon be ruined, yet are they often very ungrateful to the best of Princes."

The humorous tale of the young mouse who foolishly prefers a cat to a rooster (Fab. IX:Cl91) is turned to a political purpose when the mouse describes the rooster:

A Monster with a Crown on's head.
 And horned heels march'd by,
 Who with his arms clapping his sides
 Sent forth a hideous cry.

The emphasis on the crown and on the marching feet suggests the king and his army, and the folly of the mouse in his incorrect assessment of the source of danger is like the folly of those who are unaware of the dangers from James while overestimating those from William. This political suggestion is not, however, carried out in the moral of the tale, which is simply applied to the "roaring Sparks" of the town who are less dangerous than "some demure and sober Knaves."

The critics of the new regime are attacked in the moral of Fable XXVII (C781), the tale of the dog who is hanged because he will not stop barking at the moon:

The only argument to silence and convince those ill natured, ambitious and discontented People who bark and murmur against the best of Princes, and the best of Governments, (which is faulty in nothing but in being too mild and too

merciful, to such ungrateful wretches) is certainly that which quieted the Cur before mentioned, that is a Halter; which is the only way to prevent them from disturbing others, as well as ruining themselves.

The dog in this fable is characterized as a "seditious mutineer." It might even be suggested that this dog's moon watching is not unlike that of the contemporary astrologer, William Lilly, who predicted lunar eclipses and is associated by the fabulist with the mock astrologer who falls into a well in Fable XXXI (C558).

The critics are again attacked in Fable XXXV (C490), "The Lap-wing and the Parrot": "Liberty is an invaluable Jewel, and for which we ought to count nothing too dear, nor to murmur at the best of Princes, though for our own security and preservation, we are at some extraordinary charge to preserve our selves from Tyranny and Slavery." In this fable, support for rebellion against oppression is also drawn from an allusion to the Scottish hero William Wallace, who fought against the English oppression of Scotland in the late thirteenth century.

Crouch's defence of William is coupled with arguments against the recall of James. Fable XXI (C780), in which the fox warns the ass against rescuing the lion from the pit is another fable which appears for the first time in English in this collection. Here, as in Fable III, the characterization is clearly directed to the contemporary situation: the lion is a tyrant, the ass is a foolish citizen, and the fox is the clever citizen who recognizes

the danger. The moral is directed against James, particularly in its specification that the lion has withdrawn from the throne. James's alleged abdication was one of the supporting arguments for the legality of the Revolution.

When a People have been delivered from the Arbitrary Government of a Tyrannical prince, either by their own valour, or his withdrawing from the exercise of it, it is certainly the greatest stupidity and folly to recal him again, though upon never so specious promises and pretences, since he will surely Reign more tyrannically than before.

The most political fable of all, however, is the story of the magpies, the vulture and the eagle (Fab. XXX: C783). This story is nothing less than a complete allegory of James's reign, his flight to France, the accession of William (Mary is totally ignored in the collection), the dissatisfaction of the high churchmen, and the final settlement of such overt dissent with the Acts of Grace (May 1690), which excluded those Jacobites who had fled to St. Germain. ³¹

Crouch's attacks on the Jacobites are indicative of his objections to absolute monarchy. Like his opponent,

³¹ For historical background, see David Ogg, England in the Reigns of James II and William III (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 241.

By 1712, and perhaps as early as 1695^o (see discussion of publishing history above, p. 121), this fable had been removed from the collection and replaced by the story of the fox's tricking the ape who has been elected king in order to reveal his unsuitability for the position (C256). While this story could suggest dissatisfaction with William, it is equally likely to have been directed at the recurring problem of the succession in England. The substitution of this fable for the earlier one is an unusual case of a fable collection's moving from the particular to the general.

Sir Roger L'Estrange, he, however, is equally opposed* to changeable governments, as he makes clear in the moral to Fable XVI (C622), "The Hedgehog and the Fox":

Those People that are so unfortunate and miserable as to live under Vice-Roys and Governors, who are changed usually in two or three years, as it happens in many Countreys in Europe, would be more happy if they continued longer, since those that stay some years, having already squeezed the people are grown rich, and therefore spare them, whereas the new one that comes poor and hungry, practises all manner of Rapine and Oppression to inrich himself.

It is ironic, in view of Crouch's approval of the Revolution, that he has used this fable, traditionally employed to warn those who would overthrow an oppressive monarch, to oppose an alternative form of government.³²

Like many of his contemporaries, Crouch was concerned with the political order of England and found fable a suitable expression both for his concern and for his recommendations for the improvement of English political life.

None of Crouch's concern for the political state of England is found in Philip Ayres's Mythologia Ethica; or Three Centuries of Aesopian Fables in England (1689). This collection has been described by L'Estrange's biographer, George Kitchin, as "rather serviceable,"³³ an indication,

³² On the other hand, the fable could, in both Crouch and L'Estrange, be seen as an image for their concern about the proposed Triennial Act, which was finally passed in December, 1694.

³³ George Kitchin, Sir Roger L'Estrange: A Contribution to the History of the Press in the Seventeenth Century (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1913), p. 396. Kitchin includes Crouch's fables in this description, although the two collections are quite different.

perhaps, of its affiliation with the traditional prose collections rather than with the developments which were currently taking place in verse collections.

Ayres's collection is a prose translation of 300 prose fables borrowed not only from the traditional Aesopian material, but also from the 1569 Schole of Wyse Conceytes by Sir Thomas Blage and other sources. Although the title indicates that the fables in the collection are all of English origin, 40 of them are not to be found in any extant editions of earlier English collections.³⁴

Despite the introduction of fresh material, Ayres's approach to it is quite conventional. The stories tend to be lengthy, while the morals range from a single cryptic sentence to the length of a short sermon. Ayres's intention was clearly educational, as he indicates in the dedication of the collection to his "Honoured and Learned Kinsman and Friend Mr. Lewis Maydwell":

I have been very careful that the Subjects of my Fables should be modest, grave, and accommodated to the best Precepts of Vertue and Wisdom; wherein I have exploded all manner of indecencies, too imprudently used by J. Poggius the Florentine, and some others; that so they might be more proper for Instruction of Youth, whose minds are commonly delighted with such Fancies as these. And in a plain Stile have I dressed this Work, to their Advantage particularly, whose Parents either cannot or will not be at the Charge of having them bred to Learning, but will leave all to the strength of Nature, as their only School-Mistress.

In the light of this declaration, it is perhaps ironic that the collection makes many references to the applications of

³⁴STC 3114. For list of contents, see Appendix A.

the fables as they appear in other languages and numerous allusions to classical literature and ancient history, many of which are not translated into English and would, therefore, be inaccessible to their intended audience of the uneducated.

Ayres was far more interested in impressing upon his reader the universality of fable literature than in linking it with English life. Even when there is the faintest suggestion that the story might have an English analogy, the reader is directed to an incident from the past or from another country. For example, the moral of Fable 9 in Book II appears to instruct the reader to look to his own experience: "This Fable points at arrogant Fools who are often Murmuring at the Government, and boasting what politic Measures they would take were they at the Helm." The reader is then directed to Plutarch and his story of Agis and Cleomenes.

Ayres was not completely averse to things English, however. Like Ogilby and the author(s) of Aesop Explained and Aesop Improved, he did have a fondness for including English proverbs in his morals, although he was equally likely to augment them with Italian, French or Spanish ones. He was also responsible for introducing new material into the English Aesopian canon, and, while he did not contribute directly to the application of fable to English life, he did revive Blage's custom of expanding the application of the story and introduced the practice, which was later

used by L'Estrange and Croxall (albeit to greater advantage), of introducing a second story into the application of the first. Examples of this occur in Book I, Fables 24 and 84, and in Book III, Fable 42. It should perhaps be noted that these stories, unlike many of those inserted in the morals of L'Estrange's and Croxall's collections, do not act as links with contemporary English life, but rather reinforce the fable with another fable illustrating the same moral. For example, the story of the mole who attempts mapmaking, when she should stick to digging, is supported by the story of the woodworm attempting to treat a sick fox who refuses to accept carpenters as physicians (Book I, Fab. 24).

Finally, one should not ignore one truly remarkable development in English fable literature of this period, the publication of John Dryden's The Hind and the Panther in 1687. Although it is not a collection, more than any other single publication involving fables, this poem caught the imagination of its time.³⁵ Though it owed a great deal to John Ogilby, it took a further step toward changing the English attitude to the use of fable by introducing it directly into the field of political controversy and by making the nature of fable itself a subject for conjecture. Dryden's combination of fable with beast debate raised a

³⁵Since The Hind and the Panther is not a collection, and since it has been discussed by many critics, it will not be studied here.

furor among the wits and the Grub Street hacks, prompting a spate of responses which made it so much a part of the literary scene that it was still being parodied twenty years later.³⁶

Dryden's debt to Ogilby was primarily in the area of the elaboration of the fable and in the technique of what Miner calls 'discontinuous allegory,'³⁷ but Dryden's allegory is far more consistent than Ogilby's and much more specifically controversial. While Ogilby was creating a mirror for his time, Dryden was clearly moving toward the fable which warned government about specific problems and advised it how to deal with them. In his use of both the didactic function of the fable and its satiric qualities, Dryden is the direct ancestor of the Grub Street Aesops who were to appear about ten years later.

³⁶See discussion of Bickerstaff's Aesop, 1709, below, pp. 215-17.

³⁷Earl Miner, Dryden's Poetry (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967), p. 146.

CHAPTER IV

AFTER THE REVOLUTION: THE PROSE AESOPS,

1692-1722

In the years following the Glorious Revolution, the fable collection became increasingly involved in English life. Verse collections of varying quality continued to present the traditional fables in colloquial language,¹ school Aesops continued to proliferate,² French fables were turned into English collections,³ and attempts were made to integrate emblems and historical anecdotes into the canon.⁴ While most of these approaches had some influence

¹These include Wing STC H5, [Benjamin Harris], Fables of Aesop (1700); Aesop Naturaliz'd and Expos'd to the Public View (1697); Edmund Arwaker, Truth in Fiction, or Morality in Masquerade (1708); and Aesop Naturaliz'd (1711) (a different collection).

²The most notable of these is John Locke's Aesop's Fables, English and Latin Interlineary (1703).

³Among them, John Toland, Aesop's Fables with the moral reflections of M. Baudoin (1704); Bernard Mandeville, Aesop Dress'd (1703 and 1704); Lady Winchelsea's translations of La Fontaine's fables in Miscellany Poems (1713); R. Samber, One Hundred New Court Fables, a translation of La Motte's collection (1721); and a translation of Fenelon's Fables and Dialogues of the Dead (1722).

⁴Wing STC H6, [Benjamin Harris], Fables of Young Aesop (1697), is a collection of emblems, while Wing STC L1247, Sir Roger L'Estrange, Fables and Stories Moralized (1699), is mainly a collection of moralized anecdotes.

in the later development of English fable collections, the most significant Aesops of the period took one of two forms: either the large prose collection with extensive moral applications, which, collectively, created something approaching a political philosophy, or the highly selective Grub Street pamphlet collection, which applied the fables to current political issues.⁵

Three major prose collections, each with a pronounced political bias, appeared between 1692 and 1722: Sir Roger L'Estrange's Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythologists (1692),⁶ the so-called "De Witt's Fables" (1703)⁷ and Samuel Croxall's Fables of Aesop and Others (1722).⁸ The three collections make an interesting study in comparison because of their differing political positions: L'Estrange has been described as both Tory and

⁵The Grub Street collections are treated below in Chapter V.

⁶Wing STC A706.

⁷This collection first appeared in England under the title Fables Moral and Political, with large Explications. Translated from the Dutch, with its spine stamped "De Witt's Fables," 2 vols., 1703. It appeared again in 1704 as A Collection of Fables taken from the Most Celebrated Mythologists. See discussion below, pp. 154-65.

⁸Other prose collections appeared during the period. Walter Pope, Moral and Political Fables done into Measured Prose intermix'd with Rhyme (1698) was more experimental in form than concerned with contemporary political events. John Jackson, A New Translation of Aesop's Fables (1708), while decidedly Whiggish and perhaps of some interest here, seems to have vanished into obscurity, leaving behind only one incomplete copy in the Bodleian Library. Copies recorded in both the British Museum and the Boston Public Library have been reported as lost.

Jacobite, and his collection supports absolute monarchy; Croxall, a Whig who wrote in an effort to combat the influence of the popular L'Estrange, clearly supports a limited monarchy; while the "De Witt" fables form the basis for a treatise on republicanism.

In the verse fable collections which we have been discussing, we have found the fabulists taking advantage of the fictional qualities of the fable and of its humorous aspects to comment on contemporary life, largely through the use of allusive language. Here, Aesop is both narrator and interpreter of the fiction so that both fiction and application participate directly in the process of describing contemporary life.

For the political prose fabulists, however, the story itself remains neutral ground. The emphasis is on Aesop as interpreter, and the fables are regarded by all as familiar anecdotes which are open to a variety of interpretations. Each of the fabulists is in agreement with the principle that the story is useful because it is memorable, but that it must function primarily as a 'tag' for the interpretation. In the view of these fabulists, the function of the Aesopian collection is that ascribed to it by the earliest collector of Aesop's fables, Demetrius of Phalerum, who treated it as "a handbook of materials intended primarily for the use of writers and speakers."⁹ Thus,

⁹Perry, xiii.

each fable serves as a spring-board from which the fabulist can launch a short essay on some aspect of human behaviour, and the perceptive fabulist can shape the collection as a whole into a general treatise on human society.

Sir Roger L'Estrange was responsible for the use of the fable collection for promoting a political philosophy.¹⁰ At the same time, he was doubtless aware that the general popularity of the Aesopian collection as an acceptable educational tool virtually guaranteed a ready market, while the character of Aesop provided a cloak of legitimacy for his widely unacceptable political ideas. While Ogilby had been creating elaborate verse fables and Dryden had been experimenting with debate, L'Estrange, the major prose fabulist of the 1690's, had been honing his prose technique on political pamphlets, and his didactic tendency on the castigation of seditious pamphleteers and, more recently, the perpetrators of the Popish Plot. It was only in his old age and after the collapse of his political ambitions with the fall of James II that L'Estrange took up writing fables. Even then he did not give up politics, but created the largest collection of English fables in existence, his Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythologists (1692), in which he employed the fables as the basis for an elaborate

¹⁰ Croxall declared his purpose of opposing L'Estrange in the preface to his collection. The case of the "De Witt" fabulist is less certain, although there is some evidence that he too was responding to L'Estrange. See below, p. 155.

exposition of his political philosophy.¹¹ The collection consists of the school Aesop augmented to a total of 500 fables by borrowings from many sources, including the work of La Fontaine and other, as yet untranslated, continental collections. L'Estrange's first collection alone added 70 new stories to the English Aesopian canon.

L'Estrange's claims for his collection are relatively modest:

Whether I have, in this Attempt, Contributed or not, to the Improvement of these Fables, either in the Wording, or in the Meaning of them, the Book must Stand or Fall to it self; But this I shall Adventure to pronounce upon the whole Matter, that the Text is English, and the Morals, in some sort, Accommodate to the Allegory.

What he does not mention is his use of the ordering processes of the collection as a whole, although both his grouping of the fables and his decision to eliminate most

¹¹The urge to produce the biggest, if not the best, English fable collection was not uncommon, although until this time no one had produced a collection which exceeded in length the traditional school Aesop. See discussion of Aesop Improv'd, above, p. 104.

L'Estrange also produced a second collection, Wing, STC L1247, Fables and Stories Moraliz'd (1699), which leans almost completely to "stories moraliz'd." "Besides a large number of Italian stories of Boccacini, Boccaccio, etc., stories in many cases difficult to trace, there are a number of English instances--generally true-Protestant quips and a host of marriage jests mingled with tales of Virgil, Alexander, and Augustus, in such a medley as to entitle us to claim this work as almost the sole English collection of Contes." George Kitchin, Sir Roger L'Estrange: A Contribution to the History of the Press in the Seventeenth Century (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1913), pp. 397-98.

Although the second collection will not be discussed here, it has been included in the Appendices because of the likelihood of its having been used as a source for later fabulists.

of the duplication which occurs in the school Aesop suggest that he saw the collection as something more than a gathering of unrelated tales. Unlike Ogilby, who grouped his fables into narrative sequences, L'Estrange did not see the fable collection as a narrative structure. Instead, he based the grouping of fables upon thematic relationships, so that several fables are dealt with in a single moral application.¹²

In the individual fable L'Estrange's technique is also the reverse of Ogilby's. Where Ogilby embellished the stories with elaborate detail and extensive allusion, L'Estrange, although his famous colloquial prose style is by no means dull,¹³ kept his stories to bare essentials, only occasionally giving his characters contemporary titles or placing them in recognizable English situations.¹⁴ Instead, he modified the moral application, adding to it a "Reflexion" which is often lengthy (occasionally running to as much as three pages of closely set type), the purpose of

¹²There are 25 of these groups involving as many as four fables; they are Fables 2-3, 4-5, 24-25, 26-27, 36-37, 39-41, 46-49, 52-53, 56-57, 64-65, 70-71, 78-80, 90-91, 92-94, 129-30, 134-35, 159-60, 213-14, 221-22, 230-33, 284-85, 314-15, 319-20, 323-24, 440-41.

For some groupings of the same stories in the "De Witt" fables, see below, p. 155.

¹³See treatment of L'Estrange's prose style in William Wray, The English Fable 1650-1800 (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1950).

¹⁴Even these are only passing references, as can be seen in Fables 101, 279, 288, 313, 379, 399, 413, 416, 436, 446, 494, 499.

which is to elaborate upon the moral and to bring the interpretation of the story to bear upon English life, for, as he points out in the preface, "An emblem without a key to't is no more than a Tale of a Tub."

L'Estrange's reflexions do not always conform to tradition. Although he bows to custom by starting his collection with the fable "A Cock and a Diamond" (Cl), he serves notice that tradition will be subservient to his philosophy by setting up the traditional interpretation of the fable only to overturn it:

The Moralists will have Wisdom and Virtue to be meant by the Diamond; the World and the Pleasures of it, by the Dunghill; and by the Cock, a Voluptuous Man, that Abandons himself to his Lusts, without any regard, either to the Study, the Practice, or the Excellency of Better Things.

Now, with favour of the Ancients, this Fable seems to me, rather to hold forth an Emblem of Industry and Moderation. The Cock lives by his honest Labor, and maintains his Family out of it; His Scraping upon the Dunghill, is but Working in his Calling; The precious Stone is only a gawdy Temptation that Fortune throws in his way to divert him from his Business and his Duty. He would have been glad, he says, of a Barley-Corn instead on't; and so casts it aside as a thing not worth the heeding. What is all this now, but the passing of a true Estimate upon the matter in question, in preferring that which Providence has made and pronounc'd to be the Staff of Life, before a glittering Gew-Gaw, that has no other Value, then what Vanity, Pride and Luxury, have set upon't? The Price of the Market to a Jeweller in his Trade, is one thing, but the intrinsick Worth of a thing, to a Man of Sense, and Judgment, is another. Nay, that very Lapidary himself, with a coming Stomach, and in the Cock's place, would have made the Cock's choice. The Doctrin, in short, may be this: That we are to prefer things necessary, before things superfluous; the Comforts and the Blessings of Providence, before the dazzling and the splendid Curiosities of Mode and Imagination; And finally, that we are not to govern our Lives by Fancy, but by Reason.

In this first fable, L'Estrange has already begun to set up the standards by which he will measure English society. In

a similar way, with more or less local detail as it is required, he uses the reflexions throughout the collection to bring each of the 500 fables into a coherent pattern, to create what he himself calls, in another context, "a kind of philosophical mythology."

Like Ogilby's stories, L'Estrange's reflexions tend to be heavily garnished with English proverbs and colloquialisms and with references to English events and institutions. Where Ogilby had allegorized the stories from the inside, L'Estrange does so through his reflexions in which both contemporary events and those of the past can be used in the didactic working out of the fable and woven into the philosophical pattern of the collection.

For George Kitchin, L'Estrange's biographer, the philosophical pattern is that of Filmerism, "no better relic of [which]," he says, "has survived than this 'most extensive collection of fables in existence.'"¹⁵ Kitchin's attention is, of course, focused on L'Estrange's support of divine right monarchy and upon his rejection of any form of popular government. While it is probably true that L'Estrange, like many supporters of Charles and James, participated in the popular revival of Filmer's patriarchal argument for divine right,¹⁶ it also seems evident that

¹⁵Kitchin, pp. 397-98.

¹⁶See Sir Robert Filmer, Patriarcha and Other Political Works, ed. with an intro. by Peter Laslett (Oxford: Blackwell, 1949).

other factors peculiar to L'Estrange's own experience and personality were equally important to the development of the ideas which pervade the fable collection. Where Filmer began with the desire to establish a sound philosophical basis for divine right monarchy at the point where it emanated from the will of God, L'Estrange, more like Hobbes, seems to have begun with the world around him.

The philosophy of the Fables depends upon a personal view of humanity, and a negative one. L'Estrange paints a dismal picture of the world around him, and he draws upon the negative and conservative aspects of the fable tradition to support his position. The implied comparison between men and beasts becomes explicit, and the beasts are sometimes superior: "Some Brute Animals, have more understanding then some Men" (Fab. CCCLXXIII:C372), "Some Men are worse than some Brutes, and little other than Beasts in the Shape of Reasonable Creatures" (Fab. CCCLXXXII:Cl25), and again, "Experience works upon Many Brutes more then upon Some Men" (Fab. CXIX:C260). Over and over again he tells his reader that "there are Men of Prey as well as Beasts and Birds of Prey" (Fab. CCXI:C79). He describes the human world in animal terms, speaking of the mob as a herd and asserting that "there are Swarms and Swarms of this sort of State-Spiders in the World" (Fab. CCLVIII:Cl30).¹⁷

¹⁷L'Estrange's Fables might almost be read as a commentary on the Earl of Rochester's "A Satyr against Reason and Mankind" in Complete Poems, ed. David M. Vieth (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 94-101.

In his view, all men are motivated by self-interest, whether it be the result of greed or ambition, so that social order itself is always fragile and tenuous:

The Philosophers will have Man in a Degree of Excellency to be a Sociable Creature; . . . Now if we may Credit Matter of Fact and Experience, Men are the most Disunited Creatures under the Heavens: 'Tis their Delight, Study, Practice and Profession to lye Cutting One Anothers Throats and Destroying their own Kind; Insomuch that Birds, Beasts and Insects, to the very Flies and Pismires, will rise up in Judgment against Mankind in this Point.

(Fab. CCCCLXXXV:C846)

Thus, the maintenance of order is always a struggle against human nature, requiring authority and sometimes even tyranny. "What is it," L'Estrange asks, "but the Fear of Punishment that keeps the World in Order?" (Fab. CCLXXI:C143).

For L'Estrange, as for Ogilby, the necessary harmony of the world demands that there be a Providential order which is visible in the workings of nature, as well as in society, in the family, and in the individual. The order is hierarchical and fixed, under the authority of God: "Every part and Creature of the Universe has it's proper Place, Station and Faculties Assign'd, and to Wish it Otherwise were to find fault with Providence" (Fab. CCLXXXVI:C160). Next to the order imposed upon the world by God is the political order which is presided over by the king. The frogs who choose a king in Fable XIX (C17) "are given to Understand the very truth of the Matter, as we find it in the World, both in the Nature, and Reason of the Thing, and in Policy and Religion; which is, That Kings are from God; and that it is a Sin, a Folly, and a Madness, to

struggle with his Appointments." For L'Estrange, one who would struggle with God's appointments would do so because "He never Troubled Himself about the Original of Power, or the Analogy betwixt Monarchy in Heaven, and upon Earth" (Fab. CCCIX:Cl83).

Like Hobbes, L'Estrange never really came to terms with the problem that kings can be tyrannical, their governments oppressive, and their subjects obsessed with a desire for liberty. The difficulty is clear enough: L'Estrange's philosophical system required a king who could be depended upon to perform his duties. That king is differentiated from the tyrant in the reflexion on Fable CCCCLXXXIX (C848):

As to the Definition of a Tyrant it self, let it be Candidly taken, and the Drift of it is this; the common Safety of King and People is wrapt up in the Well-being of each other. The Prince intends his Own Good in that of the People; and at the same time, the Good of the People in that of Himself; for they Stand or Fall together; But then there's One Tenderness of Care and Duty, and another of Personal Inclination, or (if I may so Call it) Infirmitie; And that's Aristotle's Tyrant, where a Ruler Indulges his Private Appetite, and Sacrifices his People to his Passions or his Pleasures.

Although the definitions seem clear enough, L'Estrange was still unable to deal with the problem in a straightforward manner. For example, in this same reflexion, he insists on a separation between politics and religion which forbids public criticism of a ruler's morals because:

Politics are matter of Practice rather than of Notion; Beside, that the Rules of Government and those of Religion, Abstractly consider'd, have very little Affinity one with the other; For the Wisdom of this World, or that which we call Civil Prudence, does not at all concern it self in

the Question of Virtue or of Conscience.

Moreover, "the Character of a Crown'd Head ought to be kept Sacred, let the Person be what he will."

At the same time, as he indicates in several other reflexions, L'Estrange believes that the tyrant is answerable to God, even though private men have no recourse in the face of his tyranny. This is most clearly set forth in the reflexion of Fable LXXII (C59) as two distinct doctrines: first, "That the Misdemeanors of Temporal Sovereign Powers are subjected only to the Animadversion of the supreme Lord of the Universe. And secondly, That in the Case of Tyranny it self, it is not for Private Men to pretend to any Other Appeal." Nevertheless, the tyrant is warned not only about his responsibility to God, but also about the danger to himself when his power has weakened. In Fable XIV (C12), the tale of the old lion who is mistreated by his subjects, the tyrant is represented as lying on his deathbed "under Judgment of Divine Vengeance, and the Animadversion of Humane Justice, both at once."

L'Estrange's difficulty with the problem of tyranny is never completely resolved within the collection. Order is so necessary to his scheme of things that tyranny must be tolerated. His general support for the status quo, however, proved completely unsatisfactory to his opponents and prompted Croxall to accuse him of teaching "pernicious Principles . . . coin'd and suited to promote the Growth

and serve, the Ends of Popery and Arbitrary Power."¹⁸ The case is somewhat clearer in the matter of courtiers and ministers of the government, for they are clearly responsible to the monarch whose authority they wield (Fables LII: [C103]-LIII:[C42]) and to the public trust (Fab. CCCXXX: C202). They are also bound by "Certain Rules of Honesty, and Methods of Government" (Fab. CCXXXVI:C101). The "Blessings of a steady Administration," in which these rules are observed, include "the Ends of Government [being] Conscientiously observ'd, and the Divine Priviledges of Power maintain'd; . . . Truth and Justice . . . impartially Asserted and Administer'd, and as resolutely 'Defended" (Fab. CCCCXIII:C391).

There are, nevertheless, many abuses. In Fable VII (C5), the tale of the lion's share is applied to other men in power as well as to monarchs:

People should have a care how they Engage themselves in Partnerships with Men that are too Mighty for them, whether it be in Mony, Pleasure, or Bus'ness. Find out something, says a Court-Minion, and then upon the Discovery, he lays hand on't for himself. So Says, and so Does the Lion here to the Ass and his Companions. Now this is only a State-way of Fishing with Cormorants. Men in Power, Plunge their Clyents into the Mud, with a Ring about their Necks; So that let them bring up what they will, nothing goes down with them that they shall ever be the Better for. And when they come in Conclusion to Cast up the Profit and Loss of the Purchase, or the Project; what betwixt Force, Interest, and Good Manners, the Adventurer scapes well if he can but get off at last with his Labor for his Pains.

Similarly, the fox who eats so much he is unable to get out

¹⁸Samuel Croxall, Fables of Aesop and Others, 1722.

of the hole by which he entered the hen house is in the same situation as "Many a Publick Minister, that comes Empty In, but when he has Cram'd his Gutts well, he's fain to squeeze hard before he can get off again; and glad to Compound with his very Skin for his Carcass" (Fab. LV:C44).

Apart from their financial practices, L'Estrange attacks ministers and courtiers for their affectations, their betrayals of public trust, their treachery, their ingratitude, and their ambition. However, they are to be tolerated along with the monarch:

It is again to be Consider'd, that as Government is Necessary, Sacred, and Unaccountable, so it is but Equal for us to bear the Infelicities of a Male-Exercise of it, as we Enjoy the Blessings of Authority and Publique Order. There's nothing Pure that's Sublunary, but somewhat still of Good Blended with the Bad, and of Bad with the Good. (Fab. CCLIV:C622)

There are, in any event, worse things in L'Estrange's world than imperfect governments:

All Civil Constitutions have their Failings, and the Unhinging, even of the Worst of Governments brings on an Anarchy, which is yet Worse; for it lays All in Rubbish: And we have no Better Security for the Next State of Things, than we had for the Former. (Fab. CCXCII:C166)

In L'Estrange's world, as in Ogilby's, anarchy is a constant threat, and appears to consist of any attempt to change the political order. Any departure from "the Known Rules and Measures of Political Order" represents a break in the chain of government and is a potential source of misery and calamity (Fab. LXIII:C52).

In L'Estrange's scheme of things, elective monarchy

would represent such a break, by placing the ultimate power in the hands of the electors and inverting the proper hierarchical order. The inevitable results of such a system would be political corruption and the choice of an inappropriate occupant for the throne.

The indignity to the office of king which would result from election is depicted in Fable CXVI, the tale of the election of an ape whose inability to fill the position is demonstrated by a fox who tricks him (C256). The result, as L'Estrange explains, is the deterioration of the proper relationship between a king and his subjects:

Here's an Ape chosen King, in Succession to a Lyon; which stands for a Short, and a Plain Representation of the Best and the Worst of Governments under the Dignity of the One, and the Indignity of the Other. It sets forth the Case and Unhappiness of Elective Kingdoms, where Canvassing and Faction has commonly too great a hand in the Election. . . .

It is no Wonder again, where People are so Mistaken in the Faculties and Capacities of Government, that they depart also from the Veneration that's due to it, and when the Main Ends of it shall come to be Disappointed. For every Jackpudding, with Aesop's Fox here, will be Ridiculing Palpable Weaknesses, and Exposing those (almost Sacred) Imperfections, and Defects which they ought to Cover.

The unpromising mixture of frivolity and corruption which characterize "the Plurality of the World" is demonstrated in Fable CCIV when the pye questions the capability of the peacock should he be made king to defend the nation against the depredations of the eagle (C71). Says L'Estrange:

Kings are not to be chosen for the Beauty or the Gracefulness of their Persons, but for the Reputation they have in the World, and the Endowments of their Minds: This Fable shews likewise the Necessity of Civil Order, and the Danger of Popular Elections, where a Factious Majority commonly

Governs the Choice. Take the Plurality of the World, and they are neither Wise, nor Good; and if they be left to Themselves, they will Undoubtedly Chuse such as They Themselves Are. 'Tis the Misery of Elective Governments, that there will be Eternally Corruption and Partiality in the Choice; for there's a Kind of Tacit Covenant in the Case, that the King of their Own making shall make his Makers Princes too; So that they Work for Themselves all this while not for the Publique.

Order must, therefore, be maintained from above; hence, any plot to overthrow government must be rooted out before it becomes unmanageable. This is such a familiar task to L'Estrange, that he seems to be writing about himself in Fable XVIII, the tale of the swallow who warns the other birds against the hemp-seed (C16). Hemp-seed is plot-seed, he tells us, and the contemporary reader was probably reminded immediately of L'Estrange's campaigns against sedition.

As a loyal supporter of the Stuarts and their most avid watchdog against "seditious libel," L'Estrange had never lost his taste for fighting sedition. Over and over in the collection he inveighs against those who incite the mob to the slightest political action, because a single word can start a chain reaction: "'Tis a Matter of very Evil Consequence, to let the Rabble offer Publique Affronts Gratis. A seditious Word leads to a Broyl, and a Ryot Unpunish'd, is but next door to a Tumult: So that the Bearing of One Indignity draws on Another" (Fables CCLXXXIV:[C158]-CCLXXXV:[C344]). One source of sedition is likely to be ungrateful traitors who have already been pardoned for one treacherous act. In Fable IX (C7), in what may be a

reference to the Monmouth uprisings, L'Estrange asks in disgust, "How many People have we read of in Story, that after a Pardon for One Rebellion, have been taken in Another with That very Pardon in their Pockets, and the Ink scarce Dry upon the Parchment?"

Enemies of the government engage the mob in seditious activity by convincing them that they can win liberty and take part in government. L'Estrange has nothing but disdain for the idea, partly because of his generally aristocratic attitudes, but also because he really believes that true freedom can only exist in the providential order of hierarchy under an absolute monarch.

The common people, in his view, should know nothing of government, for "He that Exposes the Arts of Government to the People, does in Effect Appeal to 'em, and give the Multitude some sort of Right to Judge of, and to Censure the Actions of their Superiors" (Fab. CCCCXQIII, C850). He mocks the very idea of rule by commoners in the reflexion on Fable CCCCXIV (C696), "The Ass made a Judge of Musick":

The Honour of the Governour, and the Well-being of the Government, depend in a great Measure upon the Fitness of the Officer, let his Commission be Ecclesiastical, Civil, Military, or what else it will. . . . Let any man fancy to Himself, how it would look to put a Law-case to a Jack-pudding; a Question of State to a Corn-Cutter; a Point of Conscience to a Knight of the Post.

The traditional fable, the tale of the belly and the members (C30), which describes the proper order of a commonwealth, appears twice in the collection, in Fable L and again in the reflexion on Fable CXCI (C338):

The Asses are here Complaining (after the Way of the Mobile) for being put to the very Use and Bus'ness they were Made for; . . . If we Confound Higher and Lower, the World is a Chaos again, and a Level. . . . Are not the Meanest Artisans of the same Institution with Ministers of Counsel and State? The Head can no more be without the Body, then the Body without the Head; and neither of them without Hands and Feet to Defend, and Provide, both for the One, and for the Other. Government can nor more Subsist without Subjection, then the Multitude can Agree without Government; And the Duty of Obeying, is no less of Divine Appointment, then the Authority of Commanding.

L'Estrange discusses the danger of the doctrine of leveling in his reflexion on Fable CCCXCIX (C801), the tale of the hares who would deprive the other beasts of nails, teeth and horns to achieve "universal Parity":

Now there are Hares in Councils and in Commissions of State, as well as in Fields, and in Fables, where the Multitude are for Levelling too, and for Paring the Claws, and Drawing the Teeth of Governors, as well as of Beasts. The True English of leaving no Power to do Hurt, is leaving no Power to do Good neither; and to make short Work on't, the leaving no Power at all. 'Tis a Juggle of the Levellers, (says Mr. Selden) They would have no body Above them, they say, but they do not tell ye they'd have no body Under them.

The mob, to L'Estrange's way of thinking, is being misled: like the fisherman who troubles the waters in Fable CLXVIII (C313), the rabble rousers "make Advantage to Themselves by Embroyling the Publique; and set their Country A-fire for the Roasting of their Own Eggs."

The mob, characterized as fish in the reflexion on Fable LXXXI (C67), rises always to the same bait: liberty and property. The image shifts to that of a trapped bird in Fable XCVI (C235), but again, "Religion, Liberty, and Property were the Bait." The mob's susceptibility to the call of liberty stems from what L'Estrange sees as a

complete misunderstanding of the nature of true freedom.

In his reflexion on Fable CLXXXII, the tale of the daw who escapes from a cage but is trapped by the string on his foot (C328), L'Estrange says:

Men that are Impatient under Imaginary Afflictions, change commonly for Worse, as the Daw did here in the Fable, that Threw himself into a Starving Necessity, rather than he would Submit to the Tolerable Inconvenience of an Easie Restraint. This was a Republican Daw, that Kaw'd for Liberty, not Understanding that he that Lives under the Bondage of Laws is in a State of Freedom; And that Popular Liberty, when it passes Those Bounds, is the most Scandalous Sort of Slavery. Nothing would serve him, but he must be at his Own Disposal, and so away he goes, Carries his String along with him, and Shackles Himself. This is just the Humour and the Fate of Froward Subjects. They Fancy themselves Uneasie under the Errors of a Male-administration of Government, when their Quarrel strikes, in truth, at the very Root and Conditions of Government it self. It is as Impossible for a Government to be without Faults, as for a Man to be so. But Faults or No Faults, It comes yet much to a Case; for where they cannot Find 'em, they can Create them; And there goes no more to't neither, then the Calling of Necessary Justice by the Name of Oppression. And what's the End on't, more then This now? They Run away from their Masters into the Woods, and there with Esop's Daw, they either Starve, or Hang Themselves.

L'Estrange's concept of true freedom within the framework of absolute authority was the main target of his critics, particularly Samuel Croxall, who reacted violently to his interpretation of Fable LXVIII (C56), the tale of the wolf who rejects the dog's offer of a home when he discovers that it will require his wearing a collar. There is some justification in Croxall's complaint, apart from the interpretation itself, for L'Estrange equivocates by presenting the traditional interpretation in the moral and then inverting it in the reflexion. In the moral he tells us:

We are so Dazzel'd with the Glare of a Splendid Appearance, that we can hardly Discern the Inconveniencies that Attend it. 'Tis a Comfort to have Good Meat and Drink at Command, and Warm Lodging; But He that sells his Freedom for the Cramming of his Gutt, has but a Hard Bargain of it.

The reflexion follows this line of thinking until he comes to define the freedom which the wolf prefers:

As to the Freedom here that Aesop is so Tender of, it is to be Understood of the Freedom of the Mind: A Freedom to Attend the Motions of Right Reason; and a Freedom, in fine, not to be Parted with for All the Sensual Satisfactions under the Sun. It is, I say, a Freedom under These Limits; for there's No such Thing as Absolute Liberty; Neither is it possible that there should be any, without a Violence to the Order of the Universe, and to the Dictates of Reasonable Nature; For All men Living are in Some sort or Other, and upon some Penalty or Other, Subjected to a Superior Power; That is to say, the Laws of Morality are Above them; But the Case wherein All men are upon the Behaviour is not here the Question. To Wind up the Moral, in short; Liberty is a Jewel, and a Blessing. The Wolfe was well enough pleas'd here with the State of the Dogs Body, but he had no fancy to his Collar.

The reader, like Croxall, finds that L'Estrange, "perverts both the Sense and Meaning of several Fables; particularly when any political Instruction is couch'd in the Application."¹⁹ Croxall raises here a problem which cannot be ignored: the inconsistency of L'Estrange's attitudes toward both public and private morality.

The inconsistency is, perhaps, most apparent in the question of the conduct of public business. In Fable CCCCLXXXII, for example, L'Estrange condemns "Reason of State" as

only the Force of Political Wisdom, Abstracted from the Ordinary Rules of Conscience and Religion. It consults only Civil Utility, and never Matters it, provided the

¹⁹Croxall, b8r.

Publick may be the better for't, though the Instruments and Managers go to the Devil.

Only a few fables later, however, we find him defending the separation of political activity from religion.²⁰ At the personal level there are similar inconsistencies. Honesty is a virtue, yet the muddying of truth and the concealment of fact are, if not recommended, certainly allowed. In fact; social custom sometimes depends upon some degree of untruth. L'Estrange deplures, for example, the hypocrisy

²⁰Fable CCCCLXXXIX. In fairness to L'Estrange, we should acknowledge the context of this statement in which his primary concern is to condemn the meddling of clergymen in the affairs of government. His concern for the separation of church and state is consistent with his horror at the self-serving hypocrisy he attributes to the Dissenters. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated in his account of their treatment of Charles I in Fable CCCLVII (C356):

In the Troubles of Kind Charles the First, what with Humiliations and Thanksgivings, Seditious Lectures, and Pulpit-Invectives, the People had hardly any other Business at Church than to tell God Almighty Tales of their Sovereign; So that this Unhappy Prince might have Answered his Confessarius upon the shrift of an Auricular Confession This was the Method of their Proceedings toward him through the whole Course of his Distresses from the First Odious Remonstrance, to the Last Execrable Stroke upon the Scaffold. They began with Blasting him in his Reputation; they took up Arms against him, Hunted and Pursued him; seized his Revenues and his Person, Depos'd him from his Royal Dignity, Usurp'd the Government to Themselves, and under the Colour of a Formality of Law, put him upon a Judicial Tryal, and took away his Life. And not One Step did they set all this while in the whole Tract of this Iniquity, without Seeking the Lord first, and going up to Enquire of the Lord, according to the Cant of those Days. Which was no other than to make God the Author of Sin, and to Impute the Blackest Practices of Hell to the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

The "late troubles" became, for L'Estrange, a touchstone for measuring the necessity of enforcing order in his fable world.

involved in funerals in Fables CXCVIII, CCCXI and CCCCXLIII, yet he recognizes the harmlessness of the bragging traveler in Fable LXXXV (C227), because "Travellers have a kind of Privilege to Romance it; and to Tell Stories at large." In the reflexion on Fable CLXXXIII (C329) he acknowledges that:

We are all Jugglers in some Kind, or in some Degree or Other. But there's this to be said for't yet, that we Play Foul by Consent. We Couzen in our Words, and in our Actions; only we are Agreed upon't, that such and such Forms of Civility, like some Adulterate Quoins, shall pass Current for so Much. A Fashionable Imposture, or Hypocrisie, shall be call'd Good Manners, and so we make a shift in some sort to Legitimate the Abuse.

The key to L'Estrange's inconsistencies may well rest in the fact that he has made virtues out of both reason and necessity. L'Estrange is firmly dedicated to reason, and his political absolutism is rooted in a rational approach to questions of social order. At the same time, the supremacy of reason within the individual, both in its hierarchical position and in its responsibility for governing its inferiors, mirrors the supremacy of the absolute monarch in society. Within the individual, for L'Estrange, fancy and appetite, like the mob in society, are a constant threat to proper order and must be controlled by reason.

At the moral level, most of the time, virtue occupies the supreme position. However, in L'Estrange's hierarchy of orders, the demands of this world come first, so that the necessities of political order, as of physical

life, take precedence. Necessity thus becomes the mother of moral relativism, ironically enough, because it is absolute. As L'Estrange says:

There's no Contending with Necessity, and we should be very Tender how we Censure Those that Submit to't, 'Tis one thing to be at Liberty to do what We Would do, and Another Thing to be Ty'd up to do what we must.
(Fab. LXIX:057)

For L'Estrange, social order, like the barley-corn of Fable I, is both a necessity of life and one of the "Comforts and Blessings of Providence." If we are doubtful of his sincerity, we need only refer to his description of the Restoration of Charles II:

Faith, Hope, and Patience Overcome ALL things, and Virtue can never faile of a Reward in the Conclusion: What was it but This Constancy and Resignation, that Kept the Hearts of the Poor Cavaliers from Breaking, in the Tedious Interval of that Bloody Revolution from Forty to Sixty; Till at last, the Banish'd and Persecuted Son of a Royal Martyr, was in Gods Good time brought back again, and Plac'd upon the Throne of his Ancestors, which Crown'd the Sufferings of All his Loyal Subjects.
(Fab. CX:0248)

This theme of the Providential ordering of the world is reflected in the process of the fable collection itself as, fable by fable, L'Estrange works toward ordering the multifarious resources of his fabulous world to a single end--the restoration of order in the Kingdom of England.

L'Estrange's Fables provoked little in the way of immediate reaction, but they eventually resulted in the

publication of two particularly notable responses. The first of these was the so-called "De Witt's Fables." That the collection was indeed a response to that of L'Estrange is suggested not only by its use of the grouping of fables to be dealt with in a single "Explication," but also in its 1704 title, A Collection of Fables taken from the most Celebrated Mythologists, which echoes L'Estrange's title. The grouping of the fables occasionally coincides exactly with that of L'Estrange's collection,²¹ and the firmly anti-monarchical sentiments of the fables suggest that the "De Witt" collection was intended as an antidote for L'Estrange's readers. The technique of the collection also seems to imitate that of L'Estrange in its measuring of current events against those of the past, though its past is primarily that of the Netherlands and Europe, with only occasional allusions to events in England. Finally, both fabulists spend some time in their prefaces in similar discussions of the value of an image such as a myth or fable for teaching truth.

²¹ The collection contains several story groups that appear in L'Estrange: I, xlvi contains L'Estrange's CCCXXIII and CCCXXIV; II, xliii contains L'Estrange's XXXIX and XL; II, xlvi contains L'Estrange's XCII-XCIV; and II, xlix contains three of the fables from L'Estrange's CCXXX-CCXXXIII.

Other groupings also suggest an ordered relationship with the L'Estrange collection because the same stories appear close together in both. These are less useful as evidence, however, because they appear equally close together in the standard school Aesop. Of the groups cited above, none appears in the same sequence in the traditional collections.

The origin of the "De Witt" collection is not at all clear. The title page of the first edition, Fables Moral and Political, 1703, asserts that the fables have been "translated from the Dutch," and the spines of all copies of this edition known to me are stamped "De Witt's Fables." Such libraries as the British Museum and the Folger Shakespeare Library have, for this reason, been led to attribute the collection to De Witt at least tentatively, and one of De Witt's biographers has even fixed a date when the fables must have been written.²² The second "edition," A Collection of Fables taken from the most Celebrated Mythologists, 1704, however, makes no reference on the title page to either the Netherlands or De Witt,²³ and in view of allusions in the collection to events which occurred long after De Witt's death, and even to his death itself at the hands of a mob, it seems certain that the fables were not written by him. There is a decided bias toward allusions to Dutch history, however, and there are many fables in the collection which have no known English

²² A. Lefèvre-Pontalis, John De Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland or Twenty Years of a Parliamentary Republic, trans. S. E. and A. Stephenson, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1885), I, 98. I have found no other evidence that De Witt wrote fables at all.

²³ This is probably a reissue with a new title page; although I have not been able to compare copies of the collection, Ronald Tetreault of the Department of Rare Books at Cornell University Library tells me that the second volume of the Cornell copy (the only copy of this edition known to me) has the title page of the [De Witt] Fables, 1703, bound in.

antecedents,²⁴ although this latter characteristic may be accounted for by the shortage, in both the ancient tradition and the more recent additions to the English canon, of fables which could be used to represent the republican point of view.

Again, although the techniques of the collection resemble those of L'Estrange's Fables, there are some notable differences. The "De Witt" collection does not have a separate moral and reflexion for each fable; it has only an "Explication." Although the use of the term perhaps suggests a closer relationship between the fable and its application than we find in L'Estrange, in fact, the author is equally inclined to take whatever opportunity the fable offers for a comment on any subject he chooses, as he does, for example, in Volume II, Fable XXIX (Cl252):

This Fable properly teaches us, that wise Men always behave themselves with Temperance in relation to the Lusts of the Flesh; and that the sensual Man commonly meets a Sorrowful End. To which sense we were of the opinion that it would not be altogether foreign to take notice, that the Desire of domineering and tyrannizing over our Equals, when we may lead our Lives, as it were, by Stealth, in Quiet and Honour, is indeed a brutal and bestial Passion.

It should also be noted that each explication in the collection presents the allegorical equivalents of its fable. These are sometimes presented in a fairly detailed fashion and serve to establish many of the principles upon which the collection is based. An example of the extent of this allegorization can be seen in "A Frenchman and a

²⁴ See Appendices.

Dutchman in the Kingdom of the Apes" (I,ii). The story, a variation on 0391, tells of two travellers who come to visit the kingdom of the apes. The visitors are entertained to all kinds of excess by the king, who then invites them to comment on the state of the nation. The Frenchman flatters the king and wins himself an appointment to the Priuy Council. The Dutchman, who believes in "Plain Dealing," tells the plain truth about the corruption he has seen and is put to death. The explication identifies the characters:

By the Apes are meant the Common People, who indeed have a Human Shape, and are indu'd with a Natural Capacity and Understanding, that would enable them to judge aright of the Actions of other Men, if they would but be at the Pains of weighing and considering them thorowly as they ought, but who nevertheless, to avoid that trouble, are always imitating, that is Aping their Superiours, both in their Actions and Opinions, without inquiring into the Reasons of either.

By the King of the Apes, are meant Kings and Princes, who are esteem'd to be God's Vicereagents by that sort of People, who not having Courage enough to make use of their own Reason, blindly believe that all their Actions as well as their Persons, are impress'd with the Stamp of the Divinity.

By the Frenchman, we understand all Men that are born, and live under Monarchical Governments, and who are so supple in their Tempers, that they readily submit to the Will of their Princes, tho' never so unreasonable, and thereby ingratiate themselves in their Favours.

By the Dutchman, we mean Men who are born and bred under a Free Government, and who will not easily be brought off from their old ways of Living and Talking, tho' it should be their Misfortune to be remov'd into the Dominions of Kings and Sovereign Princes; where, having never had any occasion to trouble their heads about Liberty and Property at home, they generally fall into great Misfortunes.

As we can see, many of the issues of this collection are the same as those dealt with by L'Estrange, but with a decidedly republican twist. For this author,

submission to the power of a monarch is not only a political mistake; but a moral error as well, as he shows in the explication of Volume I, Fable XX (Cl69):

Men, consider'd in themselves, are subject to none but God, their Creator, who, that they might be convinc'd of this Truth, has indow'd them with Reason, Memory, Conscience, a Knowledge of himself, insomuch that their Grief or Joy proceeds from their comporting themselves according to the Rules of sound Reason, or departing from them. 'Tis therefore a great Ingratitude towards God, and the greatest Mischief we can do ourselves, to forsake the God that made us, and the Dictates of our own Consciēces, and once for all to subject our selves, and all our Actions, to be commanded at Will by any other sinful Man.²⁵

The problem in any form of government is, for this author, the control of the governor, because "Ambition, or the Desire of Rule over others, is the fiercest of Human Passions" (II,v:Cl244). As well, the Governed are often foolishly inclined, in both politics and religion, to submit themselves to oppression. In Volume II, Fable XXXV (C75), the tale of the dissatisfied ass who keeps asking Jupiter for a new master is used as an allegory of increasing subjection. The ass is shown to represent "the Commonality of an imperfect or ill-constituted Republick" which rejects each of its rulers for a more powerful one. The first master represents a relatively powerless "hir'd Chief of the Republick"; the second is a sovereign, who "governs according to Justice and the known laws and Ancient Customs of the Country." Although he takes little trouble with the care of his people, neither has he sufficient power to

²⁵One can submit to the laws of a republic because they accord with the rules of sound Reason.

"arbitrarily command them like slaves in all that he lists."

Such power is reserved for the third and worst master:

By the third Master the Antients understood, one who is born a Prince, and brought up in all manner of Excess and Luxury, and makes it his whole study to put to death or banish the principal Inhabitants, that he may confiscate and seize their Estates, as likewise to make Slaves of the Commonalty, and strip them of all they have; so that to preserve their Lives they must submit to do and suffer whatever the Tyrant thinks fit to enjoin or lay upon them.

In this author's opinion, the benefit of government to the people is in inverse proportion to the amount of power possessed by the governor. The best form of government is "where the interest of the Rulers, and of the Major Part of the Inhabitants, is inseparably united with that of the Publick, and where the Welfare of the one, absolutely depends on the Welfare of the other" (I,xxvi:Cl03).

A central theme of the collection, then, is the control of power, and one of the author's interests is in working out the psychology of the desire for power. He discusses this in the original tale of "The Eagle, the Peacock and the Parrot" (I,xviii:Cl29). The eagle is not satisfied with being powerful because he is fretful about his appearance and worries that others will despise him for it. He therefore tries to force others to praise his beauty. The peacock, a novice at court, refuses and is put to death, while the parrot, an experienced courtier, wisely complies and is spared. This, the author tells us, is the beginning of that jealous fear of others which drives the ruler toward tyranny. Such men, he says, first

begin "to nauseate Truth and all Virtuous Deeds"; they then move on to the pursuance of unlawful pleasures and finally "make others stand in greater awe of them, by doing or permitting . . . things which the other Inhabitants could not act without Punishment, as being contrary to the laws of the Land."

The author takes great pains to demonstrate that the power psychology is not confined to monarchies. Over and over again he cites cases of "free Republicks" which have thrown away their liberty by failing to control the natural desire for power in either civil or military rulers. The dangers of military power are described in Volume II, Fable XXI, the tale of "The Man and the Wood" (C39). This story of the woodcutter who convinces the trees to give him a handle for his axe is shown to represent that of "a General who has no power to command the Troops, but only from time to time, as the Republick thinks fit." The axe handle represents "the Power which such a General obtains, of calling the Army together whenever he thinks it convenient for the Service and Defence of the Commonwealth, and who always may, and often does make use of that Power to oppress those whom he ought to protect." The gift of such power will, in the end, destroy the Republic.

The most graphic historical example of the rise of military ambition is, ironically, Oliver Cromwell's success in seizing power in England, not from an unwary republic, but from a credulous monarch. According to the author,

Cromwell's dissatisfaction with the peace which followed the defeat of the king's forces led him to pretend sympathy for the king and to entice him with promises of escape until Charles was at last totally in Cromwell's power. The recital of the events which followed is as heart-rending as any royalist version of the tale:

Then Cromwel, that he might be King himself under the Name of Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, first privately hinder'd, then openly rejected all the Endeavours of the Parliament, and of the King himself, to treat with the Parliament of a Peace. At length he procur'd the King to be accus'd of Tyranny, Treason against his People, and Murder; and for that he would not answer to his Charge, to be condemn'd by sixty seven Judges, and then caus'd his Head to be cut off upon a Scaffold before Whitehall, by two Executioners.

(Fab. II, xli: C242, 390, 662)

Cromwell's misuse of his power, for personal gain, is offset by that of another Englishman, Thomas More, who is presented as an example of a great man who was wise enough to understand that the honours which were accorded him belonged not to the man, but to the office of Chancellor. The story, attributed to Lord Verulam, is a rather amusing account of More's church-going habits. While he was Chancellor, More would attend church with his wife, then send her home in the family carriage while he himself travelled in the elegant equipage of the Chancellor of England. On the Sunday after he ceased to be Chancellor, he took his wife's arm and escorted her to the family carriage as if the Chancellorship had never been his. The tale is told in the explication of the fable of "The Ass Carrying a Holy Image" (Fab. II, xxxvii: C577), in which the

foolish and incompetent appointee takes to himself the honours of the office which he holds because of the neglect of those who ought to be carrying the responsibility.

This fable is also applied to men who hold ecclesiastical power, an identification of the two forms of public life which is maintained throughout the collection, with monarchy in the political, and Roman Catholicism in the religious, realm working as partners in the oppression of men's bodies and souls.

In Fable II, iii, "The Fisherman and the Troubled Waters" (Cl6), the troubling of the waters is seen as the distortion of Christian doctrine which leads, in the end, to the establishment of that "Kingdom of Darkness," the Roman Catholic Church. Despite a show of poverty, the church, as the author sees it, consists of

luxurious Monks and Nuns, rich Abbots, fat Bishops, haughty Cardinals, and, so formidable a Head over all, who fulminating on them from his Throne of Darkness, has made the greatest part of Men submit and bow their Necks to his usurp'd Authority. The wiser sort indeed have from time to time boldly stood it out; but then the Romish Priests have never fail'd to foment Seditions in the Country, to stir Subjects to war against their lawful Ruler, and by thus troubling the Waters, that is, by bringing all things into confusion, have gain'd many, even of the wiser sort, over to their Party; and thus it is that they are become truly Fishers of Men, not to make them, as the Doctrine of the Holy Apostles directs, free both in Body and Soul, but to enslave them in both, according to the Doctrine of Tyrants.

The best defence for a state against the "Romish Faith" is a free republic in which there is "Liberty of Opinion in Religion" (II, viii; Cl245, 398).

The fabulist attributes the power of the Catholic

Church to both lies and the propagation of terror among her adherents. The lies belong, first of all, to her attempts to discredit the reformers: according to the explication of Fable II,xviii (C343,93,633), Calvin was accused of sodomy and Luther of conversing with the devil. Lies are also involved, however, in the subjugation of the Church's followers to various forms of idolatry. For this fabulist, the doctrines of papal infallibility, transubstantiation, the working of miracles by relics, and the ability of saints to hear prayers are all a result of

the Cunning and Craft of their Priests, who by their forg'd Doctrine of Purgatory struck such a Terror into the minds of their poor deluded Disciples, as to make them believe, that their Souls after Death could not be releas'd from those insupportable and Tormenting Flames, but only by the Prayers of the Priests, that is, by the Masses they said for the Dead, which none but they were permitted to say, and which nevertheless, they were not oblig'd to do, nor would do, without being paid for their pains.

(Fab. II,xv:C228,236,243)

The hypocrisy which L'Estrange was wont to attribute to the Dissenters in England is presented as a Catholic vice in this collection and firmly linked with political tyranny. In the familiar story of the cat who tries to find an excuse for killing the cock (II,xxiii:C61), the narrator identifies as "hypocritical Pharisees" religious and political figures who pretend to virtue "so they may be the better able to oppress and destroy the Common Liberty."

Like L'Estrange, the author of the "De Witt" fables is firmly committed to social order, but to one that depends not on the "will and pleasure of a prince," but upon the

protection of the liberty of the members of the society. Government is necessary, and social order depends upon the acceptance of wise and judicious rulers, for "no Society whatsoever can subsist and hold long together unless the Ignorant and Careless will suffer themselves to be advised by the Industrious and Wise" (I,iii:Cl6). Nevertheless, government belongs to the governed, and it behooves any governor to remember that "One who Rules Many is at best a Precarious Ruler, and can govern no longer than the Many are pleas'd to submit" (I,xii:Cl226).

The author of the "De Witt" collection, because he is concerned primarily with political order, has made a careful selection of fables, combining them according to their political applications and repeating stories wherever it is useful to consider the material from a slightly different perspective. Unlike L'Estrange, who obviously went far afield in search of material for his collection (he could seldom resist a good story, even when it was of no use to his themes), the "De Witt" fabulist apparently had little interest in the fable tradition except as it could be allegorized for his specific political purposes.

The "De Witt" collection keeps firmly to the larger political and social orders, touching only occasionally upon the individual, and not at all upon his involvement

in daily social activity. This characteristic could be interpreted as a clear indication that the collection did not have its source in England, for both L'Estrange and Samuel Croxall, despite their political concerns, are ever aware of the man on an English street or in an English country house, reading their stories in the light of his daily existence. L'Estrange accomplishes this primarily through his colloquial language, his passing allusions to the English social scene and his liberal use of English proverbs. Thirty years later, when George I sat stolidly upon the English throne, the Whigs were firmly ensconced in Parliament and the country was at peace with her neighbours, Croxall suffered from none of the political pressures that plagued L'Estrange's career. The applications of his fables range more freely through English society, noticing a small child in leading strings or a father's tender concern for his son, and asserting quietly his confidence in the principles he supports.

Croxall's stated principles are pure Whiggery:

I am a Lover of Liberty and Truth; an Enemy to Tyranny, either in Church or State; and one, who detest Party Animosities, and factious Divisions, as much as I wish the Peace and Prosperity of my Country.²⁶

The purpose of the declaration is to indicate the difference between Croxall and L'Estrange, for the collection was written to correct "the Insufficiency of Lestrange's own

²⁶ Croxall, b8^r.

Performance,"²⁷ and to protect "those Children, who should be so-unfortunate as to read his Book, and imbibe his pernicious Principles: Principles, coin'd and suited to promote the Growth, and serve the Ends of Popery, and Arbitrary Power."²⁸ Just how pernicious Croxall believed these principles to be is clear from his description of L'Estrange's work:

Tho' we had never been told that he was a Pensioner to a Popish Prince, and that he himself profess'd the same unaccountable Religion, yet his Reflections upon AEsop would discover it to us: In every political Touch, he shews himself to be the Tool and Hireling of the Popish Faction; since, even a Slave, without some mercenary View, would not bring Arguments to justify Slavery, nor endeavour to establish Arbitrary Power upon the Basis of right Reason.²⁹

Despite his horror of L'Estrange, however, Croxall is no republican. He favours a limited monarchy and recognizes the necessity of a government to defend and secure "Every Man's Enjoyment of that little which he gains by his daily Labour" (Fab. XXXVII:C40). There is, of course, no indication that such a government needs to be a monarchy. "Men originally enter'd into Covenants and civil Compacts

²⁷ Ibid., b4^r.

²⁸ Ibid., b4^{r-v}.

²⁹ Ibid., b4^v. L'Estrange himself denied that he was a Catholic in a letter written to James II in January 1687/88: "Great Sir,--the world will needs have me to be a Roman Catholic and the report of it is so strong that I reckon myself bound both in honesty and respect to inform your Majesty that I am really a true son of England." Kitchin, p. 359. L'Estrange is also shown by Kitchin to have been greatly distressed by his daughter's conversion to Rome in early 1703 and to have expressed his desire to have members of the Catholic clergy barred from his deathbed. Kitchin, p. 373.

with each other for the promotion of their Happiness and Well-being, for the Establishment of Justice and public Peace" (Fab. CXXX:C48). Monarchy is simply one possible form of government, and the king rules by the permission of his subjects. A good king, then, can be defined by his ability to do the job, and Croxall sees him simply as one of the "Heads of Corporations, ~~from the King of the Land,~~ down to the Master of a Company," who should be chosen because he is "most capable of advancing the Good and Welfare of the Community" (Fab. CL:C71).

To be qualified for such an Office, an Office of the last Importance to Mankind, the Person should be of the most consummate Prudence and unblemish'd Integrity; too honest to impose upon others, and too penetrating to be impos'd upon; thoroughly acquainted with the Laws and Genius of the Realm he is to govern; Brave, but not Passionate; good-natur'd, but not Soft; aspiring at just Esteem; despising Vain-glory; without Superstition; without Hypocrisy.

(Fab. XCIII:C256)

In this portrait of an ideal king is the explanation of Croxall's political position. Without this idealism, he would doubtless have been a republican.

It would also be possible for such a king to exist, for Croxall, were he not tempted by prerogative: "If we consult History, we shall find that the Thing Prerogative has always been claim'd and contended for by those who never intended to make a good Use of it; and as readily resign'd and thrown up by just and wise Princes, who had the true Interest of their People most at Heart" (Fab. XXXIII:C39). The solution is simple: "... we ought not to incur the Possibility of being deceiv'd in so important

a Matter as this; an unlimited Power should not be trusted in the Hands of any one, who is not endued with a Perfection more than humane" (Fab. XVI, Cl8).

Hand in hand with the prerogative of the king goes the submission of his subjects, and Croxall takes the opportunity in the application of Fable L, "The Oak and the Reed" (C82), to distinguish between submission to necessity and the absolute submission to authority which is proposed both by L'Estrange and by the doctrine of passive non-resistance:

The Doctrine of absolute Submission, in all Cases, is an absurd dogmatical Precept, with nothing but Ignorance and Superstition to support it: But, upon particular Occasions, and where it is impossible for us to overcome, To submit patiently, is one of the most reasonable Maxims in Life.

Coercion does not, of course, always result in submission, as Croxall points out in the application of Fable XLI, "The Wind and the Sun" (C89):

Persecution has always fix'd and riveted those Opinions which it was intended to dispel; and some discerning Men have attributed the quick Growth of Christianity, in a great Measure, to the rough and barbarous Reception which its first Teachers met with in the World. I believe the same may have been observ'd of our Reformation; the Blood of the Martyrs was the Manure which produc'd that great Protestant Crop, on which the Church of England has subsisted ever since.

Croxall sums up this application by speculating upon what could be achieved by less violent means: "In short, a fierce turbulent Opposition, like the North-Wind, only serves to make a Man wrap his Notions more closely about him; But I know not what, a kind, warm, Sun-shiny Behaviour, rightly applied, would not be able to effect." Such

benevolence cannot be achieved, however, as long as faction exists among parties and threatens the peace of the nation. Croxall describes the problem and appeals to the British to reject party divisions in Fable CLXVIII, "The Frog and the Mouse" (C3):

How often are the Members of a Commonwealth divided among themselves, and inspir'd with Rancour and Malice to the last degree; most commonly upon as great a Trifle, as that which was the Subject-matter of Debate between the Frog and the Mouse; not for any real Advantage, but merely, who shall get the better in the Dispute? But such Animosities, as insignificant and trifling as they may be among our selves, are yet of the last Importance to our Enemies, by giving them many fair Opportunities of falling upon us, and reducing us to Misery and Slavery. O Britons, when will ye be Wise! when will ye throw away, the ridiculous Distinction of Whig and Tory, those Ends of Bullrushes, and by a prudent Union secure your selves in a State of Peace and Prosperity! A State, of which, if it were not for our intolerably foolish and unnecessary Divisions at home, all the Powers upon Earth could never deprive us.

In the very next fable, "The Man and the Weasel" (C80), Croxall attacks such promoters of faction as the Grub Street writer who, he tells us, acts only out of self-interest.

All of these great social dangers as well as many lesser ones can be rooted out through the cultivation of social virtues, such as benevolence, and through the development of the moral sensibilities of society's members. To this end we find Croxall working into the applications of his fables a composite character who represents "the sensible Part of Mankind" (Fab. XXV). He is described variously as "A Man of Sagacity and Penetration" (Fab. LIII), "a discerning Man" (Fab. CXX), "a Person of the first Quality"

(Fab. XXVII), "a Man of Discretion and Honour" (Fab. CII), "a Man of common Sense" (Fab. CCLI), or "a Man of Thought and Spirit" (Fab. CXLII). Like the ideal king of Fable XCIII, against whom all others can be measured, Croxall's ideal man serves as the standard against whom we are asked to measure the stupid, foolish or vicious members of English society to whom he introduces us in the applications of his fables. The generalities of what could easily be a standard rendition of the traditional fables based on Whiggish principles are suddenly brought into a direct and immediate relationship with the daily life of real people. Most of these we meet only long enough to catch a glimpse of their lives. Some, however, become more fully developed fictional characters.

In Fable XXIV, the story of the fox who tricks the goat into helping him out of the well (C225) is transformed into a vignette of English country life:

The little, poor, Country Attorney, ready to starve, and sunk to the lowest Depth of Poverty for want of Employment, by such Arts as these [giving bad advice], draws the Squire his Neighbour into the Gulf of the Law; till, laying hold on the Branches of his Revenue, he lifts himself out of Obscurity, and leaves the other immur'd in the Bottom of a Mortgage.

Fable XLIII, the tale of the sickly frog who would become a physician (C91), is applied to a situation which Croxall's syntax suggests really occurred:

I have been shock'd, more than once, by hearing a Preacher for a whole Hour declaim against Drunkenness; when his own Infirmary has been such, that he could neither bear nor forbear Drinking; and perhaps was the only Person in the Congregation, who made the Doctrine, at that Time, necessary.

Of the situation we learn nothing more, yet enough has been said to let us imagine ourselves in that congregation, aware of the circumstances and participating in the general response.

"Many a young Country 'Squire" similarly becomes an individual in the tale of a young man's disastrous marriage in the application of Fable LXVII, "The Lion in Love" (C262):

He has, perhaps, had nothing valuable belonging to him, but his Estate, and the Writings which made his Title to it; and if he is so far captivated, as to be persuaded to part with these, his Teeth and his Claws are gone, and he lies entirely at the Mercy of Madam and her Relations. All the Favour he is to expect after this, is from the accidental Goodness of the Family he falls into; which, if it happens to be of a particular Strain, will not fail to keep him in a distant Subjection, after they have strip'd him of all his Power.

In the application of Fable XCIV (C278) we get a delightful glimpse of "an old batter'd Beau [putting] himself to Pain, that he may appear to tread firm, and walk strong and upright," and in Fable CLXXVIII we are taken to a Coffee-house and introduced to an ass in a lion's skin (C90):

With what a secret Awe, have I regarded the grave Dress and important Mein of a senatorian Person, whom I have happen'd to meet in a Coffee-house? What a Speaker did I think he must be, before I heard him speak! His Air gave the Seriousness of a Privy-Counsellor, and his erect Aspect the Dignity of an eminent Patron. But he utter'd himself, and undeceiv'd me; He bray'd aloud, and told the whole Company who he was.

Most enchanting of all, however, are Croxall's two full-length portraits of folly. The first of these, in Fable VIII, transforms the tale of "The Stag Looking into the Water" (C36) into the story of the seduction of a young woman:

I don't know how to apply this better, than by supposing the Fable to be a Parable; which may be thus explain'd. The Deer, viewing it self in the Water, is a beautiful young Lady at her Looking-Glass. She can't help being sensible of the Charms which lie blooming in every Feature of her Face. She moistens her Lips, languishes with her Eyes, adjusts every Lock of her Hair with the nicest Exactness, gives an agreeable Attitude to her whole Body; and then, with a soft Sigh, says to her self, Ah! how happy might I be, in a daily Crowd of Admirers, if it was not for the Censoriousness of the Age! When I view that Face, where Nature, to give her her Due, has been liberal enough of Charms, how satisfied and easy should I be, if it were not for that slender Particular, my Virtue. The odious Idea of that comes across all my happy Moments, and brings a Mortification with it that damps my most flattering, tender Hopes. Oh! that there were no such Thing in the World! In the midst of these Soliloquies, she is interrupted by the Voice of an agreeable young Man, who enters her Chamber, singing a Rigadon Air. She resents the Liberty, tho' it happens to be her favourite Youth, and, with a serious Reserve, gives him to understand, she is not to be treated in that Manner. The Youth, upon this, throws himself at her Feet, implores her Pardon, and promises, by all that is good and sacred, to observe a proper Distance for the future. After which, the Discourse running from one Thing to another, he takes Occasion to launch out in Praise of her Beauty, sees she is pleas'd with it, snatches her Hand, kisses it in a Transport, and, in short, pursues his Point so close, that she is not able to disengage her self from him. But, when the Consequence of all this approaches, in an Agony of Grief and Shame, she fetches a deep Sigh, and says, Ah! how mistaken have I been! the Virtue I slighted so might have sav'd me; but the Beauty I priz'd so much has been my Undoing.

The second full-length portrait transforms the proud frog of Fable XI (C31) into a country squire:

How many vain People, of moderate ease Circumstances, burst and come to nothing, by vying with those, whose Estates are more ample than their own! Sir Changeling Plumbstock was possess'd of a very considerable Demesns, devolv'd to him by the Death of an old Uncle of the City, who had adopted him his Heir. He had a false Taste of Happiness; and, without the least Economy, trusting to the Sufficiency of his vast Revenue, was resolv'd to be out-done by no body, in shewish Grandeur, and expensive Living. He gave five thousand Pounds for a Piece of Ground in the Country, to set a House upon; the Building and Furniture of which cost fifty Thousand more; and his Gardens were proportionably magnificent. Besides which, he thought

himself under a Necessity of buying out two or three Tenements which stood in his Neighbourhood, that he might have Elbow-room enough. All this he could very well bear; and still might have been happy, had it not been for an unfortunate Interview that happen'd One Day between him and Jo. Carpet his Gardiner. He call'd Carpet, who was talking with a Stranger, and ask'd him, who the Person was that he had with him; Jo. told him, That, an't please his Honour, the Gentleman was Gardener to my Lord Castlebuilder. Pray Jo. says Sir Changeling, deal ingenuously, and tell me which you think are the noblest Gardens, mine or his Lordship's. Jo. scratch'd his Head, and, after a little humming and hawing, replied, That, for the Bigness of them, his Honour's were as pretty Gardens as my Lord's, and that he would answer for their being as well kept. For the Bigness? says Sir Changeling, with some Concern; why, my Ground is near twelve Acres. That's true, says Carpet, scratching his Head again, but my Lord Castlebuilder's is above twenty. The Knight immediately look'd thoughtful, and walk'd away. But, before the next Winter, he gave five and thirty Years Purchase for a dozen acres more to enlarge his Gardens, built a couple of exorbitant Green-houses, and a large Pavilion at the farther end of a Terras-Walk. The bare Repairs and Superintendencies of all which, call for the remaining Part of his Income. He is mortgag'd pretty deep, and pays no body; But, being a privileg'd Person, lives altogether in Town, and lodges at a Periwig-maker's in Long-acre.

The two portraits, appearing as they do near the beginning, can be seen as the foils for the perfect man who is defined by no single action, but by his behaviour in a series of situations that unfold throughout the collection. This too would seem to illustrate the moral intent of the collection, to demonstrate that although a single action can destroy a life, the making of a man of virtue is the work of a lifetime.

Croxall's collection, with its equal attention to both public and private life, became the most popular prose collection of the century, and its success can doubtless be attributed to its combination of Whig political principles

and pious social precepts. It seems ironic that this collection, so often regarded by historians of the fable as simply another traditional collection, was not only dependent on the unconventional work of Croxall's political bête noire, Sir Roger L'Estrange, but also would not have been possible without the preceding seventy years of English fable development, much of it grounded in the partisan politics that Croxall so despised.

CHAPTER V

AFTER THE REVOLUTION:

THE GRUB STREET AESOPS 1698-1718

While prose fable collections were treating political and social order in a general way, Grub Street was busy producing small collections of Aesopian verse fables which engaged in controversy over specific political issues.

These collections, published between 1698¹ and 1718, show little evidence of any direct connection with the parallel prose tradition, despite the wishful thinking of Sir Roger L'Estrange's biographer George Kitchin. There is no evidence that "from the extraordinary outburst of Aesopic skits which followed [L'Estrange's] Aesop, we [can] gather, that his imprisonment [as a suspect in the Assassination Plot of 1696] had . . . affected his health," nor can we, as Kitchin suggests, "judge from these wretched productions, [that] he visited successively Tunbridge Wells, Bath, and finally crossed the river to Richmond Wells."¹ Indeed, six years had passed between the first publication of The Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythologists in 1692 and the

¹George Kitchin, Sir Roger L'Estrange: A Contribution to the History of the Press in the Seventeenth Century (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1913), p. 372.

appearance of the first of these pamphlets. As well, the variety of political positions represented in the pamphlets suggests rather that they belong to an independent and contemporary political debate. It is also significant, and even somewhat surprising, that a study of the pamphlets shows very little, if any, borrowing from L'Estrange and no refutation of his interpretation of any specific story.

Moreover, L'Estrange's name is not mentioned in connection with any of the Grub Street collections until the preface of Canterbury Tales (1701) acknowledges the Fables as a source. Even here and in the later, Aesop at the Bell Tavern in Westminster (1711), which leans heavily on Canterbury Tales for its material and purports to be "A Present from the October Club, In a few Select Fables from Sir Roger L'Estrange," there is only minimal evidence of the actual use of L'Estrange's Aesop as a source. On the other hand, although we cannot assume a biographical connection between the Grub Street Aesops and L'Estrange, it is probable that his expansion of the application of fable was influential, along with the political events of 1697-98, in bringing the fable collection into the arena of daily partisan politics.

By 1698, the Triennial Act had ensured regular employment to political propagandists, and in that year Aesop became a fashionable character through his appearance in Vanbrugh's Aesop, an adaptation of Boursault's Esope à la cour, and through interest generated in him by

Temple, Bentley and Wotton in the Phalaris Controversy. The failure of Parliament in 1695 to renew the Licensing Act had enabled the critics of government to speak more freely; but nonetheless, a genre which would maintain a discreet distance between the author and his target remained a useful tool, especially when political temperatures rose in the wake of the Treaty of Ryswick over such issues as a standing army, the partition of Spain and the disposal of Crown lands.

The new mode of Aesopiana was the short fable collection which began to appear in the form of anonymous political pamphlets. These appeared in groups in 1698-99, 1701-2, 1704 and, in lesser numbers, from 1706 to 1718. Where L'Estrange had been omnivorously eclectic in his approach to fables, the Grub Street Aesops were selective, choosing only those fables from the tradition which had always been applied to political situations or those which could easily be transformed by the addition of an apt moral. It is perhaps a comment on the number of political stories in the fable tradition that, in over twenty collections, few of the stories appear more than once; when they do, it is usually in an attempt by a fabulist to refute his political opponent's application of the same story.

The Grub Street fabulists, almost without exception, employed the name of Aesop in their titles and, to lend more credence to his presence, gave him a geographic location, first in one of the watering places in England

(Tunbridge, Bath or Epsom), then, as events on the continent began to demand more attention, in Paris, Portugal, Spain, Amsterdam or Utrecht. The character of Aesop was often implied only by the use of his name in the title and, of course, by the fables themselves, but he was also sometimes used as the voice of the preface or even occasionally in a more integral way within the narrative. He also appeared during this period as a commentator on political events in a number of non-fabulous works.

The character of Aesop was particularly important to the political collections because of the emphasis on the didactic use of the fables. As in the prose political collections, the narratives, while entertaining in their own right, remained, for the most part, unrelated to the contemporary scene. The focus for immediate political purposes was on the moral, and the character of the wise Aesop was useful in establishing its credibility. In many cases, he was also the sole source of cohesion in collections which dealt with a wide variety of issues which were not closely related among themselves except as manifestations of party positions. As time went on, the fabulists began to exploit the satiric and allegorical possibilities of the stories more fully, and when a suitable story was not to be found in the tradition, they created their own, adding more than 100 fables to the English canon. In the end, both the myth of the presence of Aesop and the collection itself were abandoned in favour of the highly sophisticated

individual fable which appeared in broadside or in a journal. This was, however, far in the future for the Grub Street pamphleteers of 1698.

Aesop at Tunbridge² was the first political fable collection to appear in 1698, but before the year was out five more had been published, and they had all, despite their diverse political positions, been reissued in a composite collection called Aesop in Select Fables.³

Aesop at Tunbridge establishes its anonymity through the device of the "found" manuscript. In the first of its thirteen fables, it also begins the tradition of starting the collection with a disclaimer, using the story of a man who read a fable about an ass, saw that it was directed at him and sued Aesop for libel (C909). In the story, the judge points out that "'twas not Aesop, . . . / But Application made the Ass." The author then continues with care toward his ultimate goal of castigating the government and William himself. It is worth examining this collection in some detail because it is representative of the type, both in the issues with which it deals and in its handling of the collection's structure.

In the preface, the author, in addition to present-

²Wing STC A739.

³Wing STC A743. This text has been used for Aesop at Tunbridge, Aesop at Bathe, Aesop at Epsom, Old Aesop at Whitehal, Aesop Return'd from Tunbridge and Aesop at Amsterdam.

ing the fiction of the "found" manuscript, establishes the principles of social order upon which his collection is based, that government must listen to the will of the people and conduct the country's affairs accordingly:

But should it be granted that one or two Fables are a little too old and angry, yet since there is some Foundation for such sort of Mutterings and Complaints from whence can our Rulers learn these Truths more inoffensively, than from such little Stories? They will not, perhaps, attend so easily to wise and good Men as they will to Foxes and Asses; and wise and good Men will not, it may be, dare to tell those Truths these Beasts deliver, which yet our Government should know.

The fables proper begin with Fable II, the standard opening tale of the cock and the pearl (C1). In the standard version of this fable, the pearl represents wisdom or virtue, and the cock, a man of low morals who is incapable of recognizing its value. In Aesop at Tunbridge, the jeweller who might appreciate the stone is replaced by "some great Lord or Earl," and the moral is cited by the cock:

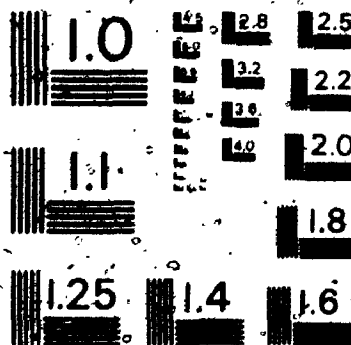
We Creatures that are dull, Earth-born,
 Things only useful mind,
 Whilst they who are divinely Wise
 And do from Jove proceed,
 Thy lovely orient Lustre prize
 And for thy Beauty trade.

While the fabulist is not yet being explicit, he is establishing a field of interest within which his fables can operate. He has defined the two levels of interest as that of Lords and Earls on the one hand, and the "dull, Earth-born" on the other, suggesting the divergent interests of the Lords and Commons. He has also raised the question of

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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
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trade with the Orient, a matter of immediate concern in the debates over the reorganization of the East India Company, and he has suggested that the company is of more interest to the Lords and Earls than it is to the common man whose energy must be directed to obtaining sufficient food in these years of economic difficulty.

The third fable is the familiar story of the horse who refuses to help the ass carry its load and is consequently burdened with the load and with the ass's hide when it collapses (C52). The political application is made directly in this case and clearly applies to the issues of taxes, most likely the land tax:

The Asses of the South and East,
Desire the Horses of the North and West,
That, as to Parliament they Trot,
This Fable may not be forgot.

In the fourth fable, the author uses the tale of the wolf and fox who go to court over the custody of a lamb and are judged by the ape to be both rascals, neither of whom has any right to the lamb (C379). The moral is: "So two great Lords for an Estate may fight, / Which does to neither appertain by Right." The fabulist avoids naming names and could be referring to the general debate over the disposal of Crown lands. Though there may be a more specific application, the general idea, particularly if it is concerned with William's distribution of Crown lands to his Dutch courtiers, would seem to fit in with the story which follows. In Fable V (C45), the popular tale of the

horse who by inviting a man to help him to subdue an enemy institutes his own enslavement is an unmistakable reference to the Revolution Settlement:

Let Nations also take good care,
That they with many Hardships bear,
Rather than seek Redress abroad;
Which is but adding to their Load.

The fabulist is now well into his attack and becomes less and less subtle. The sixth fable is a scatological tale found only in this collection (C910). It is the story of two partners who own a cow and wager their shares over whether or not one will eat the cow's droppings. When the one partner has eaten half, he agrees to restore the share if the other partner will eat the other half, and so the situation is returned to its original state. The fable is an attack on the War of the League of Augsburg and on the Treaty of Ryswick, which had been signed by France and the Allies at the end of the previous year:

Let this, both to our Wars and Peace
Be honestly apply'd,
France and th'Allies have done no less
That [sic] what these Welch-men did.

The fabulist's position is clear, and Fables VII to XII are open attacks on various social and political targets. In Fable VII (C664), the story of the frogs who are afraid when bulls fight is seen as analogous to the tale of the suffering of subjects when kings go to war. Fable VIII (C134), the story of the ass who refuses to flee in the face of his master's enemy because his own condition will remain the same, is concerned with the value of fighting

against the tyranny of France, "Whilst with our Ancient Liberty, our very Backs are broke." The story of Socrates' building a small house because that was all that was needed to accommodate his true friends, is applied to the fox, a sly courtier, by the wolf, "Perhaps my Lord Commissioner intends / Here to receive only his honest Friends" (Fab. IX:C732).

After a fairly standard attack on the legal profession in the fable of two travellers and an oyster (Fab. X:C804), the fabulist then cleverly adapts to his political position the fable of the pigeons who reconcile a war between two hawks (Fab. XI:C220). In this version he presents two pigeons who have escaped the massacre and has them discuss the folly of separating such enemies:

Hawks ever should
Be gorg'd with one another's Blood.
The Wicked have a natural Rage,
(A thirst of Violence to assuage.)
Which if not on the Wicked spent,
Will fall upon the Innocent.

The story is then applied to the "Poor Hugonots of France. / And Vaudois full as poor." The fabulist thus draws his reader's attention toward a situation about which the reader already has an attitude, and it is a simple step then to transfer the application to the dangers the Church of England may suffer if it allows a reconciliation between Catholic Louis and Calvinist William.

Fable XII (C790) is no less specific. The story of the farmer who calls in help to rid him of a bothersome

hare and then suffers more damage from the help than from the hare, ironically pictures not only the Revolution Settlement itself, but the whole history of the country's attempts to control the Stuart kings, as an exorbitant price paid for freedom from what the fabulist considers to be the negligible dangers of a standing army and Catholicism:

If our Deliverance from the Frights
 Of standing Army near,
 And silly superstitious Rites,
 Worth Forty Millions were;
 Then have we wisely broke our Mounds,
 That our Defences were,
 Wisely call'd in our Neighbour's Hounds,
 And kill'd the desperate Hare.
 But if, with all this vast Expence,
 Besides a Sea of Blood
 Spilt in the Church and States Defence,
 Our Matters stand much as they stood.
 Then we have done a World of Ill,
 With endless Cost and Pains,
 A little hurtful Hare to kill;
 And well deserve the Brains.

The collection concludes with another original fable, the story of a foolish young man who wants to win fame and fortune as a poet (Fab. XIII:C911), directing the reader's attention back to the author and away from the central fables.

From Aesop at Tunbridge we can see how the short fable collection can be structured for rhetorical purposes. Unlike many of its kind, this collection is not simply a group of isolated stories, but a structured attack, broadening its focus from principle to practice and from the present to the broader perspective of the meaning of

history. The whole is framed by fables designed to distance the social criticism by keeping the reader aware of the fiction.

Aesop at Tunbridge was attacked from watering places all over England as part of a Jacobite plot. Aesop at Bathe,⁴ the next collection to appear, declares itself to be an anti-Jacobite collection and borrows characters and plot patterns from Aesop at Tunbridge to refute its principles. Like the author of the earlier collection, this author uses a story of two foolish rustics, and he takes the story of the farmer and the hare, turns the hare into a badger and makes the application favour William while echoing the earlier version:

If our deliverance from our Foes,
And Popish Tyranny,
Be 'nt worth the money has been rose,
'Tis pity we are free.

'Tis certain wisely we have done,
To keep the Nation safe,
In giving part as we have done,
To keep the better half.

(Fab. VI: C790)

If there is one thing the two Aesops have in common, it is their concern for the Church of England. In the story of the Parson and the Whig, Aesop at Bathe attacks the doctrine of non-resistance by picturing the two characters joining together to sell the Church for gain. The danger, as he sees it, is not the Church's being caught

⁴Wing STC A735. Text used is from Wing STC A743, Aesop in Select Fables, 1698.

between two extremes, but in its willingness to compromise its position from within.

The fabulist of Aesop at Bathe is also aware of the problem of the Spanish Succession, an issue that will concern the fabulists of 1701-2, but the focus of the collection is upon the danger represented by the Jacobites, the tyranny which the fabulist believes would accompany the return of James to the throne.

A third collection, Old Aesop at Whitehall,⁵ represents the first overt appearance of the character of Aesop in the controversy, and he castigates both of the earlier collections for their attacks on the present government. From Whitehall, he summons a Parliament of the beasts and begins telling them his stories. All the fables are designed to support the government, more on the basis of necessity than anything else. He attacks the "Jacks" and reminds his readers of the activities of "Father Peter" during the reign of James. He suggests that some members of Parliament are time-servers, attacks as another breed of Jacobite the "old Passive Obedience Ass," and, in the fable of the wolf's attempt to persuade the hedgehog to disarm itself (Fab. V:Cl93), defends the retention of a standing army. The fable of the trumpeter (C55) which is used in several other attacks on the propagandists of the period, is applied in this case to the "Firebrands of the church

⁵Wing STC 0196, Old Aesop at White-Hall. Text used is from Wing STC A743, Aesop in Select Fables, 1698.

and state":

The Priests advanc'd the Popeling to the Throne;
 The Priests again did force him to be gone;
 And now the Priests, like [Turn-coats], as before,
 Chase Jacke for Senate with Canonick Roar;
 And Churches danger slyly would infer,
 From our great King who bravely rescued her.

Old Aesop at Whitehal is one of the most unified collections in this controversy, for the author never loses sight of his target. The collection is aimed at supporting William while admitting that there are faults in government which can be attributed to the king's servants and advisors or to undependable churchmen.

Aesop at Epsom⁶ indulges in a much more wide-ranging attack. It opens with the familiar story of the exchange of meals between the fox and the stork (C27), in which the author equates himself with the stork and the "Tunbridge Aesop" with the fox. Later, in Fable IX, "Of Jupiter and the Monkey" (C81), the other Aesops are also attacked:

So young Aesop from Bath, or Old Aesop from Whitehall,
 May amuse Town, and Country with a fab'lous recital,
 And in love with themselves think their own things
 the best,
 Whilst the Clergy, they laugh at, escape the dull Jest;
 And all the success of each Fable and Story
 Is to lay down their own faults like the Monkey
 before ye.

The Tunbridge and Bath Aesops are also the targets of Fable V, "Of the Apple and the Horse-Turd" (C786). This fable, borrowed from L'Estrange, is told in reply to the tales in those collections which are concerned with the cost of the

⁶Wing STC A736. Text used is from Wing STC A743, Aesop in Select Fables, 1698.

recent war?⁷

A Thread-bare Writer who perchance
 Has not one Parthing paid,
 To carry on the War with France,
 Towards the Royal Aid.
 Crys, Damn this curs'd confounded Peace,
 It Forty Millions cost,
 And we could not procure our Ease
 Till all our Wealth was lost.

Despite his attacks on his fellow fabulists, the Epsom Aesop insists, in the fable of the trumpeter (Fable IV), that fables are incapable of inciting faction or encouraging sedition: "All join'd together ne'er was able / To shew the malice of one single Fable." This is an inversion of the traditional interpretation of this fable, which insists that those who incite others to action are equally responsible for the action.

Apart from these fables, which concern themselves primarily with other fables, Aesop at Epsom contains: one fable with no moral application; two which deal with the clergy, one an attack on James's priests and the other an assault on the doctrine of passive resistance; two which deal with the war, one supporting alliance with the Dutch and the other expressing optimism in the face of French strength; and finally, one fable, "Of the Hares and the Frogs" (C23), which encourages dissenters to persevere because they are not so badly off as the Huguenots.

⁷ Aesop at Tunbridge, Fable XII, "The Farmer and the Hare," and Aesop at Bathe, Fable VI, "The Farmer and the Badger." See above, pp. 185-86.

Aesop Return'd from Tunbridge,⁸ the fifth collection in the series, opens with a story of Aesop's having been sent to Bedlam for giving good advice at Tunbridge. The remaining twelve fables concern themselves with various forms of hypocrisy in authors, courtiers, politicians and clergy of various convictions. As we can see, the collections have moved away from straightforward positions, supporting either James or William, to broad attacks on an assortment of social and political evils. In the familiar tale of "The Grasshopper and the Ant" (Fab. VI:CB4), for example, the frivolous grasshopper represents a fop, while the serious ant to whom he applies for financial aid is a "frugal, grave Citty," who recommends that the grasshopper should marry a fortune or get his food and lodging in debtor's prison. The fate of a real-life beau is described in the moral:

Pops that would starve for want of Sense,
 Petticoat Refugees,
 Ought much to thank that Providence,
 Which made 'em Women please.
 Swarms that had Rotted in Jayl.
 Yet want Sense to pay
 Thanks to that Smock that was their Bail,
 But throw't like a Rag away.
 Yet luckless thousands still contrive.
 To spread like Butterflies,
 That like Beau Atkinson must live,
 Or like Beau Norton die.

In Fable VIII, the hypocrisy of the dissenting clergy is attacked in the original fable of the bat and the owl who

⁸Wing STC A745. The text used is Wing STC A743, Aesop in Select Fables, 1698.

quarrel over which of them can see better. (C923). Their inability to endure the face of the sun evokes the religious sun/son play on words, which is strengthened by the pastors' inability to "venture into Light" and serves to "plainly shew their want to all / Of Faith, as well as Sense."

In his disgust with his society, the fabulist of Aesop Return'd from Tunbridge does not hesitate to name names. In Fable V, the familiar tale of the ass and the spaniel (C13), we find the author castigating his fellow journalists for playing the ass in their dedications:

If Squirrel D---y frisk on his Beholders,
Must the Ass Gild-n ramp upon their Shoulders,
If Congreve flatter'd M-nt-gue before,
Must he by Gild-n too be slaver'd o're?

The greater sots, however, are those who pay for such dedications. "With Justice we may pay for Kneller's hand," says the author, "But who at Charges wou'd on Sign-posts stand?" Aesop Return'd from Tunbridge is an attack, not on political opponents, but upon the moral condition of its time. The author admits in the preface that Aesop was indeed mad, "For who the De---l but a Madman would venture to write Truth at this time of Day?"

In the presence of such moral decay, it is not surprising, then, to find the last fable collection published in 1698, Aesop at Amsterdam,⁹ moving outside England and

⁹Wing STC A734. The text used is Wing STC A743, Aesop in Select Fables, 1698.

professing to be written by young Aesop, who opens with a letter to his father, Old Aesop at Whitehall, declaring the old man's preference for monarchical government completely out of date. Young Aesop introduces the republican position into the controversies, which had, until this time, concerned themselves only over the suitability of James or William for the monarchy.¹⁰

In this collection, all the fables are directed against the institution of the monarchy, which for this fabulist is synonymous with tyranny. The ideal is a republican government, and all of the collection's eleven fables, ten of which are original stories, are attacks on either the monarchy itself or the church which supports it.

The setting of Aesop at Amsterdam is developed in the first two original fables, which together tell the allegorical story of the cat who represents freedom from tyranny. In the opening tale, this mother of the "Good old Cause" summons her "Kitlings" together, bewails the state of the country she has already freed once from monarchy and sends her offspring to summon the "slaves" to Whitehall. In Fable II, "The Interview," she challenges them to

⁷ ¹⁰ The republican position appears in only one other fable collection during the period; the "De Witt" fables of 1703 and 1704, which also purport to originate in the Netherlands. See above, pp. 154-65.

Republicanism, as the extreme Whig position, continued to exist during the period, although there was little chance of its prevailing. Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution 1603-1714 (Bungay, Suffolk: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961; repr. London: Sphere Books, 1974), p. 243.

shake off their fetters, and the closing image of the fable depicts her as a doctor attempting a cure.

Fable III is an expanded version of the familiar tale of the frogs' choosing a king (C17). As in the traditional version, the frogs exchange the log for a stork, but this fabulist adds an ass to the royal line to include a king who is not malicious but dangerous because he is so foolish. To bolster the moral, "Thus often we have chose a King, / And still have found it the same thing," the fabulist is driven to distorting the familiar fable by characterizing the log as an arbitrary monarch.

Perhaps due to the difficulty the author encountered in adapting this traditional fable, the remainder of the collection is comprised of original tales which are distinctly different from those of the tradition, though they are clearly related to them. In Fable IV (C928), the bees, like the frogs, ask Jove for a King; he allows them to elect the hornet, who with his courtiers, the drones, robs them of their honey and leaves them to starve during the winter.

In Fable V (C929), the lion king chooses a fox for his chief advisor. The fox then selects the role of priest as best suited for oppressing the people. In a similar situation in Fable VI (C930), the weasel, elected king of the rats and mice, employs the rats to help destroy the mice, but he then joins his fellow weasels in destroying the rats:

Thus some men oft by Tyrant Power
 Their Kindred, Subject Slaves devour,
 Do all the Villanies are done,
 To prop a beastly Tyrant Throne;
 Tho' others' Blood the Tyrant fill'd,
 They must at length to's Fury yield;
 Nought stops a Tyrant's Course but Decollation,
 Or else a modern Abdication.

The implication, of course, is that William will eventually have to go the way of either Charles I or James II.

In the seventh fable (C931), the author creates an imaginary country, Lubberland,¹¹ which is populated by slaves who spend much of their time applauding the tyrant who oppresses them. The tale of the hawks and birds, which follows immediately, shows a nation of slaves denying the divine right claimed by the hawk and taking collective action to improve their lot:

The Birds all agreed,
 And thus 'twas decreed,
 That Slaves they no longer would be;
 They throttl'd their King,
 Then sweetly did sing
 The Praises of free Liberty.
 (Fab. VIII: C932)

Again, in a humorous variation on the familiar fable "Belling the Cat" (Fab. IX: C933), the tyrant is an owl. The mice consider belling him until one brave mouse suggests that "the only way to guard our Empire well / Is both to rid our selves of Owl and Bell." The collection concludes with a tale of the fishes' rejection of Neptune as their king and with Young Aesop's praise for Amsterdam as an

¹¹ An imaginary land of plenty without labour; a land of laziness (CED).

asylum from tyranny (Fab. XI: C935).

The emergence of Aesop as a character in the 1698 collections resulted in the publication during that year of several non-fabulous works which attempt to remove him from the political scene. Aesop at Richmond¹² retires him from politics, sending him to Richmond to become an observer of the social scene there. Aesop's Last Will and Testament¹³ attempts a final solution, ironically parcelling out his goods and virtues to those in society who have most need of them. The Life of Aesop of Tunbridge, Written by the Ass¹⁴ declares itself to be an attempt on the part of a reader of Aesop's Last Will and Testament to capitalize on the death of Aesop by publishing his biography. The Life takes the form of a dialogue in which political figures are allegorized and fables told. At the end, Aesop is resurrected to tell a version of the fable of the woman with sore eyes who was cheated by her physician (C252), an allegory of England being cheated by her government.

Finally, the use of the fable collection in this period died out with the 1699 Aesop from Islington.¹⁵ In a shotgun attack on no one in particular, the collection berates two of the earlier Aesops, William and the Jacobites.

¹²wing STC A738.

¹³wing STC A746.

¹⁴wing STC L2022.

¹⁵wing STC A741.

It compares corruption in Louis's court to sexual corruption in the French courts of Henry III and Henry IV, and suggests that England might raise funds by imitating Henry VIII's plundering of the churches with an attack on her present-day rich subjects. With this disorganized attempt at social criticism, the fable collection died out for a short time as a mode of propaganda. When it was revived in 1701, the issues had changed.

The collections of the last two years of William's reign concern themselves primarily with the question of succession in both England and Spain and with the power of Louis XIV, that is, with the War of the Spanish Succession and its implications for England. Even the stories attacking the corruption that is involved in competition for court favour tend to do so because such things should be put aside in the face of the greater danger from outside. This new concern with order on an international scale resulted in the introduction of many original fables into the English canon.

Concern for the continent which was "ringing with preparations for the greatest war the world had ever seen"¹⁶ takes Aesop outside England in Aesop at Paris, his

¹⁶G. M. Trevelyan, England under the Stuarts (London: Methuen, 1925; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960), p. 449.

Letters and Fables.¹⁷ There he becomes an Under writer in Monsieur Pontchartrain's office, where he learns "a great deal of the Managery of Affairs in most of the Courts of Europe, and cannot forbear some times . . . to question the Policy of some, and wonder at it in others." In a series of nine sets of alternating letters and fables dated between April 20 and May 3, 1701, he urges on his kinsmen and friends the necessity of maintaining an alliance against Louis. In his letters he plays on the various interests of his correspondents, who range from merchant to Jesuit priest, enjoining them all to act, each for his individual reasons, although he is obviously aware that their interests are sometimes incompatible.

Using traditional materials, the fables deal with the necessity for a firm alliance against Louis and with the danger inherent in the choice of his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, for the Spanish throne, with Louis's greed for territory, with the treachery which lurks beneath the facade of his friendship for Holland and with the dangerous alliances which could come from the marriages of Louis's grandsons with the daughters of the Duke of Savoy. The collection concludes with a warning to England in the fable of the ungrateful dragon (C399):

¹⁷ It is conceivable that this collection could be the missing Aesop recorded by H. W. Troyer in his Ned Ward of Grub Street (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1946 and New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), p. 232. Although the collection purports to be "a Translation from the Original French," it is far more likely a London production.

Those Men whom England's Monarchs did relieve,
 (When Fears and Troubles made the Nation Grieve)
 And to their Lands, and Freedom did restore,
 For them he did, none (but a God) could more;
 If such his Love b'ingratitude do Pay,
 And Grumble at the Deeds, when they Obey;
 They like th'Ungrateful Dragon should be left
 Forlorn, and of their Comforts quite bereft.

Order in this collection is represented by a balance of power between Louis and the Allies, and the fabulist is primarily interested in demonstrating to the Allies not only the necessity of the alliance, but also its weakest links.

Like Aesop in Paris, Aesop in Spain (1701) purports to be a translation. However, although it too is concerned with problems related to the Spanish succession, they are mainly problems which concern the English rather than the Allies collectively. This collection of mainly original fables opens with a story of Cardinal Portocarrero's forcing the dying King Charles of Spain to choose the Duke of Anjou for his successor by threatening to withhold absolution for his sins. From this Spanish beginning the fabulist moves to England and launches a parallel attack on Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, in one of the most interesting literary fables of the period. The fable takes the form of a parody of the opening of The Hind and the Panther, an ironic reminder of Montagu's own attack on Dryden's loyalty in The Hind and the Panther Transvers'd (1687),¹⁸

A Milkwhite Rogue, Immortal and unhang'd,

¹⁸Written in collaboration with Matthew Prior.

By Fate and Parliaments severely bang'd,
 Without a Saint, a Devil was within;
 He sought all Dangers, for he knew all Sin.
 (Fab. II; Cl 207)

Later allusions in the fable accuse Halifax of producing "False Lights his Monarch to mislead," a reminder of the "False lights" of Dryden's poem, and firmly fasten the attack on him with a reference to his role in the recoinage of 1696.

Political order is threatened on a number of fronts in the world of this collection. Portocarrero and Montagu are both presented as false advisors to their kings. Religious problems related to politics emerge in England as well as in Spain, for the determination of the non-jurors may mislead the Jacobites into attempting the restoration of James, an action which would lead to civil war: "Monmouth shall rise when James shall e'er return."

False religion is, moreover, one of the sources of the private quarrels which endanger the country's ability to unite behind the war effort (Fab. VI; Cl 211), and the problems of financing the war are linked with Halifax's recoinage and with the refusal of those who made their money from government appointments to reinvest it in the country. Equally important, the financial strength of the Allies must be maintained, so Holland is encouraged to send her money to Germany, where it will do the most good. Finally, the Allies must avoid the danger of a peace between France and Savoy which would either break the alliance and free

• Louis for further tyranny or force a peace which, like the Peace of Ryswick, would not last.

Unlike these overtly political collections, Canterbury Tales, also published in 1701, attempts to deny its political connections. Some of the fables, the preface claims, were written just after the 1698 publication of Aesop, at Tunbridge and have been misrepresented as applying to current affairs. Moreover, the preface says, one other fable has no current application because it is simply a versification of a tale from L'Estrange. Such disclaimers are common enough and are, of course, completely transparent attempts to distance the fables while retaining their political effects. The collection clearly does deal with current affairs. It includes one fable which is an obvious allegory of the Spanish situation and a warning against the possible treachery of France (Fab. IX: C328); it also includes commentaries on the proposed impeachments over the partition treaties, on Montagu's resignation and in favour of his impeachment. In fact, so apt are its stories for describing conditions in England, that ten of the thirteen reappear at least once during the next seventeen years, with only minor adjustments to accommodate political change.

Canterbury Tales is, presumably, the only collection published in 1701 after the death of James in September, for it raises the issue of the English succession in connection with Louis's recognition of James's son as heir to the English throne. These events also brought about the

revival of the famous warming pan story in the 1702 allegory Aesop from Wales, the tale of the discovery of "a Horrid Plot to bring in the Spurious Young Eaglet to the Imperial Nest of his Pretended Ancestors, That he may Tyrannize over the Feathered Empire."

A similar attack on the legitimacy of the Pretender was launched in a collection of variations on traditional fables called Prince Perkin the 2d or, Aesop on this Juncture (1702). The collection is concerned both with warning the country against the "Perkinites" and with warning the Jacobites against making an attempt to enthrone the Pretender.

The name Perkin is, of course, an allusion to Perkin Warbeck, a pretender to the English throne during the reign of Henry VII. The author's decision to give the Jacobites a new designation is explained in a prefatory letter to them:

It is time to leave your old distinction of Jacobites, since your Idol of France has long drop'd you all under that denomination, when he Unking'd the Head of your Tribe by owning another King of Great Britain; We cannot pretend to new Christen such Pagans, we'll only name you therefore, as they do, Spaniels, since you are only in such Capacity alone, us'd by King L----s, viz. to raise his Game, and after to be kick'd or discarded at pleasure; witness Reswick Treaty, by which he oblig'd himself to dismiss you his Protection; Be you then henceforth call'd Perkinites, from Perkin your present Head.

The collection opens with Aesop's coming to the author in a dream, complaining of his appearance and of the treatment he received at the hands of his countrymen and asking the author to condemn the misuse of his fables by

modern political fabulists:

Was not all this enough to teeze
 A Man or Goblin, which you please?
 Nay, was it not sufficient evil,
 To be in spight, 'thrown on the Devil?
 But I again (curse on the wretches)
 Must be rais'd up in scurvy fetches?
 Now Massacred in Fables, where
 There neither Sense nor Morals are;
 With Application's wide at least,
 As from the West 'tis to the East;
 To make my Fox and Ass dispute
 Beneath the Dignity of Brute;
 And whereas I alone design'd
 T'enlarge a Noble Free-born Mind,
 Those who of late brought on the Stage,
 Their faint Efforts of Pusillage,
 To bring Men back to Slavery;
 Their Morals only to apply;
 But yet so scurvily 'twas done,
 As if they'd writ their own Lampoon.

The use of this device enables the author to bring the character of Aesop into the English scene to preside over the original fables as well as the traditional stories, which comprise the collection.

The collection is concerned with the relationship between Louis XIV and the Pretender and with the encouragement given the Jacobites by Louis's support. Thus, in the story of the mountain that brings forth a mouse (Fab. VIII: C21), Louis is the mountain, promising far more support than is ever delivered. In Fable I (C1213), the Protestant supporters of the Pretender are warned that they may receive the same kind of treatment the Huguenots received from Louis, and later, in Fable XI (C202), the fabulist draws upon history to support the moral of the tale of the faithless dog who attacks his master's sheep.

Protestant Perks are viler than the other;
For they, like Nero, rip up their own Mother.

While the author refers overtly to Nero's treachery, there is a covert warning in the allusion as well: the Protestant Jacobites could, if successful, become tyrants of the first order.

Although the author wavers between the two positions, he seems generally to believe that the Jacobites will be the victims of Louis and the Pretender. In Fable XV (C1221), he suggests that should the restoration be successful, the Protestants would suffer the fate of the poultry who invited a fox to protect them from the cock:

If Perkin at the Head of French should come,
Expect your selves to feel the Heavi'st Doom:
For could you to your Fancy fix the Throne,
How will that Church trust you, who first
betray'd your own.

The Jacobites are warned against an alliance with Louis because "when Perkinites can be no longer Tools: / King L----s will Cashier 'em all for Fools" (Fab. II: C761). The fate of Perkin himself, should William grant Louis's terms of peace, would be exactly the same as that of James, who, like the elf in the fable of the pygmies (Fab. XVI: C1222), thought to establish absolute power:

But getting up he lost his hold,
And down fell little Tit,
When 'stead of being on a Throne,
He found himself besh---t.

All things considered, Louis's treacherous character must be recognized as that of the wolf in Fable XVII (C24):

Your treacherous Disguise will take no more;
You're out, and we'll take care to bar the door.

Finally, it is worth noting that the political application of this collection is dependent upon a series of characterizations of Louis as a tiger, a treacherous ape, a wolf (in three fables), a poisonous snake, a blustering mountain, a treacherous fox (twice) and a vulture. The "Perkinites," on the other hand, though treacherous, are finally seen to be asses.

For the Tories, the Jacobite threat which so worried the Whigs was negligible in comparison with the behaviour of the Whigs themselves. Thomas Yalden's Aesop at Court, or State Fables (1702) dismisses both the War of the Spanish Succession and Louis's recognition of the Pretender, presenting instead a picture of the political disorder of England. The address to William which introduces the collection delineates the problems:

Victorious Prince! Form'd for Supreme Command,
Worthy the Empire of the Seas and Land!
Whilst impious Faction swells with Native Pride,
Parties distract the State, and Church divide:
And Senseless Libels with audacious Stile,
Insult thy Senate, and thy Power revile!

The villains are "our Modern Whiggish Tools, / Beneath the dignity of British Fools" (Fable IV), who "tutor Kings, and Senators advise" (Fable I), "sensure Monarch's, and at Senates Rail" (Fable IV), and "libel Senates and traduce the Great" (Fable VIII).

The unnatural disorder caused by the Whigs is reflected in two fables which stress disorder in nature

itself: the story of the river's rejection of the springs which give it life (Fab. I: C181) and the sea's rebellion against its banks (Fab. IX: C439). The moral of the former focusses on the rebellious river:

Unhappy Brittain! I deplore thy Fate,
When Jurys pack'd, and brib'd, insult thy State:
Like Waves Tumultuous, insolently wise,
They tutor Kings, and Senators advise;

Whilst old Republicans direct the Stream,
Not France, and Rome, but Monarchy's their aim:
Fools rode by Knaves! and paid as they deserve,
Despis'd whilst us'd! then left to hang or Starve..

The moral of Fable IX, on the other hand, prescribes the ingredients for harmony:

The' discord forms the Elements for War,
Their well pois'd Strength prevents the fatal Jar:
Harmonious Nature sets the Ballance right,
And each compels the other to Unite..

In Empire thus true Union is maintain'd,
Each Power's by a Subordinate restrain'd:
But when like raging Waves they overflow,
Their stated Bounds, and on the weaker grow:
Thrice happy Realms! where there are Patriots found,
To check Invadors, and maintain their Ground.

The patriots here are the heroes of the collection and play the role of the sun to the Whig owl who would benight the whole universe because the sun blinds him (Fab. VIII: C816). The opposing sides are set out in the moral of this fable, and the patriots are identified:

Who libel Senates, and traduce the Great,
Measure the Public Good by Private Hate:
Interest's their Rule of Love; fierce to oppose,
All whom Superior Virtue makes their Foes..

Thy Merits, Rochester, thus give offence,
The guilty Faction hates discerning Sense:
Thus Harly, Seymor, How, and Mackworth find,
Great Eye-sores to the loud Rapacious Kind:

But whilst in holes addressing Owls repiae,
Bright as the Sun their Patriot Names will shine.

The Whigs are attacked in this collection for their literary failure as well as their political treachery. Mackworth is praised for his eloquence, while his opponents are condemned for their "abusive nonsense" in the moral of Fable X, the tale of the contest between the cuckoo and the nightingale judged by an ass (C696). Finally, in Fable XVI (C849), the sage "Laconic" is condemned for using two words where one would do; his punishment is his being forced to read Whig propaganda:

Read Jura Populi o'er twice,
Pittis and Bunyan, Books of price:
And Oats's modest vein:
Read Baxter's Volumes, T----l's Works,
York-shire Petish with that of Bucks,
True Cant and Libel Strein.

For Solid Nonsense, thoughtless Words,
The Vindication of the Lords,
That answers Mackworths State:
Read first and second Paragraph,
If possible drudge on thro' half,
Your Crime you'l Expiate.

The offender, horrified at the very thought, pleads that he would much prefer the physical torture of "Gibbets, Raeks, or wheell."

The most serious accusation of all, however, is made in the identification of the Whigs with the regicides of the reign of Charles I. In Fable XIII, "The Fox and Flies" (a variation of C622), the fox looks forward to the pleasure of seeing the parasites who have fatally wounded him burst from their greed. The moral makes the historical

link and becomes a warning to the Whigs:

Thus guilty Brittain to her Thames complains
 With Royal Blood defil'd, O cleanse my Stains!
 Whence Plagues arise! whence dire Contagions come!
 And Flames that my Augustas Pride consume!
 In vain saith Thames, the Regicidal Breed
 Will swarm again, by them thy Land shall bleed:
 Extremest Curse! but so just Heaven decreed:
 Republicans shall Brittain's Treasures, grain,
 Betray her Monarch, and her Church prophane!
 Till gorg'd with Spoils, with Blood the Leeches burst,
 Or Ty---n add the second to the first.

With the death of William, verse fables disappeared from political controversy again until 1704, when three collections were published, all of them purporting to come from outside England, but all concerned with English affairs. Aesop in Scotland, Exposed in Ten Select Fables relating to the Times (1704) began the practice which was later to become quite popular, of borrowing recent English versions of fables and changing the morals to suit the occasion. In this case, the fabulist has borrowed five of his ten fables from the doggerel, apolitical Aesop Naturaliz'd of 1697 and adapted them to comment on recent political events. The author gives Aesop a middle position between the English and the Scots. On the one hand he appears to have some general objections to Scots and to the proposed union of the two kingdoms. For example, he complains of Scottish treatment of the Church of England in Fable VII (Cl26), the tale of the crow's envying the magpie's white feathers:

The Fathers of our Churches are upbraded,
 By those who lately have their place invaded;
 All Decent Robes, are counted Popish Knacks,
 Unless they'r put on Holy Brothers Backs;
 Thus Envy has no bounds, where Interest Rules,
 'Tis hard to please those Headstrong Fictious Fools.

The collection recalls the folly of the disastrous Darien Scheme of 1698-99 in Fable V, "The Merchants and Soldiers" (Cl265), and attacks Simon Fraser, whose activities in 1703 consisted of accusing "half the statesmen of Scotland . . . of dealings with the exiled court."¹⁹

The theme of the damage caused by rumour and false report and the folly of those who heed them runs through the collection. "The Northern Trumpeter" of Fable VIII (C55) is, no doubt, Fraser himself, one of those "Villainous People [who] use all their Invention, / To make others quarrel and fall to contention." In this matter, the author seems clearly to sympathize with England in the tale of "The Mad Lyon and the Ravenning Woolf" (Fab. II:Cl264):

When false Reports, are back'd by Men of Note,
 The right or wrong, the Rabble give their Vote;
 Down with a Friend, a Father or a Mother,
 No Law nor Reason, helps the one or 'tother;
 Sad times are those, when Right is Overthrown,
 And Native English forc'd to lose their Own.

On the other hand, there is a certain degree of sympathy for the poverty of the Scots in the application of Fable IV, the tale of the ass who refuses to flee from his master's enemy because he cannot be any worse off with

¹⁹G. M. Trevelyan, England under Queen Anne (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932), II, 237.

a new master (Cl34):

The Changes of Kingdoms affects not the Poor,
They lie on the Ground and can tumble no lower;
Nay, some Daily wish for a Change in the State,
That they with some others may make themselves great.

Finally, Aesop sympathizes with the overthrow of the Queensbury Ministry which resulted from the Fraser plot and with the popular feeling against England which accompanied it. The moral of Fable IX, "The Bees and the Hornets" (Cl267), seems to support the Scottish response, the Act of Security:

When People provok'd; instead of redress,
Find nothing but Threats; they can do little less
Then in such a Case, but take care of their own,
If under Oppression they'r forced to Groan;
This Fable discovers that former Vexation,
Begin's now again in a Neighbouring Nation.

While Aesop in Scotland deplored the state of affairs there, another Aesop was sending a collection of eleven fables, Aesop at Portugal, 1704, "to his friends at London" from Portugal, where he had fled after the defeat of the Occasional Conformity Bill. The Bill itself is the issue in a fable about a parliament of birds in which, after first voting for it, the "Madge of Chiefest Note" refuses support for the church in a debate over

Whether the Truth should be Receiv'd,
And Falshood be Expell'd,
Or that which was for Truth believ'd,
Be Nationally still aggriev'd,
And not entirely held.

("The Layman"; Cl281)

The Madge, who is, perhaps, Thomas Tenison, the Archbishop of Canterbury, votes against the Bill for fear of a

reprimand from "His Lordship, the Vulture" because, he says:

I should be a pretty Bird,
If by the Vulture's Arts prefer'd,
I 'gainst the Vulture rose.

The political subjection of the bishops to the laity in the English church is juxtaposed to the treacherous behaviour of Cardinal Portocarrero in the fourth fable, "The Lyon, the Ape, and the Fox" (Cl282), where he is pictured as shifting his allegiance from Philip of Anjou to Charles of Austria when the Allies are successful in Spain. Ironically, this was indeed to happen, but not until 1706 when the Allies captured Madrid.²⁰ In "The Evil Councillor" (Cl285), Portocarrero is the gander who advises the poultry to take a young fox (Philip) to govern them. Eventually they are destroyed by the foxes as Spain will be destroyed by France even if Austria is able to drive the French out of Spain.

Apart from the role of the clergy in political affairs, the author of Aesop at Portugal criticizes various aspects of monarchy as it is practised both in England and on the Continent. In the tale of the two kings of Brentford (Cl280),²¹ Charles and Philip, unable to decide the fate of Spain through combat, petition Jove to decide who

²⁰ Trevelyan, England under Queen Anne, II, 153.

²¹ A borrowing from George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, et al, The Rehearsal (1671) in Burlesque Plays of the Eighteenth Century, ed. Simon Trussler (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

should have the crown?

Jove that had long beheld the Fray,
 To neither, gave the Crown nor Day,
 But left it still in Doubt;
 Wing'd Mercury the Answer Brings;
 Jove call'd 'em two imagin'd Kings,
 And bid 'em fight it out;

The Emperor Leopold's difficulties with the Hungarian uprising are attributed, in the tale "The Baboon and the Guittarr" (Cl279), to his preference for music over kingship. This theme is picked up again in "The Shepherd's Fate," in which two shepherds discuss the war rather technically until Colin describes the situation by telling a tale of two rams, one of whom misses no opportunity to steal the females belonging to the other, who preferred "an easie and peaceful Retirement" to protecting his flock (Cl283). By the end of the summer, the aggressive ram possesses all, and the war will end in exactly the same way unless "Lewis lays aside his Craft, / Or L----ld his Fiddle."

The author expresses his opposition to elective kingship in the familiar tale of the frogs' choosing a King (Cl7), and in the tale "The Competitors" (Cl284) comments on Queen Anne's choice of representatives on the occasion of the Archduke Charles's visit to England in 1703. The role of the queen's representative is not so much given as taken by a monkey who has "for Prophecies been try'd" and has supported Charles's claim to the Spanish throne. The brash pride of the monkey, along with his history, at least

suggests one of the authors who are criticized in other fables in the collection, probably Daniel Defoe.

Defoe, presumably as a reproach for his Review, is clearly the target of "The Bull and the Frog," a variation on the familiar tale of the frog who puffs himself up in imitation of the ox (C31):

That L----'s the Bull, every Reader may know,
And the Frog's the meer Picture of D----- F----. 22

Again, in the tale of the wild boar, who "has made a Thousand Foes of one" (C1286), Defoe is attacked for his efforts in opposition to the Occasional Conformity Bill, and his punishment in the pillory is perhaps recalled in the debate over appropriate punishment, a debate which suggests, among other things, the possibility of removing his ears. It is finally agreed that the boar should have lost his tongue, and that the same thing should have happened to Defoe, the "Scribe, / That Libels and Writes for the Salters-Hall Tribe." The collection concludes with an attack on the folly of John Tutchin, apparently for leaving himself open to attack by Defoe. In this collection we can see concern for political order on both national and international bases worked out in close connection with party relationships and with recognition of the power of the political journalist.

Concern for the rise of the journalists also frames the collection Aesop the Wanderer; or, Fables Relating to

²²Defoe was also known as Daniel Foe.

the Transactions of Europe (1704). Here the author pictures himself as a satirist who is taking advantage of the victory at Blenheim to satirize Louis and his allies. The collection opens with a tale designed to protect the author from those who would condemn his work without reading it; it closes with a tale condemning as promoters of faction the "seditious, praters" of all political shades who "[meddle] in State-matters":

Unhappy the Nation where Factions are in't,
 And Libels and Lies are encourag'd in Print.
 Where each Scribbling-Fool, in a fit of the Spleen,
 Dairs Rail at our States-men, or Tutor the Queen;
 When Gen'ral's, and Adm'ral's, for all they have done,
 Must give an Account to the Mob of the Town.
 Then put down your Mercuries, Courants, and Review,
 And silence your Touchins, your Leslie's, Whites and
 D' Foes.

Between these two attitudes toward political pamphlety, the author condemns those who sit at home grumbling over the cost of the war as they "sagely over Smoak and Tea . . . cut out the Campaign" and wager over its outcome.

Matching these coffee-house generals are the politicians who give orders which leave the military helpless as in "The Miscarriage" (Cl277), the tale of the fleet of dolphins who are dispatched without proper orders and, having "Rambled the Season Abroad," return home with nothing to show for their pains.²³ The core of the collection, however, is devoted to affairs on the Continent. Marlborough, "by whom the Empire stands, the Tyrant falls," is

²³This fable may refer to the Benbow affair of 1702. See Trevelyan, England under Queen Anne, I, 252-54.

the hero; Louis is a tyrant and an undependable ally; Leopold, at whose insistence the war is being fought, has retired to his music and become a burden to the allies, and Poland is plundered by the Swedes, while Sweden is attacked by the Czar.

A similar concern with the order of international affairs continues into 1706 when Aesop in Europe makes "a General Survey, of the present Posture of Affairs in England, Scotland, France, Holland, Germany, Hungary, Spain, Portugal, Savoy, Italy" in a collection of 26 original fables.

This collection is concerned with keeping order at home and defeating Louis (and Rome) abroad. The fables dealing with each of the foreign countries are concerned with the outcome of the war and with the alliances that will bring about Louis's defeat. In one case, however, there are clearly mixed feelings. The alliance between Holland and England receives unqualified support in Fable XII (C1317), the tale of two cocks whose "Safety consisted in mutual Love." Fable XIII (C1318), however, tells the tale of two men who strip for a fight and afterward find that their clothes have been stolen. Similarly, says the Moral:

While England and France, are commending a Pother,
And strive to impoverish, and ruin each other;
While their Forces are spent and their Banks are
decay'd,
The Dutch run away with their Treasure and Trade.

The next major collection, Bickerstaff's Aesop: or, the Humours of the Times (1709), an expansion of Aesop at Oxford, published earlier in the same year, returns to conditions in England. Aesop abandons the wells, recalling the earliest Grub Street collections from Bath, Tunbridge and Epsom, and makes his way to Oxford where in the character of Isaac Bickerstaff, he joins in a variety of current debates on the Tory side.

The character of Isaac Bickerstaff is, of course, drawn from the work of Jonathan Swift and Richard Steele, in the Partridge Papers and The Tatler respectively; in the preface, the fabulist refers to himself as "Prophet-Fabler and Tatler." Although, according to the National Union Catalogue: Pre-1956 Imprints, the collection is "probably the work of Richard Steele," it is apparently correctly attributed to the Tory propagandist William Pittis in the catalogue of the Bodleian Library.²⁴ The author indicates his involvement in the controversies of the period by

²⁴See T. F. M. Newton, "William Pittis and Queen Anne Journalism," MP, XXXIII (1936), 291-92. Newton accepts Bickerstaff's Aesop as Pittis's work on the grounds of an advertisement in The London Gazette, December 9, 1708, which credits him with Aesop at Oxford. The advertisement was placed in the name of Thomas Lewis, Esq., Member of Parliament for Whitchurch in Hampshire, to whom Aesop at Oxford was dedicated. Lewis expresses his disapproval of the book and denies any knowledge of Pittis.

calling one of his fables, an attack on absurd prophesy, "A Present for John Partridge" (C324), and another, "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters" (C1338). In the latter, he applies to the controversy over the Occasional Conformity Bill the fable of the boy who learns that nettles must be grasped firmly rather than handled gently:

Laws will effect what Doctrines cannot do;
 Make Villains honest, and make Rebels true;
 Dissenters, the Church-Liturgy would use all,
 Were they fin'd handsomely for their Refusal;
 And we may ask our Betters, where the Harm is,
 To make Men go to Heaven Vi & Armis?

When we consider that both the title and the sentiment are borrowed from Defoe, we are perhaps entitled to credit this fabulist with an ironic sense far more acute than has been found in his predecessors. His literary sense is also sharp, as we find in his description of the Universities through a parody of the opening lines of The Hind and the Panther:

Two Milk-white Hinds, with Age and Honour crown'd,
 Had long for an Alliance been renown'd,
 While they without Contention, sep'rate fed,
 And each distinctly graz'd its proper Mead.
 The same their Pasture, as the same their Kind,
 In Want, in Plenty, and in Danger join'd.
 Fortune a-like to both profusely gave,
 And neither could her farther Bounty crave,
 Since all the Riches of the Field were theirs,
 Their Blessings equal, and alike their Cares.
 ("Aesop's Thanks": C1336)

The Bickerstaff collection leans heavily on the tradition and borrows some of its fables from earlier collections. It makes no particular use of the collective structure, nor of the character of Aesop. Rather, it is a

series of statements on events of the day, some of which would perhaps have been more effective had they been published independently. Already others had begun publishing political fables outside of collections as broadsides or in journals, so that the characteristic use of fable in the last years of Anne's reign is to be found in such individual exchanges as A Fable of the Widow and her Cat and When the Cat's Away the Mice May Play which deal with the dismissal of Marlborough.

The verse fable collection did not immediately disappear from the political scene. Aesop at the Bell-Tavern in Westminster: or, a Present from the October-Club in a few Select Fables from Sir Roger L'Estrange appeared in 1711. It consisted, however, of fifteen borrowings from Canterbury Tales (1701) and Bickerstaff's Aesop (1709), adding only two fables of its own. In the first, a version of the tale of the ass imitating a spaniel (C13), George Ridpath is characterized as the ass imitating the dog, Sir Roger L'Estrange.²⁵ The only completely original fable in the collection is an allegorical parliament of birds, who discuss the perennial problem of succession and solve it in favour of the Pretender.

Aesop went to Utrecht in 1712 and produced two fables which were presented as a collection, Aesop at

²⁵It may be only coincidental that L'Estrange was characterized in the political controversy of his day as a dog named Towser.

Utrecht. Both are allegories of the confrontation between Anne and Louis XIV and have morals which insist upon the necessity of containing the ambition and treachery of a prince who is both haughty and faithless.

When Anne died in 1714, Aesop went into mourning and produced Aesop in Mourning; or five select fables relating to the times, praising Anne and warning the country against those who would take advantage of her death to further their own interests.

Finally, in 1718, there appeared Aesop in Masquerade, a collection derived mainly from Canterbury Tales, Bickerstaff's Aesop and Aesop at the Bell-Tavern in Westminster. Ironically, however, it also borrowed from Aesop at Tunbridge, the first of the Grub Street collections. The career of the political verse fable collection had come full circle.

The extent of the borrowing which characterizes the later collections suggests that old issues were being dredged up for party support, particularly in Tory attempts to discredit the firmly entrenched Whigs. Current issues could be fought more efficiently in journals and broadsides which would be circulated more quickly.²⁶

Despite their literary lapses, the Grub Street Aesops brought the colloquial verse fable into the public

²⁶For a detailed account of fables in the journals of the eighteenth century, see George E. Bush, Jr., The Fable in the English Periodical, 1660-1800 (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, St. John's University, 1965).

arena and made it a tool which would be used for political propaganda and literary satire throughout the century. By the time the last of these collections had appeared, the Tory satirists had adopted the form, Swift had long since borrowed the character of Aesop for his "Battle of the Books," and John Gay was soon to combine the satiric qualities of contemporary English verse fable with the social concerns of the then popular French fabulists. Mandeville had also shown his interest in the fable with his translations of La Fontaine, published in 1703 and 1704.²⁷ With his publication in 1705 of The Grumbling Hive he had begun the long process which was to culminate in the final version of The Fable of the Bees (which might be described as the fable with the longest moral ever written).

²⁷Some Fables after the Easie and Familiar Method of Monsieur de la Fontaine, 1703, and Aesop Dress'd; or a Collection of Fables Writ in Familiar Verse, 1704.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The development which took place in English fable collections between 1651 and 1722 left the fable a flexible literary form. The fabulists became aware of the character of Aesop as a wise commentator on current affairs and used him to reflect myriad opinions on the state of English society and politics. Aesop's role in the Grub Street political controversies made him such a popular character that he was borrowed by other authors to give the weight of his legendary wisdom to their non-fabulous works. By bestowing a contemporary point of view upon him, the fabulists also made Aesop more effective as a unifying force within the political collections.

The unity which Aesop's voice gave the fable collection became one of the most significant characteristics of the political collections of the period, and this was accomplished in several ways. In the small pamphlet collections, fables were selected for their pertinence to contemporary affairs, and the stories as a group became representative of a single party position, showing that party's stand on an assortment of controversial issues. The larger collections, on the other hand, tended to treat

the fables as a reflection of life as a whole and interpreted them within the framework of a broad political and social philosophy. The consistency of both types of application was achieved, in large part, through the explicit moral which is a necessary part of the genre. Many of the fabulists used the traditional fables of the Aesopian canon, transforming their accepted general applications into comments on specific current events. Others found the moral application of each fable a convenient launching pad for a lengthy essay on some aspect of their particular political philosophies.

Many fabulists, however, found the details of the traditional Aesopian stories equally valuable for expressing their political opinions, either through the creation of more or less elaborate allegories from the brief fictions of the originals or through the use of allusion which linked a character or an event with contemporary affairs. Further expansions of this technique led some fabulists to forge links not only between the fable and the specific events of his own time and place, but also between those events and incidents from myth and history, giving current events universal significance. The allegorical and allusive uses of fable were usually satiric, leaning sometimes toward the darker satiric implications of fable, the bestial aspects of humanity, and at other times toward the lighter side, the humorous depiction of animals who behave like identifiable human beings.

The fabulists' recognition of the unity which could be achieved in the fable collection manifested itself in some structural developments as well. Within the larger collections, they began to group fables together according to their narrative or thematic resemblances, and patterns began to emerge from the haphazard arrangement of the traditional collection. Recurring images tied fables together in the narrative patterns of Ogilby's work, for example, while in L'Estrange's Fables and in some of the Grub Street collections, we find recurring allusions to such events as the Civil War and the Revolution of 1688 as touchstones for testing the true nature of current political events. The beheading of Charles I is an event which pervades the fable collections, providing a significant allusion whatever may be the political leanings of the fabulist.

Essential to all of these refinements of the fable collections was the translation of the traditional fables into colloquial language. The neutral language of the academic translators had produced translations which were notable more for their grammatical precision than for the vitality of their narration, while colloquial language provided both political allusion and details of characterization which linked the fables with contemporary life.

Where the fable tradition did not offer stories which could be transformed into a reflection of contemporary events, the fabulists of the period wrote new fables to accommodate new ideas. By 1722, the English canon

contained a wide variety of new fables of English origin. Among them were fables written to satirize other developments in English literature, and particularly in political literature. The most striking example is the recurring parodic treatment of the opening of Dryden's The Hind and the Panther, an indication of the fabulists' particular responsiveness to other literature which used fables. The ~~Grub~~ Street Aesops conducted political debates among themselves in which a single fable, usually a traditional one, was subjected to a variety of interpretations in which each fabulist would interpret the fable to suit his political leanings while he parodied the interpretation of the fabulist(s) before him.

Before the end of Queen Anne's reign, such exchanges began to appear in individual fable debates in periodicals and broadsides. Early examples of these include the exchanges over A Tale of a Nettle in 1710, the Fable of a Widow and her Cat answered by When the Cat's Away the Mice Will Play, 1712, and a series of fables which appeared between 1710 and 1718, all of which involved blackbirds. Such exchanges occurred off and on throughout the century; there was an exchange of fables about an oak and a dunghill in 1727; Jonathan Swift and Dr. Patrick Delaney exchanged their fables about the pheasant and the lark in 1730; several monkey fables appeared in the 1740's, and exchanges of fables about lions appear off and on from the 1760's to the turn of the century.

The influence of the political fables, however, had been modified by the popularity of the French fabulists whose works began to be translated in growing numbers. A new translation of the fables of Baudoin was published in 1704,¹ La Fontaine's fables gradually became extremely popular, although the entire collection appears not to have been published in English until the nineteenth century, and two French fable collections, by Antoine Houdar de la Motte and François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon, appeared in translation in 1721 and 1722. The French fables, with their concern for the education of social man, may have been responsible, along with the influence of the popular Croxall collection and the support of Addison in The Spectator,² for the increased popularity of fable as a mode of discussing general social behaviour.

Fables began to become a regular feature in both journals and poetical miscellanies, and by the 1740's began to appear in such non-academic collections for children as Entertaining Fables for Little Masters and Misses, 1747. The 1740's also saw the beginning of the movement of fable into the realm of the social behaviour of ladies. Edward Moore's Fables for the Female Sex appeared in 1744 and was followed in due course by such collections as Fables and

¹ The Baudoin collection, originally published in French in 1631, is believed to have been translated in part by William Barret in 1639. See David G. Hale, "William Barret's The Fables of Aesop," PBSA, LXIV (1970), 285.

² Number 183.

Tales for the Ladies, 1750, and New Fables Invented for the Amusement of Young Ladies, 1754.

Sentimentality too played a role in the fables written for ladies, although it seems to have spent itself in a frenzy of activity between 1771 and 1773. During this period there appeared three emblematic collections, John Langhorne's Fables of Flora, 1771, John Huddleston Wynne's Fables of Flowers, 1773, and The Passions Personify'd in Fables, 1773, as well as at least three other collections whose titles declared them Sentimental Fables or Moral and Sentimental Fables.³ That the gentlemen might not be outdone, John Hall-Stevenson produced three fable collections: Fables for Grown Gentlemen, 1761, Makarony Fables, 1768, and Fables for Grown Gentlemen, Part II, 1770, all of which return to the use of fable for political satire.

Apart from the fables written exclusively for women and children and those directed specifically to gentlemen, two more popular general collections appeared later in the century: Robert Dodsley's Select Fables of Esop and other Fabulists, 1761, and Thomas Bewick's Select Fables, 1784, a collection of borrowings, many of them from Croxall, illustrated with Bewick's famous wood-cuts.⁴ Less successful

³ Thomas Marryat, Sentimental Fables, 1771; William Russell, Fables Moral and Sentimental, 1772. John Cosens, The Economy of Beauty; in a Series of Fables, 1772, appears to belong to this same general classification. An additional collection, Sentimental Fables; translated from the French, appeared in 1775.

⁴ Not the same as the better known Fables of Aesop published in 1818.

than either of these collections was Samuel Richardson's attempt, in 1741, to return Aesop to his natural state by purging L'Estrange's and Croxall's fables of their political biases.⁵ The collection was less successful than either, doubtless because both L'Estrange and Croxall had won popularity with their firm political stands, and because the English audience had come to prefer its fables to have a recognizable attitude toward English life.⁶

For this reason, perhaps, political fables continued to appear throughout the century,⁷ though none exceeded in popularity the two collections by John Gay published in 1727 and 1738.⁸ Gay's collections contained a total of 67 original fables (including the one which appears in the "Introduction to the Fables"), some of which are clearly related to the Aesopian tradition. An example of this can

⁵Aesop's Fables with Instructive Morals and Reflections, Abstracted from all Party Considerations, Adapted to all Capacities; and Designed to Promote Religion, Morality, and Universal Benevolence. As Wray notes, this is the Aesop which is "puffed" in Richardson's Pamela.

⁶Richardson's collection was translated into German by G. E. Lessing and seems to have enjoyed some popularity on the Continent.

⁷In addition to John Hall-Stevenson's collections and the individual exchanges mentioned above, fables were taken up by John Wolcot in at least one of his miscellanies, Pathetic Odes, 1794. Other political fable collections of the 1790's are Select Fables of Aesop addressed to every Man in the Kingdom, 1792, and Aesop an Alarmist, 1794.

⁸Gay is not treated in detail here because the intention of the dissertation has been to describe the development of the fable collection before Gay, whose Fables have received a good deal of critical attention.

be found in "The Tame Stag" (I, xiii), in which the traditional fable of the stag who is caught by his antlers is turned into the tale of a young maiden who becomes a prostitute. In this example, Gay is working not only out of the traditional story (C36), but doubtless also out of the interpretation of the fable as it is found in Samuel Croxall's version.⁹

Gay's work combines many of the characteristics which English fable collections had assumed during the century before it was published, leading Dr. Johnson to complain that "For a Fable he gives now and then a Tale or an abstracted Allegory; and from some, by whatever name they may be called, it will be difficult to extract any moral principle."¹⁰ That the Fables had, nevertheless, achieved a successful accommodation of the genre to English verse is confirmed by Johnson's allowing that "they are, however, told with liveliness; the versification is smooth, and the diction, though now and then a little constrained by the measure or the rhyme, is generally happy."¹¹

The popularity of Gay's Fables, blending as they do political satire with gentler admonitions to social virtue and the humour of such absurd situations as that of "The

⁹See above, p. 172.

¹⁰Samuel Johnson, The Lives of the Poets, 2 vols., No. 84 in Oxford World's Classics (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), II, 68.

¹¹Ibid.

Elephant and the Bookseller" (Fab. I:x), is attested in the publication over the next century and a half of more than 350 editions.¹² Gay's Fables represent, for the development of the verse fable collection, a similar achievement to that of Croxall in prose. For the readers of both, as time has passed, the political milieu in which they were written has become relatively unimportant, but because of their roots in the political life of their time, the fables themselves express English sentiments. They are Englishmen's solutions to the problems of English society, and as such represent the culmination of the development of English fable since 1651.

¹²John Gay: Poetry and Prose, 2 vols., ed. Vinton A. Dearing and Charles E. Beckwith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), II, 619.

APPENDIX A

A Catalogue of Fables in English Collections from Caxton to Croxall

The catalogue uses as its base the 372 fables and their variations which appear in the traditional "school" Aesop, Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae, the earliest extant English edition of which is dated 1635.¹ Other fables have been added to the basic catalogue in the order in which they first appeared in English, commencing with Caxton's collection of 1484 and including all the available collections which appeared up to 1722, the year in which Samuel Croxall's edition was published.

In addition to the assigned catalogue numbers, the list also includes references to the Aesopian fables as they are catalogued by Ben Edwin Perry in the English version of the fables of his Aesopica, the appendix to the Loeb Classical Library edition of Babrius and Phaedrus.²

The reader will notice that some fables which are treated separately by Perry have been grouped under a

¹Sir Roger L'Estrange used a base of 383 fables from Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae. For the purposes of this catalogue, eleven of these have been treated as variations on other stories in the collection.

²Ben Edwin Perry, Babrius and Phaedrus (London: William Heinemann and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965).

single classification in this catalogue. The reason for this is a tendency on the part of the English fabulists to combine the elements of the traditional stories or to substitute one for the other. A common classification seemed to be the least confusing method of indicating the close relationship which exists among these tales.

Sources of Fables in Catalogue

<u>Source</u>	<u>Catalogue Nos.</u>
Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae (1635)	1-372
William Caxton. Fables (1484)	373-431
Dialogues of Creatures Moralis'd (c. 1535)	432-553
Thomas Blage. A Schole of Wyse Conceytes (1569)	554-654
Robert Henryson. Morall Fabillis (1570)	655-657
H.P. Aesop's Fables (1646)	658-664
John Ogilby. Fables of Aesop (1651)	665-666
John Ogilby. Aesopics (1668)	667-673
Aesop Explained (1682)	675
Philip Ayres. Mythologia Ethica (1689)	676-778
Nathaniel Crouch. Delightful Fables (1691)	779-787
Sir Roger L'Estrange. Fables (1692)	788-857
Aesop Naturaliz'd (1697)	858-860
Benjamin Harris. Fables of Young Aesop (1697)	861-899
Walter Pope. Moral and Political Fables (1698)	900-907
Aesop at Epsom (1698)	908
Aesop at Tunbridge (1698)	909-911
Aesop at Bathe (1698)	912-916
Old Aesop at Whitehal (1698)	917-921
Aesop Return'd from Tunbridge (1698)	922-925
Aesop at Amsterdam (1698)	926-935
Aesop from Islington (1699)	936-939
Sir Roger L'Estrange. Fables and Stories (1699)	940-1198
Canterbury Tales (1701)	1199-1205
Aesop in Spain (1701)	1206-1212
Prince Perkin the 2d (1702)	1213-1222
Thomas Yalden. Aesop at Court (1702)	1223-1224
Fables Moral and Political (1703)	1225-1258
Bernard Mandeville. Aesop Dress'd (1703)	1259-1262
Aesop in Scotland (1704)	1263-1267
Aesop the Wanderer (1704)	1268-1278
Aesop at Portugal (1704)	1279-1287
Fables of Phaedrus (1705)	1290-1304
Aesop in Europe (1706)	1305-1330
Edmund Arwaker. Truth in Fiction (1708)	1331-1334
Bickerstaff's Aesop (1709)	1335-1340
Aesop at the Bell-Tavern (1711)	1341
Aesop Naturaliz'd (1711)	1342-1353
Aesop at Utrecht	1354-1355
Aesop in Mourning (1714)	1356-1360
Translation of La Motte's Fables (1721)	1361-1455
Samuel Croxall. Fables (1722)	1456
Allan Ramsay. Fables (1722)	1457-1460
Translation of Fénelon's Fables (1722)	1461-1496

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
1.	503	The Cock and the Precious Stone
2.	155	The Wolf and the Lamb at the Stream
3.	-	The Battle of the Frog and Mouse
4.	133	The Dog and the Shadow
5.	339	The Lion and Other Beasts
6.	156	The Wolf and the Crane
7.	176	The Man who Warmed a Snake
8.	484	The Ass Insults the Boar (Lion)
9.	352	The Country Mouse and the City Mouse
10.	490	The Eagle and the Crow
11.	124	The Fox and the Crow
12.	481	The Old Lion, Boar, Bull and Ass
13.	91	The Ass who Would be Playmate to his Master
14.	150	The Lion and the Mouse
15.	324	The Sick Crow (Kite)
16.	39	The Wise Swallow and the other Birds
17.	44	The Frogs ask Jupiter for a King
18.	486	The Kite and the Doves
19.	403	The Dog and the Thief
20.	547	The Sow Giving Birth and the Wolf.
21.	520	The Mountain in Labour
22.	532	The Old Dog and the Hunter
23.	138	The Hares and the Frogs
24.	572	The Kid and the Wolf
25.	477	The Sheep, the Stag and the Wolf
26.	51	The Farmer and the Snake
27.	426	The Fox and the Stork
28.	27	The Fox and the Actor's Mask
29.	472	The Vainglorious Jay and the Peacock
30.	521	The Ant and the Fly
31.	376	The Frog Puffing Herself up to equal an Ox
32.	187	The Wolf as Physician/The Lion as Physician
33.	565	The Disdainful Horse
34.	566	The Bat in the War Between Birds and Beasts
35.	568	The Envious Fox and the Wolf
36.	74	The Stag at the Fountain
37.	93	The Viper and the File
38.	153	The Wolves and Sheep
39.	302	The Oak Trees and Zeus
40.	130	The Belly and the Members
41.	533	The Ape and the Fox
42.	492	The Stag and the Oxen
43.	142	The Aged Lion and the Fox
44.	24	The Fox with a Swollen Belly and the Weasel
45.	269	The Stag, the Horse and the Hunter
46.	66	The Youngsters and the Butcher (Cook)
47.	254	The Dog and the Butcher
48.	478	The Sheep, the Dog and the Wolf
49.	-	The Wolf, the Lamb and the Goat
50.	50	The Young Man and his Cat

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
51.	53	The Faggots
52.	181	The Ass and the Horse
53.	29	The Charcoal Dealer and the Fuller
54.	115	The Fowler and the Asp
55.	370	The Trumpeter
56.	346	The Wolf (Lion) and the Well-fed Dog
57.	52	The Farmer and his Dogs
58.	10	The Fox and the Lion
59.	1	The Eagle, the Fox and the Firebrand
60.	194	The Farmer and the Stork
61.	16	The Cat and the Cock
62.	210	The Boy who Cried Wolf
63.	2	The Eagle Imitated by the Jackdaw
64.	702	The Dog in the Manger
65.	553	The Crow and the Sheep
66.	509	The Peacock Complains to Juno
67.	511	The Weasel and the Mice
68.	-	An Old Tree Transplanted
69.	141	The Lion and the Frog
70.	235	The Ant and the Dove
71.	219	The Jackdaw Speaks against the Peacock
72.	114	The Physician at a Funeral
73.	149	The Lion, the Ass and the Fox
74.	98	The Kid on a House-top and the Wolf
75.	179	The Ass and the Gardener
76.	55	The Woman and her Overworked Maidservants
77.	357	The Ass that Envied the Horse
78.	157	The Wolf (Lion) and the Goat
79.	577	The Crow and other Birds at Dinner
80.	228	The Geese and the Cranes
81.	364	The Ape-Mother and Zeus
82.	70	The Oak and the Reed/Elm and Willow
83.	18	The Fisherman and the Little Fish
84.	373	The Ant and the Grasshopper
85.	217	The Bull and the Wild Goat
86.	158	The Wolf and the Old Nurse
87.	230	The Turtle takes Lessons from the Eagle
88.	322	The Crab and her Mother
89.	46	The Sun and the North Wind
90.	188/358	The Ass in the Lion's Skin
91.	289	The Frog (Worm) Physician
92.	332	The Dog with a Bell on its Neck
93.	117	The Camel who Wanted Horns
94.	65	The Travellers and the Bear
95.	375	The Baldheaded Horseman
96.	378	The Two Pots
97.	61	Fortune and the Farmer
98.	218	The Ape's Twin Offspring
99.	294	The Crane and the Peacock
100.	340	The Lion and the Bowman

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
101.	372	Three (Four) Bulls and a Lion
102.	304	The Fir Tree and the Bramble
103.	325	The Lark and her Young
104.	580	The Covetous Man and the Envious Man
105.	390	The Crow and the Pitcher
106.	284	The Man and the Lion Travelling Together
107.	581	The Boy and the Thief
108.	582	The Farmer and his Ox
109.	35	Blowing Hot and Cold
110.	583	The Pig Without a Heart
111.	353	The Mouse and the Bull/Ox and Rat
112.	291	The Ox-Driver and Hercules
113.	87	The Goose that Laid the Golden Eggs
114.	300	The Steer and the Bull
115.	584	The River Fish and the Sea Fish
116.	12	The Fox and the Leopard
117.	605	A Fox with Many Tricks and a Cat with One
118.	463	The Dancing Apes
119.	-	Two Travellers Fight Over an Ass
120.	-	Mercury and the Fishermen
121.	3	The Eagle and the Beetle
122.	437	The Owl and the Birds
123.	-	The Gourd and the Pine
124.	-	The Raven and the Wolves
125.	-	Arion and the Dolphin
126.	587	The Flea (Spider) and the Gout
127.	-	A Mouse that Lived in a Chest
128.	-	The Husbandman asks for Corn without Beards
129.	-	The Hawk and the Farmer
130.	-	A Spider tries to Catch a Swallow
131.	723	The Rustic Seeking to Cross the River
132.	-	The Pigeon and the Pye
133.	-	The Hawk and the Cuckoo
134.	476	The Ass Refuses to Flee an Enemy
135.	453	The Wolf and Shepherds/Fox and Gossips
136.	-	Capons Fat and Lean
137.	-	Oxen and a Piece of Timber
138.	-	Trees Straight and Crooked
139.	-	The Swan and the Stork
140.	-	The Inconsolable Widow
141.	-	A Wench Parting with Her Sweetheart
142.	724	A Fly on a Chariot
143.	-	An Eel and a Snake
144.	-	An Ass, an Ape and a Mole
145.	-	Seamen Praying to the Saints
146.	725	Out of the Frying Pan into the Fire
147.	-	A League of Beasts and Fishes
148.	-	A Covetous Ambassador
149.	-	An Old Friend and a Cardinal
150.	-	A Young Droll and a Crooked Old Man

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
151.	-	The Old Fellow and His Young Wife
152.	-	An Eagle and a Pye
153.	-	A Thrush and a Swallow
154.	-	A Countryman and a Mouse
155.	-	A Sick Hermit
156.	-	A Rich Man and a Foolish Servant
157.	-	A Widow Had a Mind to Marry
158.	-	Town Dogs and Country Dogs
159.	-	The Old Woman and the Devil
160.	-	Frogs Envied by Tortoises
161.	-	The Mice and the Oak
162.	-	The Runaway Dog and his Master
163.	-	Birds and Beetles
164.	-	The Bear and the Bees
165.	-	A Fowler and a Chaffinch
166.	-	A Soldier and Two Horses
167.	-	A Spaniel and a Sow
168.	-	Oxen and Timber
169.	-	A Goldfinch (Linnet) and a Boy
170.	-	A Droll and a Bishop
171.	-	A Lapwing Preferred
172.	-	A Priest and Pears
173.	-	A Horse and a Hog
174.	-	A Huntsman and a Currier
175.	-	A Hermit and a Soldier
176.	-	A Husband and Wife Twice Married
177.	-	The Fatal Marriage
178.	-	Wax and Brick
179.	207	The Shepherd and the Sea
180.	-	An Ass Puts in for an Office
181.	-	The River and the Fountain
182.	662	The Thief and Satan
183.	-	The Council of Birds for Choosing More Kings
184.	-	A Woman Who Would Die for Her Husband
185.	205	The Hired Mourners
186.	-	A Jealous Husband
187.	-	A Man that Would Not Take a Glister
188.	392	The Sick Donkey and the Wolf Physician
189.	-	Three Things Better for Beating
190.	-	An Ass Wishes the Year Away
191.	716	The Mouse, her Daughter, a Rooster and a Cat
192.	-	An Ass and an Ungrateful Master
193.	-	The Wolf and the Porcupine
194.	-	The Mouse and the Kite
195.	-	A Tortoise and Jupiter
196.	-	The Porcupine and the Snake
197.	-	A Fox and a Hare to Jupiter
198.	-	An Old Man Resolved to Give Over Whoring
199.	-	An Impertinent and a Philosopher
200.	-	A Wolf in Sheepskin

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
201.	-	An Incurrible Son
202.	-	The Sheep Biter
203.	-	The Bull and the Ram.
204.	-	A Widow and a Green Ass
205.	-	The Eagle and the Rabbits
206.	-	A Pike Sets Up for Sovereignty
207.	-	A Sheep Picks a Quarrel with a Shepherd
208.	-	The Creaking Wheel
209.	-	A Man Had a Mind to Try His Friends
210.	-	A Fox Praises Hares' Flesh
211.	360	An Ass Eating Thorns
212.	-	A Plain Horse Wins the Prize
213.	-	A Countryman, A Kid and a Barrister
214.	-	A Weak Young Man and a Wolf
215.	-	A Lad Robbing an Orchard
216.	4/567	The Nightingale and the Hawk
217.	-	A Lion and a Hog
218.	-	A Gnat and a Bee.
219.	-	A Lion, an Ass and a Hare
220.	-	Pigeons Reconcile Hawks
221.	-	A Woman that Brought Fire into the House
222.	-	A Corrupt Officer
223.	-	An Old Man Willing to Put Off Death
224.	-	A Miser and His Bags
225.	9	The Fox and Goat in the Well
226.	23	The Cocks and the Partridge
227.	33	The Braggart Home from Rhodes
228.	36	The Evil Man and the Oracle
229.	58	The Woman and Her Overfed Hen
230.	64	The Wrong Remedy for Dog Bite
231.	118	The Beaver
232.	113	The Tunny and the Dolphin
233.	161	A Fortune Teller Whose House Was Robbed
234.	170	A Patient Dying of Good Symptoms
235.	193	The Fowler and the Lark.
236.	178	The Traveller's Offering to Hermes
237.	200	The Thief and His Mother
238.	363	The Boy and the Painted Lion
239.	17	The Fox Without a Tail
240.	19	The Fox and the Bramble
241.	20	The Fox and the Crocodile
242.	22	The Fox and the Woodcutter
243.	285	The Man Who Broke a Statue of Hermes
244.	328	The Dog at a Banquet
245.	-	An Eagle, a Fox and a Man
246.	42	A Farmer's Bequest to his Sons
247.	11	The Fisherman Pipes to the Fish
248.	21	The Fisherman and the Tunny
249.	28	A Cheater Tries to Cheat the Gods
250.	13	The Fishermen with a Net Full of Stones

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
251.	60	The Old Man and Death
252.	57	A Physician and an Old Woman with Sore Eyes
253.	68	Two Enemies at Sea
254.	174	Fortune and the Traveller by the Well
255.	79	The Cat and the Mice
256.	81	The Ape King and the Fox
257.	101	The Jackdaw in Borrowed Feathers
258.	415	The Dog and the Smith
259.	315	The Mule Forgets His Ancestry
260.	134	The Sleeping Dog and the Wolf
261.	143	The Lion Invites the Bull to Dinner
262.	140	The Lion in Love
263.	257	The Lioness and the Vixen
264.	281	The Fighting Cocks and the Eagle
265.	351	The Stag and the Fawn
266.	163	Zeus and the Bees
267.	167	The Fly in the Pot of Soup (Mouse)
268.	169	The Prodigal Young Man and the Swallow
269.	173	Hermes and the Woodcutter
270.	573	The Domestic Snake
271.	7	The Cat (Fox) as Physician and the Herbs
272.	15	The Fox and the Grapes
273.	199	The Boy and the Scorpion
274.	265	The Fowler and the Traitorous Partridge
275.	226	The Tortoise and the Hare
276.	303	The Woodcutters and the Pine
277.	213	The Apple Tree, Pomegranate and Bramble
278.	214	The Mole
279.	215	The Wasps and the Partridge
280.	221	Zeus and the Snake's Wedding Gift
281.	272	A Man and a Flea
282.	231	The Athlete and the Flea
283.	31	A Middle-Aged Man and His Two Mistresses
284.	34	Impossible Promises
285.	43	Two Frogs in Search of Water
286.	252	The Dog, the Rooster and the Fox
287.	147	The Lion, the Bear and a Fawn
288.	171	The Bat, the Bramble and the Cormorant
289.	224	The Wild Boar and the Fox
290.	251	A Lark Captured for the Theft of One Grain
291.	225	The Miser
292.	75	The One-eyed Stag
293.	76	The Stag and the Lion in a Cave
294.	77	The Stag (Goat) and the Vine
295.	82	The Ass, the Cock and the Lion
296.	120	The Gardener and His Dog
297.	222	The Sow and the Bitch
298.	223	A Sow and a Bitch Discuss Fecundity
299.	196	The Snake and the Crab
300.	267	A Shepherd and a Wolf Brought Up with Dogs

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
301.	258/585/698	The Sick Lion, the Wolf and the Fox.
302.	246	The Wife and Her Drunken Husband
303.	399	A Swan Caught Instead of a Goose
304.	393	The Aethiopian
305.	229	The Swallow and the Crow Discuss Beauty
306.	48	The Nightingale and the Bat
307.	54	Snails in the Fire
308.	56	The Witch or Trial
309.	67	The Wayfarers Who Found an Axe (Money)
310.	69	Two Frogs Were Neighbours
311.	72	The Beekeeper
312.	25	The Kingfisher's Nest Destroyed
313.	26	Fishing in Troubled Waters
314.	73	The Ape and the Dolphin
315.	80	Flies in the Honey
316.	88	Mercury and the Statuary
317.	89	Hermes and Tiresias
318.	92	A Hunting Dog, and a House Dog
319.	95	The Ill-Tempered Wife
320.	97	The Goat and the Wolf as Musician
321.	116	The Crab and the Fox
322.	121	The Cithara Player
323.	122	The Thieves and the Cock
324.	125	The Crow Pretends to be a Raven
325.	127	The Crow and the Dog
326.	128	The Crow and the Snake
327.	129	The Jackdaw and the Pigeons
328.	131	The Jackdaw Flying from Captivity
329.	103	Mercury and the Artisans
330.	109	Zeus and Shame
331.	106	Zeus and the Turtle
332.	160	The Disabled Wolf and the Sheep
333.	256	Hares and Foxes
334.	166	The Ant Once a Man
335.	172	The Bat and the Two Weasels
336.	177	The Driftwood on the Sea
337.	183/411	The Wild Ass and the Tame Ass
338.	185	The Donkeys' Petition to Zeus
339.	189	The Ass and the Frogs
340.	190	The Ass, the Crow and the Wolf
341.	191	The Fox Betrays the Ass
342.	192	The Hen and the Swallow
343.	195	The Camel Seen for the First Time
344.	198	Zeus and the Downtrodden Snake
345.	201	The Pigeon and the Picture
346.	202	The Pigeon and the Crow
347.	208	A Shepherd and Sheep who Ate his Cloak
348.	49	The Herdsman Who Lost a Calf
349.	276	The Wounded Eagle
350.	255	The Mosquito (Gnat) and the Lion

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
351.	-	Industry and Sloth Tempt a Young Man
352.	671	The Cock, the Fox and the General Peace
353.	681	The Contentious Wife
354.	682	The Contrary Wife
355.	-	The Bishop and the Curate Bury a Dog.
356.	-	Husband, Wife and Ghostly Father
357.	721	Father, Son and Donkey
358.	-	The Devil and a Man Who Dreamt of Gold
359.	-	A Man Who Would Kill a Hog
360.	-	A Florentine that Bought a Horse
361.	-	A Pagan at Mass
362.	722	Teaching an Ass How to Read
363.	-	A Priest and the Epiphany
364.	-	A Tavern Reckoning Paid with a Song
365.	-	A Friar, a Laique and a Wolf
366.	-	A Priest Consoles a Sick Man
367.	-	A Madman Cured and a Falconer
368.	-	A Country Fellow Climbing a Tree
369.	-	One who Lost Money and Clothes at a Play
370.	-	A Blinkard Buying of Wheat
371.	-	A Countryman Counts His Asses
372.	-	A Man Carries the Plough to Ease his Oxen
373.	384	The Mouse and the Frog
374.	314	The Frogs Fear the Sun Will Marry
375.	480	The Dog and Her Puppies
376.	506	A Lamb, a Wolf and a Goat
377.	525	The Bald Man and the Fly
378.	498	The Fly and the Mule
379.	474	The Wolf and the Fox Before Judge Ape
380.	293	The Weasel Caught
381.	563	Androcles and the Lion
382.	539	Juno, Venus and the Hen
383.	543	The Knight and the Widow
384.	555	The Young Man and the Common Woman
385.	540	The Father and the Evil Son
386.	164	The Mendicant Priests
387.	514	The Rule of King Lion
388.	494	The Panther and the Shepherds
389.	575	The Wethers and the Butcher
390.	576	The Fowler and the Birds
391.	569	The King of the Apes
392.	161	The Lion and the Ass Hunting
393.	-	The Hedgehog and the Little Kids
394.	137	The Gnat and the Bull
395.	579	The Sword and the Passerby
396.	638	The Ass with a Privilege
397.	694	The Little Boar
398.	562	The Cock and the Fox
399.	640	The Countryman and the Dragon
400.	695	The He-Goat and the Wolf

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
401.	696	The Wolf and the Ass
402.	697	The Serpent as Adviser
403.	699	The Wolf's Misfortunes
404.	701	The Dog and the Wolf
405.	703	Three Sors Dividing an Inheritance
406.	704	The Little Fox Under the Wolf's Tutelage
407.	705	The Dog, the Wolf and the Ram
408.	707	The Knight and his Mendacious Squire
409.	-	The Rustick and the Untameable Ox
410.	-	The Wind and an Earthen Vessel
411.	-	The Commission of Pecuny or Money
412.	-	A Sentence Upon a Dark and Obscure Cause
413.	-	A Poor Man Finds Some Money
414.	-	Three Dreaming Travellers
415.	-	The Labourer and the Nightingale
416.	-	The Rhetorician and a Crook-backed Man
417.	-	The Disciple and the Sheep
418.	593	The Fox and the Wolf in the Well
419.	-	The Man, the Mother and his Wife
420.	-	The Old Harlot
421.	-	The Blind Man and his Wife
422.	-	The Tailor, the King and his Servants
423.	-	A Woman Deceiving her Husband
424.	-	The Woman and the Hypocrite
425.	-	A Young Woman who Accused her Husband
426.	-	The Recitation of Some Monsters
427.	-	Two Women Quarrel Over Cloth
428.	-	The Coat of Arms
429.	-	Medicine Helps Find an Ass
430.	-	A Widow Marries a Widower
431.	-	Two Priests
432.	-	Of the Sun and the Moon
433.	-	Of Saturn and the Cloud
434.	-	Of the Star Called Transmontagne
435.	-	Of the Evening Star and the Morning Star
436.	-	Of the Rainbow and a Sign Called Cancer
437.	-	Of Heaven and Earth
438.	-	Of the Air and the Wind
439.	-	Of the Sea Banks and the Sea
440.	-	Of Fire and Water
441.	-	Of the Water and the Fire
442.	412	Of the Flood and the Sea
443.	-	Of the Hill and the Valley
444.	-	Of the Gems and the Precious Stone
445.	-	Of the Smarayde and the Ring
446.	-	Of the Sapphire and the Goldsmith
447.	-	Of the Precious Topaz
448.	-	Of the Carbuncle and the Glass
449.	-	Of a Precious Stone and a Serpent
450.	-	Of Gold and Lead

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
451.	-	Of Gold and Silver
452.	-	Of Silver and Iron
453.	-	Of Tin and Brass
454.	-	Of the Lock and the Key
455.	-	Of the Cauldron and the Chain
456.	-	Of Rosemary and the Fylde
457.	-	Of Rue and the Beasts
458.	-	Of Aesop and a Man Called Mercury
459.	-	Of a Tree Called Arborantum and the Hare
460.	-	Of Plantain and the Ape
461.	-	Of Barwayne and the Wolf
462.	-	Of Mandragora and a Desirous Woman
463.	-	Of the Rosier and the Partridge
464.	-	Of a Thorny Tree and a Wild Goat
465.	-	Of a Tree Called Myrtus and a Sick Woman
466.	-	Of the High Cedar Tree
467.	-	Of Two Diverse Trees
468.	-	Of the Dolphin and the Eel
469.	-	Of the Mermaid and the Lecher
470.	-	Of a Fish or Beast Called Venter Marinus
471.	-	Of a Fisher and Five Fishes
472.	-	Of a Sea Wolf and a Serpent
473.	-	Of the Sturgeon that Went to Sea
474.	-	Of a Lamprey and a Crocodile
475.	-	Of a Luce and a Tench
476.	-	Of a Scaly Fish and a Water Serpent
477.	-	Of a Carp and a Tymallus
478.	-	Of the Frog and the Crab
479.	-	Of a Fisher and a Little Fish
480.	-	Of an Eagle and Birds, Lion and Beasts
481.	-	Of the Eagle that Cited other Birds
482.	-	Of a Bird Called Herodius and a Kite
483.	-	Of the Crane that Would Fly to the Sun
484.	-	Of a Bird Called Sterla that Took a Hare
485.	-	Of the Strucyon and the Cireurgyn
486.	-	Of the Falcon and the Cock
487.	-	Of a Bird which Sent for Another
488.	-	Of Two Hawks and a Quail
489.	-	Of a Bird that would go to Religion
490.	-	Of the Lapwing and the Popinjay
491.	-	Of the Hen and the Culver
492.	-	Of the Cock and the Capon
493.	-	Of the Pheasant and the Peacock
494.	-	Of the Raven and a Parrot
495.	-	Of the Owl and the Lark
496.	-	Of the Wagtail and the Pheasant
497.	-	Of the Nightingale and the Crow
498.	-	Of the Stork and the Swallow
499.	-	Of the Pigard and Victus Eagle
500.	-	Of a Bird Called Onocrotus and the Ass

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
501.	-	Of the Swan and the Crow
502.	-	Of a Bird Called Dinus and the Hen
503.	-	Of the Quail and the Lark
504.	-	Of a Bird Called Ason
505.	-	Of a Bird Called Mergue or Dyvedopper
506.	-	Of a Cardrell in his Cage
507.	-	Of an Unclean Bird and the Peticaty
508.	-	Of the Solitary Pelican
509.	-	Of the Chaste Turtle
510.	-	Of the Thievish Partridge
511.	-	Of the Pye and other Birds
512.	601	Of a Kite that Beguiled a Woodhen's Chicks
513.	-	Of the Owl that Would Be Lord of Wildfowl
514.	-	Of Landbirds and Waterfowl
515.	-	Of the Chorle and the Bey
516.	-	Of a Lion that Fought With an Eagle
517.	-	Of a Lion that Wedded Two of His Whelps
518.	-	Of a Tyrant, the Griffon
519.	-	Of a Leopard and Unicorn who Fight a Dragon
520.	-	Of the Elephant that Cannot Bend his Knees
521.	-	Of a Satyr that Wedded a Wife
522.	-	Of the Dromedary and his Labour
523.	-	Of the Lion that Builded an Abbey
524.	-	Of the Onocentaurus that Builded a Palace
525.	-	Of the Rhinoceros that Despised Aged Polk
526.	-	Of a Beast that was Long Without Sickness
527.	-	Of the Common Labourer
528.	-	Of the Ape that Wrote Books
529.	-	Of a Beast Called Cameleopardus
530.	-	Of a Bird that Occupied Shipmannys
531.	-	Of a Lion How He was a Hunter
532.	-	Of a Beast that was a False Builder
533.	-	Of a Beast that was a Shoemaker
534.	-	Of a Steer that was a Good Cook
535.	-	Of a Beast which Used to Juggle
536.	-	Of the Hare that was a Lawyer
537.	-	Of a Dog and Many Wolves
538.	-	Of the Wolf and the Ass
539.	-	Of the Bear and the Wolf
540.	-	Of the Wild Goat and the Wolf
541.	-	Of the Varius and the Squirrel
542.	-	Of the Horse and the Boar
543.	-	Of the Ass and the Ox
544.	-	Of the Goat and the Ram
545.	-	Of the Pantere and the Hog
546.	-	Of the Wild Ass and the Wild Boar
547.	-	Of the Salamander and the Hydra
548.	-	Of the Ape, the Tayas and the Brock
549.	-	Of the Mouse and the Cat
550.	-	Of a Lamb and a Wolf

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
551.	-	Of Many Creeping Worms and Beasts
552.	-	Of Man and Woman
553.	-	Of Life and Death
554.	628	A Wolf Hears Confessions of a Fox and an Ass
555.	-	A Blackbird Afraid of a Kite
556.	-	A Rustick Waits for a River to Run Out
557.	-	A Clown and a Bee
558.	40	An Astrologer Falls into a Well
559.	-	Of Scholars and a Vagabond
560.	-	Of a Boaster of his Ancestry
561.	-	Of a Peacock Spoiled of his Feathers
562.	-	Of a Dog and Wolves
563.	-	Of a Scolding Woman Cured by Bagpipes
564.	-	Of a Fox that Would Kill a Setting Hen
565.	209	The Shepherd and the Young Wolves
566.	-	A Lion who Begged a Wolf Part of his Prey
567.	-	Of a Deceiver
568.	-	A Fox Caught by a Dog when she Feigned Dead
569.	-	Of a Covetous Man Dying
570.	-	Of a Raven Taken by Dogs
571.	-	Of a Goat and a Dog
572.	-	A Miser and Rotten Apples
573.	-	Of a Shepherd that Encouraged his Flock
574.	-	Of a Fox Taken by a Countryman
575.	-	Of an Old Man which Set Trees
576.	-	Of a Parrot Treated Better than a Dove
577.	182	An Ass Carrying the Image of God
578.	-	The Wolves and the Sick Ass
579.	446	The Cuckoo and the Little Birds
580.	-	The Rule of Women of their Husbands
581.	-	Of the Apes and the Libard
582.	-	A Servant Cast his Master's Ass from a Rock
583.	-	A Mastiff and an Ass
584.	-	-----
585.	-	An Eagle Sets up for a Beauty
586.	-	Of a Dog Fearing the Rain
587.	-	Of a Cock and a Fox-case
588.	-	No Aid from the King of France
589.	-	A Woman that Bet her Husband
590.	-	A Rich Man that Would be No Richer
591.	-	Of Money and Virtue
592.	374	The Goat and the Vine
593.	-	The Gardener and the Mole
594.	613	Belling the Cat
595.	594	The Cat, the Rat and the Cheese
596.	-	A Man that would Try his Wife's Mind
597.	-	A Wolf and Fighting Dogs
598.	-	The Fox in the Well
599.	-	A Pig and his Father's Will
600.	-	A Linnet

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Ferry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
601.	-	The Farmer and the Oxen Dreaming
602.	-	A Hog Accused by a Sheep
603.	-	A Digger and his Partner
604.	-	A Man Stoned
605.	-	A Sheep and its Shepherd
606.	-	A Poor Man who Finds Treasure
607.	-	A Man at a Fish Dinner
608.	-	A Sheep Wasting Corn
609.	-	The Reed and the Bird who Refuses to Nest
610.	-	A Wolf Fallen into a Pit and a Fox
611.	-	Two Hogs who were Enemies
612.	451	The Wolf in Sheep's Clothing
613.	-	A Countryman and Bees
614.	-	A Rich Man Unlearned and a Poor Man Learned
615.	-	A Parrot Esteemed at Court
616.	-	A Liberal Man Falls Among Thieves
617.	-	A Covetous Man Whose Farm was not Fruitful
618.	-	A Linnet and a Boy
619.	-	The Disobedient Son and his Child
620.	-	The Fool who Sold Wisdom
621.	-	A Priest and his Boy
622.	427	The Fox (Wolf) and the Hedgehog
623.	-	An Ass that Resents a Hog
624.	-	A Young Man Asking Prayers of his Friends
625.	-	An Apple Tree Mocking an Olive
626.	700	The Hunter and the Ploughman
627.	-	The Farmer, his Dog and the Fox
628.	-	A Fox Afraid of a Dog
629.	-	A Philosopher who Rewards One who Strikes Him
630.	592	The Cat as a Monk
631.	-	A Wolf and a Lion Hunt Sheep
632.	-	A Sumptuous Feast of the Lion
633.	-	Of an Ox who Asked for Horns
634.	-	Of a Lion and a Fox
635.	-	Of a Wolf Being Hungry
636.	-	Of an Eagle and an Owl
637.	-	A Hedge Destroyed for Bearing no Fruit
638.	338	The Lion, the Boar and the Ravens
639.	-	A Wolf Wearing Monk's Attire
640.	-	A Bear who Tears out His Nails
641.	-	A Simple Countryman who Helps a Cuckoo
642.	-	Of a Devil
643.	-	A Boy that Would Not Learn his Book
644.	-	A Merchant and a Jew
645.	-	The Nightingale and the Raven
646.	59	The Weasel and the File
647.	-	The Cock Betrays the Fox
648.	-	An Ass Promised as Dowry
649.	-	Of One that Played the Part of Christ
650.	-	A Thrush taken with Bird Lime

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
651.	-	An Ungrateful Serpent (Dragon)
652.	-	The Squire and his Dogs
653.	-	A Woman Revived with Beating
654.	-	The Hare and the Fox Debating
655.	-	The Fox's Confession to the Wolf
656.	-	The Fox's Son and the Parliament of Beasts
657.	-	The Wolf that Got the Nek-hering
658.	473	The Sparrow Gives Advice to the Hare
659.	475	From Cobbler to Physician
660.	479	A Woman in Childbirth
661.	135	The Famished Dogs
662.	482	The Dogs and the Crocodile
663.	483	The Dog, the Treasure and the Vulture
664.	485	Frogs Dread a Battle of Bulls
665.	-	Of Cupid and Death
666.	-	Of Cupid, Death and Reputation
667.	-	The Swan and the Stork
668.	-	The Painter and the Devil
669.	454	The Mouse and the Oyster
670.	-	The Rustick and the Wolf
671.	-	Jupiter and the Ape
672.	7 -	The Dog Who Carried the Dinner Basket
673.	-	The Panther and the Rusticks
674.	-	A Blind Man and a Lame Man Travel Together
675.	-	The Nightingale and the Wolf
676.	244	The Parrot and the Cat
677.	369	The Rose and the Amaranth
678.	-	The Mice Send an Ambassador to the Cat
679.	499	The Brother and Sister
680.	-	The Ape and the Bird
681.	78	Passengers at Sea
682.	-	The Trifler
683.	-	The Mole Rebuked for Making Maps
684.	146	The Lion Startled by a Mouse
685.	261	The Wolf and the Lamb
686.	-	The Bear and the Fox
687.	-	The Shipwrecked Man and the Sea
688.	-	The Fox that Changed its Wishes
689.	356	The Sheep and the Dog
690.	-	Two Kinsmen Going to Law
691.	-	The Wolf, the Fox and the Ape
692.	518	The Fox and the Dragon
693.	-	The Ox, the Ass, the Mule and the Camel
694.	-	Prometheus and Epimetheus Peopling the World
695.	507	The Cicada and the Owl
696.	-	An Ass Made a Judge of Music
697.	-	The League between Wolves and Sheep
698.	-	The Stag and a Wounded Greyhound
699.	349	The Lamp
700.	99	A Statue of Hermes on Sale

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
701.	282	Little Fish Escape the Net
702.	-	The Wolf and the Bear who Wants Horns
703.	-	A Fig-Tree and a Thorn
704.	-	Two Travellers of Differing Humours
705.	-	The Fox and the Envious Ape
706.	512	The Enigmatic Will
707.	464	The Apes Founding a City
708.	94	The Father and his Two Daughters
709.	362	The Snake's Tail and other Members
710.	-	The Shepherd, the Wolf and the Fox
711.	504	The Bees and Brones get Judgment from a Wasp
712.	495	Aesop and the Farmer
713.	487	The Bullock, the Lion and the Robber
714.	398	The Crow and the Swan
715.	100	Zeus, Prometheus, Athena and Momus
716.	-	The Eagle, the Hawk and the Kite
717.	220	The Camel and Elephant Candidates for King
718.	250	The Nut Tree
719.	-	A Wolf Turn'd Shepherd
720.	402	The Hunter and the Horseman
721.	-	The Storks and the Kite
722.	-	The Shipwrecked Athenian
723.	105	Man's Years
724.	-	The Monkey and the Walnuts
725.	204	The Rich Man and the Tanner
726.	365	A Shepherd about to Enclose a Wolf in the Fold
727.	62	The Dolphins at War and the Gudgeon (Crab)
728.	-	The Clown and the Flies
729.	-	The Hound and other Dogs
730.	-	Frogs and Flags
731.	-	The Shepherd, the Shepherdess and the Worms
732.	500	Socrates Builds a House
733.	-	The Trifler or Delayer
734.	63	Demades the Orator
735.	299	The Farmer and the Tree
736.	706	The Lion's Son Learns about Man
737.	655	The Wolf Fasting during Lent
738.	-	The Partial Judge
739.	-	A Fox Going to his Execution
740.	-	The Original of Walls
741.	508	Trees under the Patronage of the Gods
742.	524	Two Soldiers and a Robber
743.	-	The He-Goat and the Brazen Statue
744.	-	The Chaffinch and the Thrush
745.	-	The Carter and his Horse
746.	-	A Countryman at the Olympic Games
747.	-	The Oak and the Elm
748.	496	The Butcher and the Ape
749.	505	Concerning Relaxation and Tension
750.	-	A Quarrelsome Young Man and his Father

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
751.	460	The Shadow of an Ass
752.	-	The Basilisk and the Weasel
753.	-	A True History...in Augustus Caesar's Time
754.	85	The Pig and the Sheep
755.	288	The Bear and the Fox
756.	-	The Axle-Tree and the Oxen
757.	-	The Dog, the Ass and the Wolf
758.	-	The She-Goat and the Wolf's Whelp
759.	-	The Old Man and the Three Cheats
760.	96	The Viper and the Fox
761.	-	The Monkey, the Cat and Hot Chestnuts
762.	277	The Nightingale and the Swallow
763.	418	The Ostrich
764.	-	The Wolf and the Hunter
765.	-	The Thief and the Hangman
766.	429	The Man Who Tried to Count the Waves
767.	341	The Mad Lion
768.	549	The Race Horse
769.	-	The Unskilled Physician Affronted
770.	-	Good Luck and Bad Luck
771.	-	The Lion and the Frogs
772.	624	The Aged Father and his Cruel Son
773.	144	The Lion in the Farmer's Yard
774.	-	The Countryman and his Son
775.	154	The Wolf and the Horse
776.	-	A Farmer who Wants to Control the Seasons
777.	-	The Fox and the Lion
778.	-	The Monkey and the Miser
779.	-	The Old Woman and the Men's Skulls
780.	-	The Lion, the Ass and the Fox
781.	-	The Dog and the Moon
782.	-	The Bear and the Fox
783.	-	The Magpies, the Vulture and the Eagle
784.	-	The Captain and the Puppies
785.	-	The Ape Turned Carpenter
786.	-	Apples and Horse Turds
787.	-	The Goose and her Gosling
788.	513	The Thief and his Lamp
789.	-	The Crows and the Pigeons
790.	-	A Gardener and his Landlord
791.	266	The Two Wallets
792.	-	A King and a Rich Subject
793.	-	The Merchant and the Seaman
794.	-	Usurers and Curriers
795.	342	The Wolves and the Dogs
796.	-	The Ass and the Lion
797.	-	The Ape and the Mountebank
798.	-	The Boys and the Frogs
799.	450	The Lions and the Hares
800.	-	The Cobbler and the Financier

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
801.	488	The Eagle, the Cat and the Wild Sow
802.	-	The Fox Condemned
803.	180	The Ass with a Burden of Salt
804.	-	Two Travellers Find an Oyster
805.	491	Two Mules and Robbers
806.	-	The Boar Challenges the Ass.
807.	-	A Bladder with Beans in it.
808.	-	The Fox and the Divining Cock
809.	468	The Moon and her Mother (Tailor)
810.	-	A Young Fellow about to Marry
811.	-	A Woman Trusted with a Secret
812.	-	A Woman and Thrushes
813.	-	Two Soldiers Go Halves
814.	-	The Fox and the Cock
815.	-	Joy and Sorrow Quarrel
816.	-	The Owl and the Sun
817.	-	A Wolf Turns Religious
818.	-	A Fool and a Hot Iron
819.	-	The Cock and the Horses
820.	-	A Man in Tears for Loss of his Wife
821.	523	King Demetrius and the Poet Menander
822.	-	A Town Under Siege
823.	-	Rats that Eat Copper
824.	-	Two Friends and Fortune
825.	111	Hercules and Pluto
826.	-	A Man that would never Hear Ill News
827.	-	The Devil Refused to Marry.
828.	-	A Countryman and Jupiter
829.	-	A Bee that went over to the Drones
830.	-	A Crow and a Raven
831.	-	The Bitches Bed-Master
832.	-	A Trusty Dog and its Master
833.	456	The Fool and the Sieve
834.	-	A Wolf and a Fox.
835.	-	A Rich Man and a Poor
836.	-	A Farmer and his Servant
837.	467	The Satyr and Fire
838.	519	About Simonides Shipwrecked.
839.	405	Two Men and a Halter
840.	-	A Mountebank and a Bear
841.	-	A Skittish Horse
842.	-	No Laws Against Flattery.
843.	-	Reasons of State
844.	-	An Eagle and a Leveret
845.	-	A Dog and his Master.
846.	-	Two Doctors and a Sheep
847.	-	A Dog and a Cat
848.	-	Aristotle's Definition of a Tyrant
849.	-	A Laconic Tried and Sentenced
850.	-	Matchiavel Condemned

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
851.	-	A Doctor, a Vintner and a Botcher
852.	-	There's No Tomorrow
853.	-	A Lady Loses a Set of Horses
854.	-	The Hypocrite
855.	-	The Conscientious Thieves
856.	-	The Trepanning Wolf
857.	-	A Miller and a Rat
858.	517	The Dogs Send an Embassy to Jupiter
859.	-	The Parrot and Other Birds
860.	516	The Bearded She-Goats
861.	-	The Rose Cropped by Youth
862.	-	The Innocent Lambs Sporting and Playing
863.	-	The Turtle Surprized and Took Sleeping
864.	-	A Dog Returning to his Vomit
865.	-	The Fly and the Candle
866.	-	The Bee Sucking Honey from the Flowers
867.	-	The Nightingale
868.	-	The Ostrich Hiding her Eggs in the Sand
869.	-	A Ship Sailing to her Desired Port
870.	-	The Ants and the Sluggard
871.	-	A Boy Taking a Bird's Nest
872.	-	Two Drunkards Pretending to Travel
873.	-	The Lion and the Lamb
874.	-	The Apish Fox
875.	-	The Hawk and the Birds
876.	-	The Gulon
877.	-	Young Storks and their Dams
878.	-	The Ambitious Vulture
879.	-	The Lion and the Dragon
880.	-	The Parliament of Bees
881.	-	The Vine and the Bramble
882.	-	The Parrot
883.	-	The Mermaid and the Fish
884.	-	Friendship of Mice
885.	-	The Salamander and the Man
886.	-	The Unnatural Eagle
887.	-	The Boys and the Bear
888.	-	The Hen and the Chickens
889.	-	The Dog and the Bag of Money
890.	-	The Fox and the Coney
891.	-	The Monkey and the Whelps
892.	-	The Chastity of Turtle Doves
893.	-	The Injured Lark
894.	-	The Dogs and the Veal
895.	-	The Crocodile and the Dogs
896.	-	The Fox and the Lamb
897.	-	The Cat and the Rats
898.	-	The Stubborn Ass
899.	-	The Coney and the Spider
900.	441	The Feast Day and the Day After

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
901.	-	The Thrushes
902.	262	The Trees and the Olive
903.	-	Two Citizens and an Ungrateful Son
904.	312	Zeus and the Jar Full of Good Things
905.	-	The Nose
906.	-	The Traveller and the Tortoise
907.	-	The Birds and the Phoenix
908.	-	The Lion and the Fox
909.	-	Fair Warning
910.	-	The Bargain
911.	-	Poetry its Cure
912.	-	The Fox Tries to Trick the Poultry
913.	-	Fool's Concern
914.	-	Cure of Malcontents
915.	-	Ravens and Crows
916.	-	The Parson and the Whig
917.	-	The Summons.
918.	-	The Hermit and the Soldier
919.	-	The Fox Preaching to the Sheep
920.	-	The Sponge
921.	-	The Lion and the Ass
922.	-	Aesop Sent to Bedlam for Telling the Truth
923.	-	The Owl and the Bat Hold a Seeing Contest
924.	-	Sharpeners and Cudgils
925.	-	A Wolf Turned Preacher
926.	-	The Summons
927.	-	The Interview
928.	-	The Bees and the Hornet
929.	-	The Lion and the Fox
930.	-	Weasels, Rats and Mice
931.	-	Lubberland
932.	-	Hawks and Birds
933.	-	The Owl and the Mice
934.	-	Neptune and the Fishes
935.	-	Asylum
936.	-	The Steward and his Dogs
937.	-	The Pump
938.	-	The Ox and the Leeches
939.	-	A Mother and her Son
940.	-	Archidamus Fined for Marrying a Little Woman
941.	-	Lycurgus's Two Whelps
942.	-	Alexander to his Father
943.	-	A Prince and a Philosopher
944.	-	Socrates of Marrying
945.	-	A Fortune Teller's Advice about Marrying
946.	-	A New Married Couple upon the Shrift
947.	-	Hero's Lamp
948.	-	Socrates and Calisto
949.	-	Xenocrates and Phryne
950.	-	An Instance of Continnence in a Young Man

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
951.	-	Conjugal Modesty
952.	-	A Lady and a Looking-glass
953.	-	An Ape and a Goat
954.	-	A Hue and Cry after Fidelity
955.	-	A Man Quarreling with his Shadow
956.	-	Augustus Caesar and Virgil
957.	-	Foxes and Rabbits
958.	-	A Lion and an Old Dog
959.	-	Alexander and Phryne
960.	-	Alexander and Aristobulus
961.	-	Alexander to a Pirate
962.	-	The Cock and the Cobbler
963.	-	A Note upon the Athenian Councils
964.	-	Nothing to be Done without a Text
965.	-	A King and a Shepherd
966.	-	A Great Saying of Vespasian
967.	-	The Churches are Full
968.	-	Alexander and Anaximenes
969.	-	Pyrrhus and Cineas
970.	-	Amasis Consults the Oracles
971.	-	Wolves Banished England
972.	-	A Cavalier and a Court Lady
973.	-	A Woman Hanged Herself upon a Fig-tree
974.	-	Plaintiff and Defendant Draw Cuts
975.	-	Cobblers and the Colonel
976.	-	The Asses Made Justices
977.	-	An Old Sinner and a New Convert
978.	-	Perillus's Brazen Bull
979.	-	A Bishop and a General
980.	-	A Motion for a Commonwealth
981.	-	Demades, a Coffin-Maker
982.	-	Two Antiquaries
983.	-	Boccalini's Marquis
984.	-	A Lion in a Sheep's Skin
985.	-	Shifting and Shuffling Make Matters Worse
986.	-	A Boy Leading a Calf
987.	-	Meum and Teum Spoils All
988.	-	An Ox and a Crocodile
989.	-	The Husband-Confessor
990.	-	The Contented Cuckoo
991.	-	Arriguo and Martellino
992.	-	An Ignorant Statuary
993.	-	Sumptuary Laws
994.	-	A Butcher and his Dog
995.	-	A Plea for Cowardice
996.	-	A Gentleman and his Lawyer
997.	-	The Omen of the Rats
998.	-	Slaves to be Let
999.	-	A Musket-shot upon a Practice of Piety
1000.	-	Dionysus and Philoxemus

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
1001.	-	The Love of Constance and Martuccio
1002.	-	An Old Lion and a Young
1003.	-	Mahomet and his Mistress
1004.	-	Apollo's Reverence for Truth
1005.	-	Truth and Falsehood
1006.	-	The Lion Crowned.
1007.	-	Three Wishes
1008.	-	The Force of Jealousy and Revenge
1009.	-	Tofaño and Cheta
1010.	-	The Punishment of Ingratitude
1011.	-	An Order against Libels
1012.	-	A Lioness and a Bear
1013.	-	A Kite, a Pullet and a Hawk
1014.	-	Two Old Dogs and Two Young
1015.	-	Love and Madness
1016.	-	A Censorious Scribbler
1017.	-	Papyrius and his Mother
1018.	-	A Soldier Punished for Railing at Alexander
1019.	-	Sounder Sleep in a Cottage than in a Palace.
LC20.	-	Four Sisters
1021.	623	A Young Fellow that would learn Rhetoric
1022.	-	Partridges and a Setting Dog
1023.	-	The Mad Men too Many for the Sober
1024.	-	The Lion's Proclamation against Horned Beasts
1025.	-	A Publick Law and a Private
1026.	-	A Pike and Little Fishes
1027.	-	Semiramis's Monument
1028.	-	Boccalini's Way for Thriving in the World
1029.	-	No Fence against the Wit and Will of a Woman
1030.	-	A Poor Man's Last Will and Testament
1031.	-	Pythes an Avaritious Prince
1032.	-	The Chinese Immortality
1033.	-	A Countryman to Jupiter
1034.	-	A Courtier and a Flock of Sheep
1035.	-	Two Rams Fighting
1036.	-	A Contest between Gold and Iron
1037.	-	A Deaf and Dumb Gardener
1038.	-	Exemplary Justice in Cambyses
1039.	-	Dionysius Robbed a Temple
1040.	-	A Courtier to Simonides
1041.	-	Cambyses and Praxaspes
1042.	-	Columbus's Discovery
1043.	-	A Huntsman and a Stag
1044.	-	A Burgher and a Pear-Tree
1045.	-	A Blind Man that Would Not be Cured
1046.	-	Ambs Ace
1047.	-	A Battle Betwixt the Birds and the Beasts
1048.	-	Two Chimeras
1049.	-	A Cuckoo and a Nightingale
1050.	-	A Cock Boasting of his Services

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
1051.	-	A Dog Trepanned
1052.	-	A Penitent Hard Put to It
1053.	-	No Misery Like an Unsettled Mind
1054.	-	No Medlers in Other People's Matters
1055.	-	A Hopeful Match
1056.	-	No Match Like a Deaf Man and a Blind Woman
1057.	-	Mnemoh's Grace
1058.	-	A Sovereign Antidote to Prevent the Pox
1059.	-	Trade and Empire Inconsistent
1060.	-	A Wonderful Cure
1061.	-	A Discourse upon Charity
1062.	-	A Memorable Exploit of Zopyrus
1063.	-	Tame Pigeons and Wild Birds
1064.	-	A Dog and a Bitch
1065.	-	Religion is for Gentlefolks
1066.	-	A Persian Law
1067.	-	An Ape and Cupid
1068.	-	The Alchemist
1069.	-	More Physicians than any other Profession
1070.	-	A Thief and a Hangman
1071.	-	A Spanish Gravity
1072.	-	A Spaniard without a Shirt
1073.	-	An Ass and a Boat
1074.	-	Semiramus and Ninus
1075.	-	A Turtle and a Ring-Dove
1076.	-	The Inconsolable Widower
1077.	-	A Cuckold by the Courtesy of England
1078.	-	A Warm Wife for a Cold One
1079.	-	The Modesty of the Persians
1080.	-	A Young Eagle and a Falconer
1081.	-	A Swallow and a Duck
1082.	-	A Spark Would be a Star
1083.	-	A Pointer and a Harp
1084.	-	A Pyramid Would Change Top for Bottom
1085.	-	Agathoclus the Son of a Potter
1086.	-	Amasis an Egyptian Prince
1087.	-	Extreme Justice in Charonda
1088.	-	The Treacherous Box-Tree
1089.	-	Drones and Bees
1090.	-	An Ant and a Lion
1091.	-	An Ant and a Mouse
1092.	-	A Man and his Wife Parted
1093.	-	An Old Man's Almanack
1094.	-	One Had a Mind to See Bedlam
1095.	-	The Sheep League against the Wolves
1096.	-	An Embassy from the Wolves to the Sheep
1097.	-	A Peacock and a Swan
1098.	-	Simonides Preserved by Providence
1099.	-	A Religious Intrigue
1100.	-	The Love of Ricciardo and Catharina

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
1101.	-	A Mole and Spectacles
1102.	-	A Lion, an Ass and a Wolf
1103.	-	One Quitted the World upon Reading Genesis
1104.	-	A Penitent that Gave his Confession in Writing
1105.	-	Daphitas and the Oracle
1106.	-	A Huntsman and an Old Bitch
1107.	-	A Gardener and a Dog
1108.	-	An Athenian and a Spartan
1109.	-	A New Convert
1110.	-	A Man Fancies Himself Dead
1111.	-	Democritus and Heraclitus
1112.	-	Wine is an Universal Medicine
1113.	-	Water a Greater God than Fire
1114.	-	A Lion and an Ape
1115.	-	A Traveller Alights to Kill Grasshoppers
1116.	-	A Dog and a Crocodile
1117.	-	Crates's Will
1118.	-	The Fig-Tree and the Olive
1119.	-	Books Sold by the Foot
1120.	-	A Sexton and a Spider
1121.	-	A Rat Retires into a Holland Cheese
1122.	-	A Fox and a Lion
1123.	-	The Moderation of Epaminondas
1124.	-	The Contempt of Death
1125.	-	The Church Complaining of the Church Doors
1126.	-	The Asses to Jupiter
1127.	-	Sylla and his Generous Host
1128.	-	Three Kings in Allusion to Three Religions
1129.	-	A Christian and a Jew
1130.	-	A Miller and his Master
1131.	-	Of Births and Burials
1132.	-	A Milk Maid and a Milking Pail
1133.	-	An Eagle and Other Birds
1134.	-	A Cat and a Rat
1135.	-	A Wolf and a Hail-Shot
1136.	-	Paradise, or Heaven-Gates Open
1137.	-	Xerxes's Way of Humbling the Babylonian
1138.	-	A Murder Strangely Discovered
1139.	-	The Great Rogues Hang up the Little Ones
1140.	-	A Trimming Mechanick
1141.	-	Fire and an Earthen Pot
1142.	-	P. Aemilius and Perseus King of Macedon
1143.	-	Alexander and Xenocrates
1144.	-	A Fig-Tree and Thunder
1145.	-	A Lion and a Bear
1146.	-	An Eagle and her Young
1147.	-	Promises are either Broken or Kept
1148.	-	Life is but a Mate at Chess
1149.	-	A Panther and a Lion
1150.	-	Thyrsis and Amarante

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
1151.	493	An Old Woman and a Flagon
1152.	-	A Notable Scruple
1153.	-	A Fox and a Mole
1154.	-	An Extravagant Dream
1155.	-	A Nonconforming Minister
1156.	-	The Mountebank's Treat
1157.	-	A Prince and his Valet de Chambre
1158.	-	A Sheep and a Shearer.
1159.	-	A Silly Fop
1160.	-	A Tub of Rats
1161.	-	Socrates and Alcibiades
1162.	-	A Sumpter-Horse and a Spanish Jennet
1163.	-	A Cobbler and a Parrot
1164.	-	The Fool Makes the Music
1165.	-	A Wonderful Antipathy
1166.	-	A Doctor and a Quartan Ague
1167.	-	Love Stung with a Bee.
1168.	-	An Honest Good-fellow
1169.	-	An Eagle and Young Ravens
1170.	-	A Lamb and his Companions
1171.	-	Members Complaining
1172.	-	A Fop Makes a Tedious Visit to a Philosopher
1173.	-	A Crow and an Augur
1174.	-	A Young Lobster and her Mother
1175.	-	Two Brothers Sent for a Surgeon and a Midwife
1176.	-	Rome Taken by a Strange Accident
1177.	-	An Elephant and a Rhinoceros
1178.	-	A Lioness and a Whelp
1179.	-	A Maid and a Needle
1180.	-	A Cavalier and an Ape
1181.	-	A Blessing that Frogs have no Teeth
1182.	-	A Plot to Make a Cow Calve
1183.	-	A Short Rule of Life
1184.	-	A Godly Knave
1185.	-	A Tedious Holder-forth
1186.	-	If it be not Popery
1187.	-	A Ghostly Father and a Penitent
1188.	-	An Impertinent Sheriff
1189.	-	A Good Woman Robbed
1190.	-	A Cavalier at the Relief of Pontrefact
1191.	-	Hungry Flies
1192.	-	Two Favourite Dogs
1193.	-	A Currier is the Best Trade
1194.	-	A Wolf, a Fox and an Ass
1195.	-	Three Faithful Servants
1196.	-	A Nun and a Cavalier
1197.	-	Two Penitents
1198.	-	A Preaching Coachman
1199.	-	Plain Proof
1200.	-	The Election

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Parry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
1201.	-	The Qualification to Eat City Custard
1202.	-	The Politician
1203.	-	The Resignation
1204.	-	The Partition
1205.	-	The Author's Case
1206.	-	The Devil and the Priest
1207.	-	The Courtier
1208.	-	The Pilgrims
1209.	-	Usurers and Merchants
1210.	-	The Ingrates
1211.	-	The Partizans
1212.	-	The Interview
1213.	-	The Lion and Other Beasts
1214.	-	The Shepherd and the Wolf
1215.	-	The Merchant
1216.	-	The Swine and a Pot of Gold
1217.	-	The Horse and the Ass
1218.	-	The Parson and the Horse
1219.	-	The Two Foxes
1220.	-	Ravens in Council
1221.	-	Poultry and Foxes
1222.	-	The Pygmies
1223.	-	The Satyr's Address
1224.	-	A Boar Punished for Destroying a Forest
1225.	-	The Lion and his Friends
1226.	-	A Woman Praying for the Long Life of Dionysius
1227.	-	The Goose and the Parrot
1228.	-	The Boatswain's Tale
1229.	-	The Eagle, the Peacock and the Patriot
1230.	-	The Sheep, the Shepherd and the Watch-Dogs
1231.	-	The Diver and the Landfowl
1232.	-	A Dragon Guarding a Horde
1233.	-	Diana, Actaeon and the Hounds
1234.	-	The Stork and the Apothecary
1235.	-	The Sheep and Swine with their Watchdogs
1236.	336	The Sick Lion, the Fox and the Stag (Ass)
1237.	-	The Spiders, Flies and Swallows
1238.	-	The Abbot Fails to Keep his Promises
1239.	-	The Doves Join Together
1240.	-	The Rams Attack the Wolf
1241.	-	A Sow Tricks a Wolf
1242.	-	The Crocodile and the Wrens
1243.	-	The Fox Betrays the Goat
1244.	-	The Fox Betrays the Ox
1245.	-	The Fox Kills the Raven
1246.	394	The Fox as Helper to the Lion
1247.	-	The Mouse Refused a Share
1248.	-	A Fly Teaches a Louse to Bite Man
1249.	-	Water Birds Resented by Land Fowl
1250.	-	Tradesmen Tell Friars they should Work

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
1251.	-	Ape Kills Arrogant Unicorn and Ermine
1252.	-	Mice Unable to Resist Bacon
1253.	-	The Prudent Snake
1254.	-	Peasants with Hens, Ducks, Pigeons and Bees
1255.	-	A Fox Tricks a Bear
1256.	-	Two Pots in the Rain
1257.	-	A Willow Grows Larger than an Oak
1258.	-	An Ass Turns Brave
1259.	-	Two Dragons
1260.	-	The Pumpkin and the Acorn
1261.	-	The Nightingale
1262.	-	Two Physicians Quarrel
1263.	-	The Young Lion and the Dogs
1264.	-	A Mad Lion and a Ravening Wolf
1265.	-	Merchants and Soldiers
1266.	-	A Magpie and a Rook
1267.	-	Bees and Hornets
1268.	-	A Courtier Visits a Country Place
1269.	-	The Wagerer
1270.	-	The Fall of Tyranny
1271.	-	The Panther and his Son
1272.	-	A Priest for the Devil
1273.	-	The Ambitious Boy
1274.	-	The Bear and the Lion
1275.	-	The Tiger and his Servants
1276.	-	The Eagle and the Hawks
1277.	-	The Miscarriage
1278.	-	A Tale of a Tub
1279.	-	The Baboon and the Guittar
1280.	-	The Two Kings of Brentford
1281.	-	The Layman
1282.	-	The Lion, the Ape and the Fox
1283.	-	The Shepherd's Fate
1284.	-	The Competitors
1285.	-	The Evil Counsellor
1286.	-	The Wild Boar
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1294.	510	Aesop's Reply to an Inquisitive Fellow
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1306.	-	The Knight and Spaniel
1307.	-	Two Asses Going on a Journey
1308.	-	An Ape in Love, with a Fox's Tail
1309.	-	The Parliament of Hares
1310.	-	A Society of Magpies
1311.	-	Of the Policy of the Ants
1312.	-	Diogenes in his Tub
1313.	-	The Apes Chusing a New King
1314.	-	Of the Lamb and Wolves
1315.	-	The Superannuated Fox
1316.	-	Of the Prodigal Son, and the Lawyer
1317.	-	Of the Eagle, and the Two Cocks
1318.	-	Of the Two Men, and a Boy
1319.	-	The Undigested Mistress
1320.	-	Of the Boy, and the Traveller
1321.	-	Of the Lyon, and Fox
1322.	-	Of a Man, and his two Masters
1323.	-	Of the Countryman, and Birds-nest
1324.	-	The Injur'd Friends
1325.	-	The Faithful Neighbour
1326.	-	Of the Hawk, and Turtle
1327.	-	The Libertine
1328.	-	Of the Wolf and his Wh-----s
1329.	-	The Debauch't Drunkard
1330.	-	Of the Doctor, and the Harlot
1331.	-	The Lion Disarmed
1332.	-	The Coffee House
1333.	-	The Dogs and Ass
1334.	-	The Imposter Priest
1335.	-	Aesop Matriculated
1336.	-	Aesop's Thanks
1337.	-	Whitehal and St. James's to a Hair
1338.	-	The Shortest Way with Dissenters
1339.	-	The Royal Mourner
1340.	-	The Candidates
1341.	-	The Succession
1342.	-	The Lion and Stag
1343.	-	The Cock and the Fox
1344.	-	The Reforming Rat
1345.	-	The Monk and the Devil
1346.	-	The Two Pigeons
1347.	-	The Hare, the Cat and the Weasel
1348.	-	The Cat and the Mouse
1349.	-	The Ape and the Lion
1350.	-	The Cat and the Sparrow

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1352.	-	The Tortoise and the Ducks
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1354.	-	The Lioness and the Wolf
1355.	-	The Eagle and the Hawk
1356.	-	The Lady and the Vinyard
1357.	-	Hypocrites in Mourning
1358.	-	The Blind Sheep and the Shepherds
1359.	-	The Lion's Whelp and the Huntsman
1360.	-	The Lioness and the Ape
1361.	-	The Fine Lady and the Looking Glass
1362.	-	The Eagle and the Eaglet
1363.	-	The Pelican and the Spider
1364.	-	The Parrot
1365.	-	The Fox and the Cat
1366.	-	The Astrological Doctor
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1368.	-	The Ass
1369.	-	The Cat and the Bat
1370.	-	The Briar and the Gardener
1371.	-	The Apes
1372.	-	The Bags of Fortune
1373.	-	The Two Lizards
1374.	-	Jupiter's Lottery
1375.	-	The Two Statues
1376.	-	The Witch
1377.	-	The Birds
1378.	-	The Gods of Egypt
1379.	-	The Covetous Man and Minos
1380.	-	The Two Oracles
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1384.	-	The Two Dreams
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1386.	-	The Rose and the Butterfly
1387.	-	The Elm and the Nut-tree
1388.	-	The Cameleon
1389.	-	Apollo, Mercury and the Shepherd
1390.	-	The Cheese
1391.	-	The Eclipse
1392.	-	Mercury and the Shades
1393.	-	The Cray-fish
1394.	-	The Oyster
1395.	-	The Crow and the Falcon
1396.	-	The Man and the Mermaid
1397.	-	The Crickets
1398.	-	Minos and Death
1399.	-	Achilles and Chiron
1400.	-	The Clock and the Sundial

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
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1402.	-	The Two Pigeons
1403.	-	The Beaver and the Ox
1404.	-	The Two Springs
1405.	-	The Caterpillar and the Ant
1406.	-	The Wasps and the Elephants
1407.	-	The Sheep and the Bush
1408.	-	The Lion, the Fox and the Rat
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1410.	-	Judgment, Memory and Imagination
1411.	-	The Ploughshare and the Sword
1412.	-	The Two Dogs
1413.	-	The Conqueror and the Poor Man
1414.	-	The Two Ninnies
1415.	-	The Stomach
1416.	-	The King of Beasts
1417.	-	The Peach-tree and the Mulberry Tree
1418.	-	Opinion
1419.	-	The Dogs
1420.	-	The Picture
1421.	-	The Wine-Connors
1422.	-	Pandora
1423.	-	The Cat and the Mouse
1424.	-	The Two Books
1425.	-	The Man and Destiny
1426.	-	The Trees
1427.	-	Apollo and Minerva
1428.	-	The Treasure
1429.	-	The Camel
1430.	-	The Friends too much of a Mind
1431.	-	Peace
1432.	-	The Horse and the Lion
1433.	-	Brutes turned Players
1434.	-	The Tyrant become Good
1435.	-	The Victim
1436.	-	The Sparrows
1437.	-	The Phoenix and the Owl
1438.	-	The Lion's Feast
1439.	-	The Fox turned Preacher
1440.	-	The Dog and the Cat
1441.	-	Homer and the Deaf Man
1442.	-	The Graces
1443.	-	The Fox and the Lion
1444.	-	The Whale and the American
1445.	-	The Bees
1446.	-	The Rat Keeping Open House
1447.	-	The Child of Neither Sex
1448.	-	The Horoscope of the Lion
1449.	-	The Present and the Future
1450.	-	The Shepherd and the Ecchoes

<u>Cat.</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Perry</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Title</u>
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1452.	-	The Footman and the Soldier
1453.	-	The Hunter and the Elephants
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1461.	-	An Old Queen and a Young Peasant Girl
1462.	-	Gisele the Queen and Corysante the Fairy
1463.	-	A Young Princess
1464.	-	Florise
1465.	-	King Alfarante and Claraphile
1466.	-	Rosimond and Braminte
1467.	-	The Ring of Gyges
1468.	-	Voyage in the Isle of Pleasures
1469.	-	Patience and Education Correct Faults
1470.	-	The Owl
1471.	-	A Bee and a Fly
1472.	-	The Fox Punished for his Curiosity
1473.	-	The Two Foxes
1474.	-	The Dragon and the Foxes
1475.	-	The Wolf and the Lamb
1476.	-	The Cat and the Rabbits
1477.	-	The Hare who Played the Bully
1478.	-	The Ape
1479.	-	Two Mice
1480.	-	The Pigeon Punished for his Restlessness
1481.	-	Young Bacchus and the Faun
1482.	-	The Child of the Muses Favoured by the Sun
1483.	-	Aristeus and Virgil
1484.	-	The Nightingale and the Warbler
1485.	-	The Departure of Lycon
1486.	-	Diana's Hunt
1487.	-	The Bees and the Silkworms
1488.	-	The Assembly of Animals to Choose a King
1489.	-	The Two Young Lions
1490.	-	The Bees
1491.	-	The Nile and the Ganges
1492.	-	The Injudicious Prayer of Nelous, son of Nestor
1493.	-	The Story of Alibee, a Persian
1494.	-	The Shepherd Cleobule and the Nymph Phidile
1495.	-	The Adventures of Melesichton
1496.	-	The Adventures of Aristonous

APPENDIX B.

Character Index to the Catalogue of Fables.

This index includes entries by catalogue number for all major characters who appear in all the variations of each of the fables recorded in the catalogue. The reader should thus be able to identify the variations of any story, even though the fabulist may have chosen to alter the major characters from those of the traditional version.

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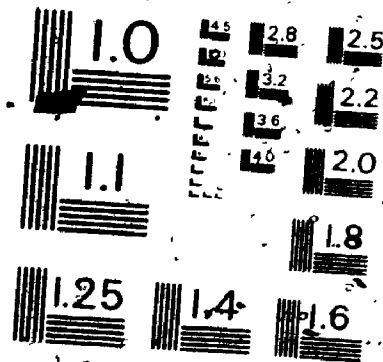
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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

APPENDIX C

A Directory to the Fable Collections from Caxton to Croxall

The following lists include the catalogued contents of all the extant English Fable Collections from Caxton's 1484 Aesop to the collections of 1722 in addition to those of Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae. They are placed in the same order as the catalogue (Appendix A).

They include groups of stories which purport to be fables, even though some are not, as is clearly the case with Sir Roger L'Estrange's Fables and Stories Moralized, Benjamin Harris's Fables of Young Aesop and the fables from Fenelon's Fables and Dialogues of the Dead. The difficulty of separating the fables from the near fables in these collections seemed insurmountable, and it seemed the wiser choice to include all of the stories.

Two collections which do not designate their contents as fables are also included because they appear to have been the source of stories which were included in later collections. These are Dialogues of Creatures Moralised and Thomas Blage's A Schole of Wyse Conceytes.

There has been no attempt to deal with fables in other languages, except for Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae, although

some polyglot collections are included.

Because of the difficulty of obtaining copies of many of the collections, it has often been possible to examine only one edition. Where two or more editions have been examined, the most extensive has been used.

Many of the texts have unnumbered fables, and some have been misnumbered. All have been given regular sequences of Arabic numbers and, in the instance of misnumbering, the original numbering is indicated.

In the summary of the contents in the order of the catalogue numbers the inclusion of more than one version of a single story is indicated in brackets after its catalogue number.

1.) Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae. [1635].

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	26.	26	51.	51	76.	76	101.	82
2.	2	27.	27	52.	52	77.	77	102.	100
3.	3	28.	28	53.	53	78.	78	103.	101
4.	4	29.	29	54.	54	79.	79	104.	102
5.	5	30.	30	55.	55	80.	80	105.	83
6.	6	31.	3.	56.	56	81.	81	106.	103
7.	7	32.	32	57.	57	82.	82	107.	104
8.	8	33.	33	58.	58	83.	83	108.	78
9.	9	34.	34	59.	59	84.	84	109.	105
10.	10	35.	35	60.	60	85.	85	110.	106
11.	11	36.	36	61.	61	86.	86	111.	107
12.	12	37.	37	62.	62	87.	87	112.	108
13.	13	38.	38	63.	63	88.	88	113.	109
14.	14	39.	39	64.	64	89.	89	114.	110
15.	15	40.	40	65.	65	90.	90	115.	111
16.	16	41.	41	66.	66	91.	91	116.	112
17.	17	42.	42	67.	67	92.	92	117.	113
18.	18	43.	43	68.	68	93.	93	118.	84
19.	19	44.	44	69.	69	94.	94	119.	98
20.	20	45.	45	70.	70	95.	95	120.	114
21.	21	46.	46	71.	71	96.	96	121.	56
22.	22	47.	47	72.	72	97.	97	122.	115
23.	23	48.	48	73.	73	98.	85	123.	116
24.	24	49.	49	74.	74	99.	98	124.	116
25.	25	50.	50	75.	75	100.	99	125.	117

Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
126.	118	151.	139	176.	164	201.	187	226.	212
127.	119	152.	140	177.	165	202.	188	227.	213.
128.	120	153.	141	178.	166	203.	189	228.	214
129.	90	154.	142	179.	167	204.	190	229.	215
130.	121	155.	143	180.	168	205.	191	230.	216
131.	109	156.	144	181.	169	206.	192	231.	217
132.	122	157.	145	182.	170	207.	193	232.	218
133.	123	158.	146	183.	171	208.	194	233.	219
134.	124	159.	147	184.	172	209.	195	234.	220
135.	21	160.	148	185.	33	210.	196	235.	221
136.	40	161.	149	186.	173	211.	197	236.	222
137.	125	162.	150	187.	174	212.	198	237.	223
138.	126	163.	151	188.	175	213.	199	238.	224
139.	127	164.	152	189.	176	214.	200	239.	225
140.	128	165.	153	190.	177	215.	201	240.	58
141.	129	166.	154	191.	82	216.	202	241.	226
142.	130	167.	155	192.	178	217.	203	242.	28
143.	131	168.	156	193.	179	218.	204	243.	53
144.	132	169.	157	194.	180	219.	205	244.	227
145.	133	170.	158	195.	181	220.	206	245.	228
146.	134	171.	159	196.	182	221.	207	246.	83
147.	135	172.	160	197.	183	222.	208	247.	52
148.	136	173.	161	198.	184	223.	209	248.	109
149.	137	174.	162	199.	185	224.	210	249.	116
150.	138	175.	163	200.	186	225.	211	250.	50

Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
251.	57	276.	225	301.	57	326.	260	351.	91
252.	51	277.	58	302.	51	327.	15	352.	270
253.	229	278.	61	303.	229	328.	4	353.	271
254.	230	279.	239	304.	230	329.	69	354.	236
255.	94	280.	83	305.	94	330.	43	355.	106
256.	46	281.	240	306.	46	331.	261	356.	272
257.	82	282.	241	307.	253	332.	73	357.	273
258.	55	283.	242	308.	82	333.	262	358.	274
259.	54	284.	226	309.	114	334.	263	359.	275
260.	231	285.	28	310.	254	335.	6	360.	276
261.	232	286.	243	311.	255	336.	2	361.	237
262.	47	287.	244	312.	256	337.	264	362.	179
263.	233	288.	245	313.	36	338.	233	363.	277
264.	234	289.	246	314.	60	339.	70	364.	278
265.	32	290.	53	315.	74	340.	265	365.	279
266.	235	291.	44	316.	257	341.	266	366.	280
267.	236	292.	247	317.	55	342.	267	367.	98
268.	237	293.	248	318.	258	343.	268	368.	281
269.	179	294.	249	319.	259	344.	234	369.	282
270.	238	295.	116	320.	232	345.	269	370.	84
271.	95	296.	250	321.	72	346.	75	371.	283
272.	59	297.	17	322.	54	347.	23	372.	284
273.	63	298.	50	323.	231	348.	77	373.	285
274.	121	299.	251	324.	62	349.	32	374.	286
275.	216	300.	252	325.	11	350.	113	375.	287

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2. William Caxton. Fables of Aesop. 1484.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book I									
1.	1	5.	4	9.	375	13.	59	17.	13
2.	2	6.	5	10.	7	14.	10	18.	14
3.	373	7.	374	11.	8	15.	11	19.	15
4.	48	8.	6	12.	9	16.	12	20.	16
Book II									
1.	17	5.	21	9.	24	13.	27	17.	30
2.	18	6.	376	10.	270	14.	28	18.	379
3.	19	7.	22	11.	25	15.	29	19.	380
4.	20	8.	23	12.	377	16.	378	20.	31

William Caxton. Fables of Aesop cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book III									
1.	381	5.	216	9.	383	13.	38	17.	41
2.	32	6.	35	10.	384	14.	39	18.	386
3.	33	7.	36	11.	385	15.	56	19.	42
4.	34	8.	382	12.	37	16.	40	20.	387
Book IV									
1.	272	5.	388	9.	45	13.	188	17.	84
2.	67	6.	389	10.	392	14.	393	18.	395
3.	242	7.	390	11.	79	15.	106	19.	65
4.	66	8.	391	12.	43	16.	394	20.	82
Book V									
1.	396	5.	117	9.	301	13.	405		
2.	397	6.	400	10.	403	14.	406		
3.	398	7.	401	11.	64	15.	407		
4.	399	8.	402	12.	404	16.	408		
Fables from New Translation									
1.	63	5.	240	9.	60	13.	269	17.	246
2.	121	6.	243	10.	62	14.	237		
3.	225	7.	247	11.	70	15.	281		
4.	61	8.	255	12.	266	16.	283		

William Caxton. Fables of Aesop cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Fables from Avian									
1.	86	7.	93	13.	100	19.	78	25.	98
2.	87	8.	94	14.	101	20.	105	26.	410
3.	88	9.	96	15.	102	21.	409	27.	376
4.	90	10.	85	16.	83	22.	109		
5.	91	11.	81	17.	104	23.	111		
6.	92	12.	99	18.	107	24.	113		
Fables from Alfonse									
1.	209	4.	413	7.	416	10.	419	13.	422
2.	411	5.	414	8.	417	11.	420		
3.	412	6.	415	9.	418	12.	421		
Fables from Poge									
1.	423	4.	367	7.	352	10.	428	13.	431
2.	424	5.	426	8.	427	11.	429		
3.	425	6.	355	9.	360	12.	430		

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3. Dialogues of Creatures Moralised. [c. 1535].

122 original fables with catalogue numbers 432-553.

4. Thomas Blage. A Schole of Wyse Conceytes. 1569.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	554	26.	557	51.	162	76.	107	101.	184
2.	126	27.	459	52.	509	77.	153	102.	12
3.	219	28.	325	53.	563	81. [78.]	438	103.	205
4.	198	29.	274	54.	488	82. [79.]	236	104.	23
5.	179	30.	468	55.	6	83. [80.]	229	105.	266
6.	175	31.	138	56.	83	84. [81.]	291	106.	293
7.	240	32.	263	57.	564	81 [82.]	327	107.	158
8.	496	33.	558	58.	17	82 [83.]	4	108.	96
9.	3	34.	559	59.	53	84.	No #84	109.	139
10.	34	35.	560	60.	565	85.	No #85	110.	575
11.	66	36.	227	61.	124.	86.	No #86	111.	493
12.	185	37.	278	62.	51	87.	No #87	112.	548
13.	437	38.	21	63.	101	88.	148	113.	286
14.	262	39.	91	64.	566	89.	569	114.	27
15.	-	40.	561	65.	87	90.	570	115.	365
16.	-	41.	74	66.	18	91.	571	116.	576
17.	130	42.	89	67.	179	92.	572	117.	75
18.	260	43.	135	68.	197	93.	170	118.	178
19.	90	44.	562	69.	82	94.	355	119.	72
20.	152	45.	99	70.	299	95.	573	120.	577
21.	555	46.	356	72	25	96.	471	121.	313
22.	556	47.	125	73.	269	97.	122	122.	40
23.	294	48.	320	73.	352	98.	239	123.	478
24.	230	49.	321	74.	567	99.	78	124.	519
25.	194	50.	277	75.	568.	100.	574	125.	64

Thomas Blage. A Schole of Wyse Conceytes cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
126.	150	151.	35	176.	11	201.	592	226.	602
127.	172	152.	104	177.	283	202.	70	227.	603
128.	187	153.	538	178.	588	203.	593	228.	499
129.	249	154.	301	179.	309	204.	594	229.	47
130.	255	155.	42	180.	287	205.	250	230.	604
131.	332	156.	61	181.	156	206.	100	231.	605
132.	578	157.	7	182.	589	207.	20	232.	326
133.	272	158.	582	183.	248	208.	595	233.	606
134.	359	159.	288	184.	590	209.	596	234.	607
135.	481	160.	91	185.	72	210.	492	235.	252
136.	109	161.	47	186.	154	211.	235	236.	318
137.	518	162.	307	187.	217	212.	113	237.	608
138.	579	163.	341	188.	202	213.	141	238.	495
139.	344	164.	583	189.	290	214.	26	239.	609
140.	580	165.	48	190.	337	215.	176	240.	143
141.	302	166.	90	191.	19	216.	597	241.	65
142.	110	167.	182	192.	269	217.	52	242.	41
143.	218	168.	343	193.	213	218.	598	243.	374
144.	311	169.	58	194.	280	219.	599	244.	610
145.	551	170.	265	195.	315	220.	472	245.	611
146.	312	171.	69	196.	514	221.	56	246.	612
147.	581	172.	585	197.	63	222.	600	247.	520
148.	271	173.	586	198.	40	223.	259	248.	190
149.	253	174.	587	199.	591	224.	118	249.	613
150.	324	175.	234	200.	464	225.	601	250.	199

Thomas Blage. A Schole of Wyse Conceytes cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
251.	614	276.	44	301.	267	326.	295	351.	640
252.	615	277.	625	302.	631	327.	264	352.	641
253.	475	278.	30	303.	98	328.	33	353.	121
254.	469	279.	57	304.	357	329.	483	354.	498
255.	186	280.	474	305.	632	330.	257	355.	9
256.	616	281.	14	306.	460	331.	350	356.	77
257.	617	282.	2	307.	102	332.	71	357.	642
258.	56	283.	23	308.	298	333.	244	358.	163
259.	618	284.	303	309.	13	334.	348	359.	No # 359
260.	241	285.	304	310.	93	335.	43	360.	114
261.	62	286.	626	311.	633	336.	149	361.	183
262.	329	287.	627	312.	67	337.	225	362.	228
263.	619	288.	628	313.	105	338.	161	363.	643
264.	486	289.	147	314.	634	339.	281	364.	346
265.	93	290.	166	315.	635	340.	207	365.	134
266.	144	291.	24	316.	45	341.	285	366.	335
267.	160	292.	512	317.	80	342.	247	367.	117
268.	185	293.	629	318.	81	343.	256	368.	644
269.	216	294.	59	319.	145	344.	345	369.	208
270.	620	295.	123	320.	636	345.	174	370.	159
271.	621	296.	630	321.	210	346.	231	371.	645
272.	622	297.	482	322.	193	347.	171	372.	132
273.	623	298.	226	323.	223	348.	168	373.	339
274.	624	299.	167	324.	22	349.	638	374.	508
275.	331	300.	74	325.	637	350.	639	375.	258

Thomas Blage. A Schole of Wyse Conceytes cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
376.	111	384.	237	392.	103	400.	501	408.	No # 408
377.	646	385.	317	393.	647	401.	650	409.	86
378.	333	386.	510	394.	648	402.	14 177	410.	140
379.	203	387.	133	395.	649	403.	181	411.	653
380.	503	388.	362	396.	36	404.	651	412.	204
381.	189	389.	209	397.	112	405.	243	413.	654
382.	164	390.	215	398.	92	406.	340		
383.	297	391.	85	399.	173	407.	652		

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5. Robert Henrisone. The Morall Fabillis of Esope. 1570.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	5.	656	9.	657	13.	373		
2.	9	6.	48	10.	418				
3.	398	7.	14	11.	407				
4.	655	8.	16	12.	2				

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

1-2, 9, 14, 16, 48, 373, 398, 407, 418, 655-657.

6. William Bullokar. Aesop's Fables. 1584.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book I									
1.	1	25.	25	49.	49	73.	73	97.	97
2.	2	26.	270	50.	50	74.	74	98.	85
3.	3	27.	27	51.	51	75.	75	99.	81
4.	4	28.	28	52.	52	76.	76	100.	99
5.	5	29.	29	53.	53	77.	77	101.	82
6.	6	30.	30	54.	54	78.	78	102.	100
7.	7	31.	31	55.	55	79.	79	103.	101
8.	8	32.	32	56.	56	80.	80	104.	102
9.	9	33.	33	57.	57	81.	81	105.	83
10.	10	34.	34	58.	58	82.	82	106.	103
11.	11	35.	35	59.	59	83.	83	107.	104
12.	12	36.	36	60.	60	84.	84	108.	78
13.	13	37.	38	61.	61	85.	85	109.	105
14.	14	38.	37	62.	62	86.	86	110.	106
15.	15	39.	39	63.	63	87.	87	111.	107
16.	16	40.	40	64.	64	88.	88	112.	108
17.	17	41.	41	65.	65	89.	89	113.	109
18.	18	42.	42	66.	66	90.	90	114.	110
19.	19	43.	43	67.	67	91.	91	115.	111
20.	20	44.	44	68.	68	92.	92	116.	112
21.	21	45.	45	69.	69	93.	93	117.	113
22.	22	46.	46	70.	70	94.	94	118.	84
23.	23	47.	47	71.	71	95.	95	119.	98
24.	24	48.	48	72.	72	96.	96	120.	114

William Bullokar. Aesop's Fables cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book I cont'd.									
121.	56.	124.	116	127.	119	130.	121.		
122.	115	125.	117	128.	120	131.	109		
123.	116	126.	118	129.	90				
Book II									
1.	103	3.	123	5.	21	7.	125		
2.	122	4.	124	6.	40	8.	126		
Book III									
1.	127	18.	144	35.	164	52.	181	69.	198
2.	128	19.	146	36.	165	53.	182	70.	199
3.	129	20.	147	37.	166	54.	183	71.	200
4.	130	21.	148	38.	167	55.	184	72.	201
5.	131	22.	150	39.	168	56.	185	73.	202
6.	132	23.	151	40.	169	57.	186	74.	203
7.	133	24.	152	41.	171	58.	187	75.	204
8.	134	25.	153	42.	172	59.	188	76.	205
9.	135	26.	154	43.	33	60.	189	77.	206
10.	136	27.	156	44.	173	61.	190	78.	207
11.	137	28.	157	45.	174	62.	191	79.	208
12.	138	29.	158	46.	176	63.	192	80.	209
13.	139	30.	159	47.	177	64.	193	81.	210
14.	140	31.	160	48.	82	65.	194	82.	197
15.	141	32.	161	49.	178	66.	195	83.	212
16.	142	33.	162	50.	179	67.	196	84.	213
17.	143	34.	163	51.	180	68.	197	85.	214

William Bullokar. Aesop's Fables cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book III cont'd.									
86.	215	88.	217	90.	219	92.	221	94.	223
87.	216	89.	218	91.	220	93.	222	95.	224
Book IV									
1.	225	8.	83	15.	229	22.	231	29.	236
2.	58	9.	52	16.	230	23.	232	30.	237
3.	226	10.	109	17.	94	24.	47	31.	179
4.	28	11.	116	18.	46	25.	233	32.	238
5.	53	12.	50	19.	82	26.	234	33.	95
6.	227	13.	57	20.	55	27.	32		
7.	228	14.	51	21.	54	28.	235		
Book V									
1.	59	14.	28	27.	251	40.	256	53.	11
2.	63	15.	244	28.	252	41.	36	54.	260
3.	121	16.	245	29.	57	42.	60	55.	15
4.	216	17.	246	30.	51	43.	24	56.	4
5.	225	18.	53	31.	229	44.	257	57.	69
6.	58	19.	44	32.	230	45.	55	58.	43
7.	61	20.	247	33.	94	46.	258	59.	261
8.	239	21.	248	34.	46	47.	259	60.	73
9.	83	22.	249	35.	253	48.	232	61.	262
10.	240	23.	116	36.	82	49.	72	62.	263
11.	241	24.	250	37.	114	50.	54	63.	6
12.	242	25.	17	38.	254	51.	231	64.	2
13.	226	26.	50	39.	255	52.	62	65.	264

William Bullokar. Aesop's Fables cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book V cont'd									
66.	233	73.	269	80.	26	87.	275	94.	280
67.	70	74.	75	81.	271	88.	276	95.	98
68.	265	75.	23	82.	236	89.	237	96.	281
69.	266	76.	77	83.	106	90.	179	97.	282
70.	267	77.	32	84.	272	91.	277	98.	84
71.	268	78.	113	85.	273	92.	278	99.	283
72.	234	79.	91	86.	274	93.	279		
Book VI									
1.	351	4.	354	7.	242	10.	364		
2.	352	5.	357	8.	360	11.	367		
3.	353	6.	359	9.	362				

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7. [J. Brindley]. Esops Fables Translated. 1624.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	10.	10	19.	19	28.	28	37.	37
2.	2	11.	11	20.	20	29.	29	38.	38
3.	3	12.	12	21.	21	30.	30	39.	39
4.	4	13.	13	22.	22	31.	31	40.	40
5.	5	14.	14	23.	23	32.	32	41.	41
6.	6	15.	15	24.	24	33.	33	42.	42
7.	7	16.	16	25.	25	34.	34	43.	43
8.	8	17.	17	26.	270	35.	35	44.	44
9.	9	18.	18	27.	27	36.	36		

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8. R. A. The Fabulist Metamorphosed and Mythologized.
1634.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	17.	17	33.	34	49.	116	65.	246
2.	2	18.	18	34.	35	50.	254	66.	247
3.	3	19.	19	35.	36	51.	268	67.	265
4.	4	20.	21	36.	37	52.	257	68.	23
5.	5	21.	22	37.	38	53.	261	69.	260
6.	6	22.	23	38.	39	54.	263	70.	73
7.	7	23.	24	39.	40	55.	266	71.	117
8.	8	24.	25	40.	41	56.	274	72.	119
9.	9	25.	270	41.	42	57.	275	73.	124
10.	10	26.	27	42.	272	58.	276	74.	120
11.	11	27.	28	43.	125	59.	280	75.	118
12.	12	28.	29	44.	112	60.	283	76.	622
13.	13	29.	30	45.	98	61.	287	77.	103
14.	14	30.	31	46.	114	62.	301		
15.	15	31.	32	47.	56	63.	345		
16.	16	32.	33	48.	115	64.	57		

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[William Barret]. Fables of Aesop cont'd.

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78-79, 81-88, 90-94, 96, 98-102, 104-109, 111, 113, 116-
117, 119, 129, 202, 208, 225-226, 234-235, 237, 240, 242-
243, 246-247, 255-256, 260, 267, 269-270, 272, 281, 283,
288, 295, 578, 598, 647.

10. H. P. Aesop's Fables. 1646.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book I									
1.	1	10.	10	19.	19	28.	28	37.	37
2.	2	11.	11	20.	20	29.	29	38.	38
3.	3	12.	12	21.	21	30.	30	39.	39
4.	4	13.	13	22.	22	31.	31	40.	40
5.	5	14.	14	23.	23	32.	32	41.	41
6.	6	15.	15	24.	24	33.	33	42.	42
7.	7	16.	16	25.	25	34.	34	43.	43
8.	8	17.	17	26.	26	35.	35	44.	44
9.	9	18.	18	27.	27	36.	36	45.	45

H. P. Aesop's Fables cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book	II								
1.	2	8.	6	15.	134	22.	380	29.	8
2.	17	9.	658	16.	25	23.	19	30.	664
3.	29	10.	379	17.	48	24.	31	31.	18
4.	4	11.	392	18.	660	25.	662		
5.	5	12.	36	19.	375	26.	27		
6.	374	13.	11	20.	661	27.	663		
7.	28	14.	659	21.	12	28.	59		

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19. Philip Ayres. Mythologia Ethica. [1689].

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
<u>First Century</u>									
1.	1	21.	682	41.	126	61.	17.	81.	697
2.	25	22.	143	42.	687	62.	374	82.	569
3.	675	23.	272	43.	661	63.	268	83.	576
4.	676	24.	683	44.	147	64.	18	84.	698
5.	677	25.	684	45.	123	65.	579	85.	183
6.	21	26.	685	46.	688	66.	692	86.	582
7.	267	27.	194	47.	572	67.	605	87.	699
8.	152	28.	273	48.	663	68.	263	88.	16
9.	190	29.	274	49.	30	69.	251	89.	700
10.	193	30.	686	50.	689	70.	693	90.	701
11.	678	31.	557	51.	690	71.	694	91.	285
12.	679	32.	28	52.	15	72.	264	92.	702
13.	11	33.	169	53.	8	73.	266	93.	703
14.	680	34.	72	54.	39	74.	82	94.	286
15.	100	35.	391	55.	294	75.	74	95.	293
16.	265	36.	262	56.	91	76.	256	96.	195
17.	623	37.	586	57.	38	77.	695	97.	173
18.	598	38.	595	58.	691	78.	247	98.	704
19.	270	39.	29	59.	20	79.	696	99.	12
20.	681	40.	129	60.	19	80.	223	100.	705
<u>Second Century</u>									
1.	706	4.	662	7.	664	10.	133	13.	711
2.	707	5.	338	8.	708	11.	710	14.	712
3.	137	6.	132	9.	709	12.	257	15.	102

Leonard Willan. The Phrygian Fabulist cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
126.	257	148.	275	170.	294	192.	315	214.	337
127.	258	149.	276	171.	295	193.	316	215.	338
128.	259	150.	277	172.	296	194.	317	216.	90
129.	72	151.	278	173.	297	195.	318	217.	339
130.	260	152.	279	174.	298	196.	319	218.	340
131.	261	153.	280	175.	299	197.	320	219.	341
132.	262	154.	98	176.	300	198.	321	220.	342
133.	263	155.	281	177.	301	199.	322	221.	343
134.	264	156.	282	178.	302	200.	323	222.	344
135.	265	157.	84	179.	303	201.	324	223.	345
136.	266	158.	283	180.	304	202.	325	224.	346
137.	267	159.	284	181.	305	203.	326	225.	185
138.	268	160.	285	182.	306	204.	327	226.	347
139.	269	161.	286	183.	307	205.	328	227.	348
140.	113	162.	287	184.	308	206.	329	228.	349
141.	91	163.	288	185.	97	207.	330	229.	91
142.	26	164.	289	186.	309	208.	331	230.	86
143.	271	165.	290	187.	310	209.	332	231.	350
144.	106	166.	291	188.	311	210.	333		
145.	272	167.	87	189.	312	211.	334		
146.	273	168.	292	190.	313	212.	335		
147.	274	169.	293	191.	314	213.	336		

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12. The Fables of Aesop. 1650. Pub. Francis Eglesfield.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	26.	270	51.	51	76.	76	101.	101
2.	2	27.	27	52.	52	77.	77	102.	102
3.	3	28.	28	53.	No #53	78.	78	103.	103
4.	4	29.	29	54.	54	79.	79	104.	104
5.	5	30.	30	55.	55	80.	80	105.	105
6.	6	31.	31	56.	56	81.	81	106.	106
7.	7	32.	32	57.	57	82.	82	107.	107
8.	8	33.	33	58.	58	83.	83	108.	108
9.	9	34.	34	59.	59	84.	84	109.	109
10.	10	35.	35	60.	60	85.	85	110.	110
11.	11	36.	36	61.	61	86.	86	111.	111
12.	12	37.	37	62.	62	87.	87	112.	112
13.	13	38.	38	63.	63	88.	88	113.	113
14.	14	39.	39	64.	64	89.	89	114.	98
15.	15	40.	40	65.	65	90.	90	115.	114
16.	16	41.	41	66.	66	91.	91	116.	56
17.	17	42.	42	67.	67	92.	92	117.	115
18.	18	43.	43	68.	68	93.	93	118.	116
19.	19	44.	44	69.	69	94.	94	119.	117
20.	20	45.	45	70.	70	95.	95	120.	119
21.	21	46.	46	71.	71	96.	96	121.	121
22.	22	47.	47	72.	72	97.	97	122.	129
23.	23	48.	48	73.	73	98.	99	123.	578
24.	24	49.	49	74.	74	99.	82	124.	202
25.	25	50.	50	75.	75	100.	100	125.	208

Francis Eglesfield. The Fables of Aesop cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
126.	225	143.	216	160.	255	177.	26	194.	286
127.	226	144.	239	161.	256	178.	271	195.	287
128.	227	145.	240	162.	257	179.	272	196.	288
129.	228	146.	241	163.	258	180.	273	197.	289
130.	229	147.	242	164.	259	181.	274	198.	290
131.	230	148.	243	165.	72	182.	275	199.	291
132.	231	149.	244	166.	260	183.	276	200.	292
133.	232	150.	245	167.	261	184.	277	201.	293
134.	233	151.	246	168.	262	185.	278	202.	294
135.	234	152.	247	169.	263	186.	279	203.	295
136.	32	153.	248	170.	2	187.	280	204.	296
137.	235	154.	249	171.	264	188.	98	205.	297
138.	236	155.	250	172.	265	189.	281	206.	74
139.	237	156.	251	173.	266	190.	282	207.	598
140.	179	157.	252	174.	267	191.	283	208.	647
141.	238	158.	253	175.	268	192.	284		
142.	59	159.	254	176.	269	193.	285		

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13. John Ogilby. Fables of Aesop Paraphras'd in Verse.
1651 and 1668.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	18.	22	35.	33	52.	174 94	69.	77
2.	4	19.	23	36.	39	53.	160	70.	90
3.	5	20.	18	37.	42	54.	87	71.	20
4.	10	21.	19	38.	43	55.	118	72.	24
5.	11	22.	28	39.	665	56.	121	73.	50
6.	3	23.	12	40.	16	57.	117	74.	61
7.	9	24.	13	41.	112	58.	225	75.	630
8.	21	25.	270	42.	44	59.	67	76.	58
9.	14	26.	27	43.	133	60.	130	77.	103
10.	177	27.	37	44.	164	61.	666	78.	216
11.	8	28.	36	45.	45	62.	123	79.	60
12.	17	29.	34	46.	109	63.	182	80.	63
13.	31	30.	29	47.	40	64.	32	81.	48
14.	2	31.	38	48.	52	65.	89	82.	374*
15.	6	32.	35	49.	352	66.	49		
16.	7	33.	30	50.	106	67.	82		
17.	15	34.	41	51.	262	68.	75		

*Fable added to 1668 edition

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89-90, 94, 103, 106, 109, 112, 117-118, 121, 123, 130,
133, 160, 164, 174, 177, 182, 216, 225, 262, 270, 352, 374,
630, 665-666.

14. Charles Hoole. Aesop's Fables, English and Latine.
1657.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book I	I								
1.	1	25.	25	49.	49	73.	73	97.	97
2.	2	26.	26	50.	50	74.	74	98.	85
3.	3	27.	27	51.	51	75.	75	99.	98
4.	4	28.	28	52.	52	76.	76	100.	99
5.	5	29.	29	53.	53	77.	77	101.	82
6.	6	30.	30	54.	54	78.	78	102.	100
7.	7	31.	31	55.	55	79.	79	103.	101
8.	8	32.	32	56.	56	80.	80	104.	102
9.	9	33.	33	57.	57	81.	81	105.	83
10.	10	34.	34	58.	58	82.	82	106.	103
11.	11	35.	35	59.	59	83.	83	107.	104
12.	12	36.	36	60.	60	84.	84	108.	78
13.	13	37.	37	61.	61	85.	85	109.	105
14.	14	38.	38	62.	62	86.	86	110.	106
15.	15	39.	39	63.	63	87.	87	111.	107
16.	16	40.	40	64.	64	88.	88	112.	108
17.	17	41.	41	65.	65	89.	89	113.	109
18.	18	42.	42	66.	66	90.	90	114.	110
19.	19	43.	43	67.	67	91.	91	115.	111
20.	20	44.	44	68.	68	92.	92	116.	112
21.	21	45.	45	69.	69	93.	93	117.	113
22.	22	46.	46	70.	70	94.	94	118.	84
23.	23	47.	47	71.	71	95.	95	119.	98
24.	24	48.	48	72.	72	96.	96	120.	114

Charles Hoole. Aesop's Fables cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book I cont'd.									
121.	56	145.	132	169.	158	193.	180	217.	206
122.	115	146.	133	170.	159	194.	181	218.	207
123.	116	147.	134	171.	160	195.	182	219.	208
124.	116	148.	135	172.	161	196.	183	220.	209
125.	117	149.	136	173.	162	197.	184	221.	210
126.	118	150.	137	174.	163	198.	185	222.	211
127.	119	151.	138	175.	164	199.	186	223.	212
128.	120	152.	139	176.	165	200.	187	224.	213
129.	90	153.	140	177.	166	201.	188	225.	215
130.	121	154.	141	178.	167	202.	189	226.	216
131.	109	155.	142	179.	168	203.	190	227.	217
132.	103	156.	143	180.	169	204.	191	228.	218
133.	122	157.	144	181.	170	205.	192	229.	219
134.	123	158.	145	182.	171	206.	193	230.	220
135.	124	159.	146	183.	172	207.	194	231.	222
136.	21	160.	147	184.	33	208.	195	232.	223
137.	40	161.	148	185.	173	209.	196	233.	224
138.	125	162.	149	186.	174	210.	199		
139.	126	163.	150	187.	175	211.	200		
140.	127	164.	151	188.	176	212.	201		
141.	128	165.	152	189.	177	213.	202		
142.	129	166.	153	190.	82	214.	203		
143.	130	167.	154	191.	178	215.	204		
144.	131	168.	156	192.	179	216.	205		

Charles Hoole.. Aesop's Fables cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book II									
1.	225	25.	233	49.	244	73.	36	97.	264.
2.	58	26.	234	50.	245	74.	60	98.	233
3.	226	27.	32	51.	246	75.	74	99.	70
4.	28	28.	235	52.	53	76.	257	100.	265
5.	249	29.	236	53.	44	77.	55	101.	266
6.	227	30.	237	54.	247	78.	258	102.	267
7.	228	31.	179	55.	248	79.	259	103.	268
8.	83	32.	238	56.	116	80.	232	104.	234
9.	52	33.	95	57.	250	81.	72	105.	269
10.	109	34.	59	58.	17	82.	54	106.	75
11.	116	35.	63	59.	50	83.	231	107.	23
12.	50	36.	121	60.	251	84.	62	108	77
13.	57	37.	216	61.	252	85.	11	109.	32
14.	51	38.	225	62.	57	86.	260	110.	113
15.	229	39.	58	63.	51	87.	15	111.	91
16.	230	40.	61	64.	229	88.	4	112.	270
17.	94	41.	239	65.	230	89.	69	113.	271
18.	46	42.	83	66.	94	90.	43	114.	236
19.	82	43.	240	67.	253	91.	261	115.	106
20.	55	44.	241	68.	82	92.	73	116.	272
21.	54	45.	242	69.	114	93.	262	117.	273
22.	231	46.	226	70.	254	94.	263	118.	274
23.	232	47.	28	71.	255	95.	6	119.	275
24.	47	48.	243	72.	256	96.	2	120.	276

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33(2), 34-35, 36(2), 37-39, 40(2), 41-42, 43(2), 44(2),
45, 46(2), 47(2), 48-49, 50(3), 51(3), 52(2), 53(2), 54(3),
55(3), 56(2), 57(3), 58(3), 59(2), 60(2), 61(2), 62(2),
63(2), 64-69, 70(2), 71(2), 72(2), 73(2), 74(2), 75(2),
76(2), 77(2), 78(2), 79, 80(2), 81, 82(5), 83(4), 84(3),
85(2), 86(2), 87(2), 88-89, 90(3), 91(3), 92-93, 94(3),
95(2), 96, 97(2), 98(3), 99-102, 103(2), 104-105, 106(2),
107-108, 109(3), 110-112, 113(3), 114(2), 115, 116(4),
117-120, 121(2), 122-154, 156, 158-178, 179(3), 180-184,
185(2), 186-196, 199-213, 215, 216(2), 217-220, 222-224,
225(2), 226(2), 227-228, 229(2), 230(2), 231(2), 232(2),
233(2), 234(2), 235, 236(2), 237(2), 238-264, 265(2), 266-
350.

15. Francis Barlow. Aesop's Fables. 1665 and 1687.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	23.	14	45.	37	67.	11	89.	226
2.	2	24.	177	46.	295	68.	129	90.	274
3.	101	25.	92	47.	29	69.	86	91.	63
4.	91	26.	31	48.	30	70.	275	92.	73
5.	211	27.	58	49.	84	71.	50	93.	272
6.	103	28.	41	50.	7	72.	90	94.	45
7.	352	29.	64	51.	43	73.	21	95.	268
8.	598	30.	34	52.	114	74.	109	96.	113
9.	38	31.	100	53.	112	75.	15	97.	56
10.	59	32.	263	54.	40	76.	216	98.	39
11.	612	33.	82	55.	32	77.	66	99.	12
12.	54	34.	89	56.	60	78.	83	100.	52
13.	20	35.	3	57.	61	79.	80	101.	251
14.	33	36.	17	58.	116	80.	4	102.	8
15.	49	37.	76	59.	62	81.	13	103.	232
16.	18	38.	287	60.	225	82.	6	104.	71
17.	9	39.	105	61.	665	83.	104	105.	106
18.	16	40.	196	62.	51	84.	96	106.	36
19.	231	41.	23	63.	265	85.	27	107.	42
20.	117	42.	35	64.	22	86.	164	108.	70
21.	594	43.	48	65.	93	87.	94	109.	262
22.	5	44.	99	66.	239	88.	55	110.	87

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1-9, 11-18, 20-23, 27, 29-43, 45, 48-52, 54-56, 58-64, 66, 70-71, 73, 76, 80, 82-84, 86-87, 89-94, 96, 99-101, 103-106, 109, 112-114, 116-117, 129, 164, 177, 196, 211, 216, 225-226, 231-232, 239, 251, 262-263, 265, 268, 272, 274-275, 287, 295, 352, 594, 598, 612, 665.

15. John Ogilby. Aesopics. 1668.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	66	12.	84	23.	301	34.	418	45.	404
2.	64	13.	114	24.	378	35.	670	46.	59
3.	73	14.	78	25.	394	36.	63	47.	59
4.	193	15.	395	26.	93	37.	100	48.	59
5.	667	16.	243	27.	65	38.	79	49.	388
6.	136	17.	104	28.	105	39.	386	50.	673
7.	240	18.	266	29.	410	40.	671	[51.]	381
8.	11	19.	113	30.	668	41.	269	[52.]	383
9.	88	20.	389	31.	281	42.	269		
10.	377	21.	301	32.	10 669	43.	404		
11.	409	22.	301	33.	102	44.	672		

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17. Aesop Explained. 1682. [First published 1672?]

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	18.	22	35.	114	52.	77	69.	115
2.	2	19.	24	36.	336	53.	78	70.	111
3.	3	20.	25	37.	337	54.	79	71.	112
4.	4	21.	26	38.	332	55.	674	72.	116
5.	5	22.	27	39.	333	56.	80	73.	118
6.	6	23.	28	40.	90	57.	85	74.	126
7.	7	24.	29	41.	341	58.	94	75.	127
8.	9	25.	84	42.	342	59.	96	76.	123
9.	10	26.	83	43.	345	60.	101	77.	129
10.	11	27.	82	44.	70	61.	102	78.	131
11.	12	28.	202	45.	68	62.	104	79.	132
12.	13	29.	295	46.	43	63.	99	80.	133
13.	14	30	150	47.	72	64.	105	81.	134
14.	16	31.	161	48.	73	65.	106	82.	135
15.	17	32.	343	49.	74	66.	108	83.	228
16.	19	33.	88	50.	75	67.	109	84.	288
17.	21	34.	89	51.	76	68.	110	85.	213
								86.	46

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18. Aesop Improved. 1673.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book I									
1.	1	25.	25	49.	49	73.	73	97.	97
2.	2	26.	26	50.	50	74.	74	98.	85
3.	3	27.	27	51.	51	75.	75	99.	-*
4.	4	28.	28	52.	52	76.	76	100.	99
5.	5	29.	29	53.	53	77.	77	101.	82
6.	6	30.	30	54.	54	78.	78	102.	100
7.	7	31.	31	55.	55	79.	79	103.	101
8.	8	32.	32	56.	56	80.	80	104.	102
9.	9	33.	33	57.	57	81.	81	105.	-*
10.	10	34.	34	58.	58	82.	82	106.	103
11.	11	35.	35	59.	59	83.	83	107.	104
12.	12	36.	36	60.	60	84.	84	108.	-*
13.	13	37.	37	61.	61	85.	85	109.	105
14.	14	38.	38	62.	62	86.	86	110.	106
15.	15	39.	39	63.	63	87.	87	111.	107
16.	16	40.	40	64.	64	88.	88	112.	108
17.	17	41.	41	65.	65	89.	89	113.	109
18.	18	42.	42	66.	66	90.	90	114.	110
19.	19	43.	43	67.	67	91.	91	115.	111
20.	20	44.	44	68.	68	92.	92	116.	112
21.	21	45.	45	69.	69	93.	93	117.	113
22.	22	46.	46	70.	70	94.	94	118.	-*
23.	23	47.	47	71.	71	95.	95	119.	98
24.	24	48.	48	72.	72	96.	96	120.	114

Aesop Improved cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book	I cont'd.								
121.	-*	145.	132	169.	158	193.	180	217.	206
122.	115	146.	133	170.	159	194.	181	218.	207
123.	116	147.	134	171.	160	195.	182	219.	208
124.	-*	148.	135	172.	161	196.	183	220.	209
125.	117	149.	136	173.	162	197.	184	221.	210
126.	118	150.	137	174.	163	198.	185	222.	197
127.	119	151.	138	175.	164	199.	186	223.	212
128.	120	152.	139	176.	165	200.	187	224.	213
129.	-*	153.	140	177.	166	201.	188	225.	215
130.	121	154.	141	178.	167	202.	189	226.	216
131.	-*	155.	142	179.	168	203.	190	227.	217
132.	-*	156.	143	180.	169	204.	191	228.	218
133.	122	157.	144	181.	170	205.	192	229.	219
134.	123	158.	145	182.	171	206.	193	230.	220
135.	124	159.	146	183.	172	207.	194	231.	222
136.	-*	160.	147	184.	-*	208.	195	232.	223
137.	-*	161.	148	185.	173	209.	196	233.	224
138.	125	162.	149	186.	174	210.	199		
139.	126	163.	150	187.	175	211.	200		
140.	127	164.	151	188.	176	212.	201		
141.	128	165.	152	189.	177	213.	202		
142.	129	166.	153	190.	-*	214.	203		
143.	130	167.	154	191.	178	215.	204		
144.	131	168.	156	192.	179	216.	205		

Aesop Improved cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book	II								
1.	225	25.	247	49.	23	73.	293	97.	318
2.	-*	26.	248	50.	270	74.	294	98.	319
3.	226	27.	250	51.	271	75.	295	99.	320
4.	228	28.	251	52.	272	76.	296	100.	315
5.	229	29.	252	53.	274	77.	297	101.	321
6.	231	30.	253	54.	275	78.	298	102.	323
7.	232	31.	254	55.	276	79.	299	103.	322
8.	233	32.	255	56.	277	80.	300	104.	324
9.	234	33.	256	57.	278	81.	301	105.	325
10.	235	34.	257	58.	279	82.	302	106.	326
11.	236	35.	258	59.	280	83.	303	107.	327
12.	237	36.	259	60.	281	84.	304	108.	328
13.	179	37.	72	61.	282	85.	305	109.	329
14.	238	38.	260	62.	283	86.	306	110. 110.	330 331
15.	59	39.	261	63.	284	87.	307	111.	332
16.	63	40.	262	64.	285	88.	308	112.	333
17.	216	41.	263	65.	286	89.	309	113.	334
18.	61	42.	2	66.	287	90.	310	114.	335
19.	240	43.	264	67.	288	91.	311	115.	336
20.	241	44.	265	68.	289	92.	312	116.	337
21.	243	45.	266	69.	290	93.	313	117.	338
22.	242	46.	267	70.	291	94.	314	118.	90
23.	-*	47.	268	71.	87	95.	316	119.	339
24.	246	48.	269	72.	292	96.	317	120.	340

Aesop Improved cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book	II cont'd.								
121.	341	124.	344	127.	185	130.	349	133.	350
122.	342	125.	345	128.	347	131.	91		
123.	343	126.	346	129.	348	132.	86		

*Fables omitted in this collection in most places where duplications occur in Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae.

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1, 2(2), 3-22, 23(2), 24-58, 59(2), 60, 61(2), 62, 63(2), 64-71, 72(2), 73-81, 82(2), 83-85, 86(2), 87(2), 88-89, 90(2), 91(2), 92-98, 100-156, 158-178, 179(2), 180-184, 185(2), 186-197, 199-210, 212-213, 215, 216(2), 217-220, 222-226, 228-229, 231-238, 240-243, 246-248, 250-272, 274-350.

19. Philip Ayres. Mythologia Ethica. [1689].

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
<u>First Century</u>									
1.	1	21.	682	41.	126	61.	17	81.	697
2.	25	22.	143	42.	687	62.	374	82.	569
3.	675	23.	272	43.	661	63.	268	83.	576
4.	676	24.	683	44.	147	64.	18	84.	698
5.	677	25.	684	45.	123	65.	579	85.	183
6.	21	26.	685	46.	688	66.	692	86.	582
7.	267	27.	194	47.	572	67.	605	87.	699
8.	152	28.	273	48.	663	68.	263	88.	16
9.	190	29.	274	49.	30	69.	251	89.	700
10.	193	30.	686	50.	689	70.	693	90.	701
11.	678	31.	557	51.	690	71.	694	91.	285
12.	679	32.	28	52.	15	72.	264	92.	702
13.	11	33.	169	53.	8	73.	266	93.	703
14.	680	34.	72	54.	39	74.	82	94.	286
15.	100	35.	391	55.	294	75.	74	95.	293
16.	265	36.	262	56.	91	76.	256	96.	195
17.	623	37.	586	57.	38	77.	695	97.	173
18.	598	38.	595	58.	691	78.	247	98.	704
19.	270	39.	29	59.	20	79.	696	99.	12
20.	681	40.	129	60.	19	80.	223	100.	705
<u>Second Century</u>									
1.	706	4.	662	7.	664	10.	133	13.	711
2.	707	5.	338	8.	708	11.	710	14.	712
3.	137	6.	132	9.	709	12.	257	15.	102

Philip Ayres. Mythologia Ethica cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
<u>Second Century cont'd.</u>									
16.	139	33.	719	50.	23	67.	394	84.	146
17.	378	34.	140	51.	22	68.	732	85.	738
18.	490	35.	720	52.	325	69.	519	86.	255
19.	135	36.	635	53.	156	70.	106	87.	282
20.	713	37.	721	54.	724	71.	733	88.	620
21.	714	38.	331	55.	13	72.	577	89.	739
22.	715	39.	332	56.	611	73.	87	90.	740
23.	125	40.	333	57.	725	74.	103	91.	259
24.	128	41.	344	58.	726	75.	41	92.	741
25.	716	42.	373	59.	727	76.	734	93.	742
26.	202	43.	175	60.	647	77.	735	94.	743
27.	201	44.	722	61.	388	78.	350	95.	205
28.	717	45.	723	62.	728	79.	736	96.	252
29.	718	46.	601	63.	729	80.	643	97.	93
30.	320	47.	295	64.	730	81.	737	98.	283
31.	443	48.	289	65.	5	82.	258	99.	744
32.	134	49.	59	66.	731	83.	56	100.	181
<u>Third Century</u>									
1.	40	7.	41	13.	747	19.	399	25.	36
2.	305	8.	314	14.	33	20.	315	26.	97
3.	745	9.	312	15.	316	21.	750	27.	751
4.	652	10.	298	16.	748	22.	616	28.	35
5.	746	11.	379	17.	303	23.	48	29.	648
6.	42	12.	310	18.	749	24.	80	30.	752

Philip Ayres. Mythologia Ethica cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
<u>Third Century cont'd.</u>									
31.	386	45.	417	59.	352	73.	153	87.	771
32.	89	46.	757	60.	380	74.	191	88.	561
33.	318	47.	86	61.	317	75.	174	89.	603
34.	304	48.	24	62.	219	76.	766	90.	772
35.	753	49.	715	63.	762	77.	144	91.	615
36.	279	50.	145	64.	115	78.	235	92.	84
37.	299	51.	277	65.	34	79.	767	93.	85
38.	60	52.	278	66.	763	80.	63	94.	520
39.	754	53.	758	67.	98	81.	768	95.	99
40.	302	54.	759	68.	248	82.	769	96.	773
41.	61	55.	301	69.	764	83.	574	97.	75
42.	296	56.	760	70.	32	84.	6	98.	774
43.	755	57.	761	71.	113	85.	196	99.	775
44.	756	58.	222	72.	765	86.	770	100.	776

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20. [N. Crouch]. Delightful Fables. 1691.
and Aesop's Fables. 1712.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	761	10.	775	19.	757	28.	782	37.	710
2.	669	11.	174	20.	779	29.	314	38.	785
3.	777	12.	680	21.	780	30.	783(1) 256(2)	39.	388 673
4.	84	13.	715	22.	651	31.	558	40.	702
5.	320	14.	719	23.	403 396	32.	784	41.	379
6.	689	15.	682	24.	675	33.	126	42.	686
7.	676	16.	622	25.	698	34.	705		
8.	739	17.	778	26.	691	35.	490		
9.	191	18.	736	27.	781	36.	418		

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21. Sir Roger L'Estrange. Fables of Aesop. 1692.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	26.	144	51.	41	76.	64	101.	239
2.	61	27.	23	52.	103	77.	65	102.	240
3.	2	28.	24	53.	42	78.	93	103.	241
4.	3	29.	48	54.	43	79.	197	104.	242
5.	287	30.	26	55.	44	80.	66	105.	243
6.	4	31.	27	56.	45	81.	67	106.	244
7.	5	32.	28	57.	45	82.	68	107.	245
8.	6	33.	257	58.	46	83.	225	108.	246
9.	7	34.	30	59.	47	84.	226	109.	247
10.	8	35.	31	60.	49	85.	227	110.	248
11.	9	36.	92	61.	50	86.	228	111.	249
12.	10	37.	32	62.	51	87.	229	112.	250
13.	11	38.	33	63.	52	88.	230	113.	251
14.	12	39.	335	64.	53	89.	231	114.	252
15.	13	40.	34	65.	153	90.	232	115.	255
16.	14	41.	763	66.	54	91.	253	116.	256
17.	15	42.	35	67.	55	92.	233	117.	258
18.	16	43.	36	68.	56	93.	308	118.	259
19.	17	44.	37	69.	57	94.	558	119.	260
20.	18	45.	38	70.	343	95.	234	120.	261
21.	19	46.	39	71.	58	96.	235	121.	262
22.	20	47.	276	72.	59	97.	236	122.	263
23.	21	48.	349	73.	60	98.	237	123.	264
24.	192	49.	650	74.	62	99.	179	124.	265
25.	22	50.	40	75.	63	100.	238	125.	266

Sir Roger L'Estrange. Fables of Aesop cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
126.	315	151.	296	176.	322	201.	350	226.	92
127.	268	152.	297	177.	323	202.	69	227.	94
128.	269	153.	298	178.	324	203.	70	228.	95
129.	272	154.	299	179.	325	204.	71	229.	96
130.	631	155.	300	180.	326	205.	72	230.	770
131.	273	156.	301	181.	327	206.	73	231.	97
132.	274	157.	302	182.	328	207.	74	232.	159
133.	275	158.	303	183.	329	208.	75	233.	254
134.	786	159.	304	184.	330	209.	76	234.	99
135.	277	160.	714	185.	331	210.	78	235.	100
136.	278	161.	305	186.	332	211.	79	236.	101
137.	279	162.	306	187.	333	212.	80	237.	102
138.	280	163.	307	188.	334	213.	81	238.	104
139.	281	164.	309	189.	336	214.	636	239.	105
140.	282	165.	310	190.	337	215.	82	240.	106
141.	283	166.	311	191.	338	216.	83	241.	107
142.	285	167.	312	192.	339	217.	84	242.	108
143.	286	168.	313	193.	340	218.	85	243.	109
144.	288	169.	314	194.	341	219.	86	244.	110
145.	290	170.	316	195.	342	220.	87	245.	111
146.	291	171.	317	196.	345	221.	88	246.	112
147.	292	172.	318	197.	346	222.	787	247.	113
148.	293	173.	319	198.	185	223.	89	248.	98
149.	294	174.	320	199.	347	224.	90	249.	114
150.	295	175.	321	200.	348	225.	91	250.	56

Sir Roger L'Estrange. Fables of Aesop cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
251.	115	276.	149	301.	175	326.	198	351.	224
252.	116	277.	150	302.	176	327.	199	352.	351
253.	734	278.	151	303.	177	328.	200	353.	352
254.	622	279.	152	304.	178	329.	201	354.	353
255.	127	280.	154	305.	179	330.	202	355.	354
256.	128	281.	155	306.	180	331.	203	356.	355
257.	129	282.	156	307.	181	332.	204	357.	356
258.	130	283.	157	308.	182	333.	205	358.	357
259.	131	284.	158	309.	183	334.	206	359.	358
260.	132	285.	344	310.	184	335.	207	360.	359
261.	133	286.	160	311.	185	336.	208	361.	360
262.	134	287.	161	312.	186	337.	209	362.	361
263.	135	288.	162	313.	187	338.	210	363.	362
264.	136	289.	163	314.	188	339.	212	364.	363
265.	137	290.	164	315.	271	340.	213	365.	364
266.	138	291.	165	316.	189	341.	214	366.	365
267.	139	292.	166	317.	190	342.	215	367.	366
268.	140	293.	167	318.	191	343.	216	368.	367
269.	141	294.	168	319.	289	344.	217	369.	368
270.	142	295.	169	320.	193	345.	218	370.	369
271.	143	296.	170	321.	194	346.	219	371.	370
272.	145	297.	171	322.	195	347.	220	372.	371
273.	146	298.	172	323.	375	348.	221	373.	372
274.	147	299.	173	324.	196	349.	222	374.	117
275.	148	300.	174	325.	197	350.	223	375.	118

Sir Roger L'Estrange. Fables of Aesop cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
376.	119	401.	659	426.	810	451.	823	476.	838
377.	120	402.	800	427.	811	452.	653	477.	839
378.	121	403.	801	428.	812	453.	824	478.	840
379.	122	404.	664	429.	813	454.	643	479.	841
380.	123	405.	374	430.	736	455.	825	480.	842
381.	124	406.	802	431.	658	456.	638	481.	414
382.	125	407.	607	432.	814	457.	826	482.	843
383.	126	408.	803	433.	815	458.	572	483.	844
384.	376	409.	555	434.	816	459.	827	484.	845
385.	788	410.	598	435.	776	460.	828	485.	846
386.	789	411.	804	436.	817	461.	829	486.	732
387.	790	412.	767	437.	386	462.	830	487.	577
388.	791	413.	391	438.	818	463.	831	488.	847
389.	792	414.	696	439.	819	464.	832	489.	848
390.	793	415.	379	440.	593	465.	833	490.	388
391.	594	416.	387	441.	380	466.	703	491.	583
392.	794	417.	805	442.	595	467.	834	492.	849
393.	704	418.	806	443.	820	468.	835	493.	850
394.	795	419.	579	444.	590	469.	737	494.	851
395.	719	420.	661	445.	585	470.	836	495.	852
396.	796	421.	751	446.	700	471.	837	496.	853
397.	797	422.	556	447.	821	472.	713	497.	854
398.	798	423.	807	448.	822	473.	679	498.	855
399.	799	424.	808	449.	637	474.	711	499.	856
400.	587	425.	809	450.	394	475.	692	500.	857

Sir Roger L'Estrange. Fables of Aesop cont'd.

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22. Aesop Naturaliz'd. 1697.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	11.	840	21.	379	31.	27	41.	41
2.	816	12.	176	22.	572	32.	37	42.	15
3.	31	13.	177	23.	152	33.	59	43.	55
4.	787	14.	61	24.	267	34.	283	44.	36
5.	164	15.	809	25.	11	35.	801	45.	89
6.	822	16.	579	26.	557	36.	10	46.	299
7.	297	17.	220	27.	793	37.	225	46.	738
8.	391	18.	808	28.	6	38.	858	47.	314
9.	88	19.	767	29.	362	39.	9	48.	652
10.	394	20.	4	30.	380	40.	348	49.	302
								50.	755

Aesop Naturaliz'd (1697) cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
51.	296	61.	594	71.	832	81.	30	91.	195
52.	728	62.	251	72.	103	82.	374	92.	12
53.	729	63.	218	73.	761	83.	144	93.	202
54.	5	64.	696	74.	301	84.	860	94.	724
55.	643	65.	357	75.	2	85.	349	95.	700
56.	350	66.	182	76.	134	86.	274	96.	601
57.	756	67.	193	77.	859	87.	132	97.	173
58.	757	68.	196	78.	619	88.	13	98.	133
59.	278	69.	91	79.	375	89.	647	99.	598
60.	339	70.	184	80.	658	90.	373	100.	715

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23. Benjamin Harris. Fables of Young Aesop. 1697.

39 original fables with catalogue numbers 861-899.

24. Walter Pope. Moral and Political Fables. 1698.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	688	23.	142	45.	162	67.	144	89.	342
2.	96	24.	57	46.	354	68.	46	90.	340
3.	622	25.	256	47.	900	69.	307	91.	235
4.	803	26.	341	48.	314	70.	291	92.	240
5.	74	27.	272	49.	103	71.	82	93.	53
6.	73	28.	84	50.	2	72.	338	94.	28
7.	285	29.	269	51.	32	73.	310	95.	9
8.	316	30.	260	52.	767	74.	255	96.	9
9.	109	31.	776	53.	901	75.	59	97.	61
10.	77	32.	75	54.	251	76.	902	98.	357
11.	90	33.	328	55.	288	77.	715	99.	191
12.	325	34.	326	56.	15	78.	586	100.	227
13.	720	35.	52	57.	267	79.	252	101.	903
14.	4	36.	598	58.	11	80.	289	102.	348
15.	335	37.	334	59.	71	81.	237	103.	329
16.	244	38.	741	60.	265	82.	112	104.	228
17.	301	39.	594	61.	303	83.	233	105.	45
18.	239	40.	8	62.	273	84.	43	106.	134
19.	143	41.	297	63.	58	85.	41	107.	904
20.	577	42.	579	64.	305	86.	558	108.	905
21.	259	43.	294	65.	246	87.	90	109.	906
22.	16	44.	188	66.	286	88.	86	110.	907

26. Aesop at Tunbridge. 1698.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	909	4.	379	7.	664	10.	804	13.	911
2.	1	5.	45	8.	134	11.	220		
3.	52	6.	910	9.	732	12.	790		

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

1, 45, 52, 134, 220, 379, 664, 732, 790, 804, 909-911.

27. Aesop at Bathe. 1698.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	909	3.	358	5.	913	7.	914	9.	916
2.	912	4.	272	6.	790	8.	915		

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

272, 358, 790, 909, 912-916.

28. Old Aesop at Whitehal. 1698.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
-	917	3.	918	6.	239	9.	55		
1.	160	4.	90	7.	919	10.	921		
2.	40	5.	193	8.	920				

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

40, 55, 90, 160, 193, 239, 917-921.

29. Aesop Return'd from Tunbridge. 1698.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	922	4.	172	7.	75	10.	56	13.	109
2.	193	5.	13	8.	923	11.	184		
3.	272	6.	84	9.	924	12.	925		

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

13, 56, 75, 84, 109, 172, 184, 193, 272, 922-925.

30. Aesop at Amsterdam. 1698.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	926	4.	928	7.	931	10.	934		
2.	927	5.	929	8.	932	11.	935		
3.	17	6.	930	9.	933				

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

17, 926-935.

31. Aesop from Islington. 1699.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	7	3.	937	5.	62	7.	939		
2.	936	4.	164	6.	938	8.	243		

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

7, 62, 164, 243, 936-939.

32. Sir Roger L'Estrange. Fables and Stories Moraliz'd.
1699. 4th ed. 1730.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	940	26.	964	51.	987	76.	1011	101.	1033
2.	941	27.	965	52.	988	77.	1012	102.	1034
3.	942	28.	966	53.	989	78.	1013	103.	1035
4.	943	29.	967	54.	990	79.	1014	104.	1036
5.	944	30.	968	55.	991	80.	1015	105.	1037
6.	945	31.	969	56.	992	81.	1016	106.	1038
7.	946	32.	970	57.	993	82.	1017	107.	1039
8.	947	33.	971	58.	994	83.	1018	108.	1040
9.	948	34.	972	59.	995	84.	1019	109.	1041
10.	949	35.	973	60.	586	85.	439	110.	1042
11.	950	36.	974	61.	996	86.	435	111.	1043
12.	951	37.	975	62.	997	87.	1020	112.	613
13.	952	38.	976	63.	998	88.	1021	113.	1044
14.	953	39.	977	64.	999	89.	1022	114.	1045
15.	954	40.	978	65.	1000	90.	1023	115.	1046
16.	597	41.	710	66.	1001	91.	674	116.	1047
17.	955	42.	979	67.	1002	92.	1024	117.	1048
18.	956	43.	980	68.	1003	93.	1025	118.	1049
19.	957	44.	981	69.	1004	94.	1026	119.	1050
20.	958	45.	982	70.	1005	95.	1027	120.	1051
21.	959	46.	983	71.	1006	96.	1028	121.	1052
22.	960	47.	984	72.	1007	97.	1029	122.	1053
23.	961	48.	985	73.	1008	98.	1030	123.	1054
24.	962	49.	986	74.	1009	99.	1031	124.	852
25.	963	50.	738	75.	1010	100.	1032	125.	1055

Sir Roger L'Estrange. Fables and Stories cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
126.	1056	151.	1080	176.	1105	201.	1128	226.	1151
127.	1057	152.	1081	177.	1106	202.	1129	227.	1152
128.	1058	153.	1082	178.	1107	203.	1130	228.	1153
129.	1059	154.	1083	179.	1108	204.	1131	229.	1154
130.	665	155.	1084	180.	1109	205.	1132	230.	1155
131.	1060	156.	1085	181.	1110	206.	1133	231.	1156
132.	1061	157.	1086	182.	1111	207.	1134	232.	1157
133.	1062	158.	1087	183.	1112	208.	1135	233.	1158
134.	1063	159.	1088	184.	1113	209.	1136	234.	1159
135.	1064	160.	1089	185.	1114	210.	1137	235.	1160
136.	1065	161.	1090	186.	1115	211.	1138	236.	1161
137.	1066	162.	1091	187.	1116	212.	1139	237.	1162
138.	1067	163.	1092	188.	1117	213.	1140	238.	1163
139.	1068	164.	1093	189.	1118	214.	1141	239.	721
140.	1069	165.	1094	190.	423	215.	1142	240.	1164
141.	1070	166.	1095	191.	1119	216.	1143	241.	1165
142.	1071	167.	1096	192.	1120	217.	554	242.	1166
143.	1072	168.	1097	193.	1121	218.	1144	243.	1167
144.	1073	169.	1098	194.	1122	219.	1145	244.	1168
145.	1074	170.	1099	195.	1123	220.	1146	245.	563
146.	1075	171.	1100	196.	1124	221.	1147	246.	1169
147.	1076	172.	1101	197.	1125	222.	1148	247.	1170
148.	1077	173.	1102	198.	1126	223.	1149	248.	1171
149.	1078	174.	1103	199.	1127	224.	1150	249.	1172
150.	1079	175.	1104	200.	907	225.	754	250.	1173

Sir Roger L'Estrange. Fables and Stories cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
251.	1174	257.	1180	263.	1186	269.	1192	275.	1197
252.	1175	258.	1181	264.	1187	270.	1193	276.	1198
253.	1176	259.	1182	265.	1188	271.	1194		
254.	1177	260.	1183	266.	1189	272.	1195		
255.	1178	261.	1184	267.	1190	273.	1196		
256.	1179	262.	1185	268.	1191	274.	647		

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423, 435, 439, 554, 563, 586, 597, 613, 647, 665, 674,
710, 721, 738, 754, 852, 907, 940-1198.

33. Fables of Aesop in English Verse. 1700.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	194	21.	139	41.	219	61.	239	81.	145
2.	185	22.	140	42.	157	62.	248	82.	227
3.	172	23.	335	43.	131	63.	786	83.	154
4.	79	24.	351	44.	21	64.	345	84.	118
5.	170	25.	354	45.	107	65.	141	85.	33
6.	166	26.	360	46.	149	66.	387	86.	272
7.	95	27.	366	47.	51	67.	811	87.	285
8.	72	28.	120	48.	105	68.	53	88.	215
9.	237	29.	704	49.	169	69.	187	89.	40
10.	179	30.	732	50.	355	70.	112	90.	62
11.	116	31.	577	51.	13	71.	330	91.	818
12.	124	32.	847	52.	661	72.	365	92.	371
13.	189	33.	386	53.	558	73.	361	93.	186
14.	28	34.	804	54.	150	74.	362	94.	54
15.	76	35.	791	55.	316	75.	65	95.	322
16.	83	36.	607	56.	174	76.	358	96.	304
17.	155	37.	827	57.	82	77.	19	97.	254
18.	162	38.	679	58.	229	78.	851	98.	263
19.	156	39.	830	59.	46	79.	22	99.	855
20.	32	40.	198	60.	199	80.	135	100.	126

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34. Canterbury Tales. 1701.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1199	4.	63	7.	18	10.	1204	13.	1205
2.	226	5.	1201	8.	1203	11.	324		
3.	1200	6.	1202	9.	328	12.	213		

-Summary of contents by catalogue number:

18, 63, 213, 226, 324, 328, 1199-1205.

35. Aesop in Spain. 1701.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1206	3.	1208	5.	1210	7.	101		
2.	1207	4.	1209	6.	1211	8.	1212		

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

101, 1206-1212.

36. Aesop at Paris. 1701.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	51	3.	17	5.	747	7.	262	9.	399
2.	18	4.	4	6.	261	8.	235		

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

4, 17-18, 51, 235, 261-262, 399, 747.

37. Prince Perkin the 2d, or, Aesop on this Juncture.
1702.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1213	5.	7	9.	16	13.	1220	17.	24
2.	761	6.	1216	10.	1218	14.	6		
3.	1214	7.	1217	11.	202	15.	1221		
4.	1215	8.	21	12.	1219	16.	1222		

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6-7, 16, 21, 24, 202, 761, 1213-1222.

38. Thomas Yálden. Aesop at Court. 1702.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	181	5.	202	9.	439	13.	622		
2.	5	6.	272 240	10.	696	14.	840		
3.	252	7.	44	11.	89	15.	71		
4.	1223	8.	816	12.	1224	16.	849		

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5, 44, 71, 89, 181, 202, 240, 252, 272, 439, 622, 696, 816,
840, 849, 1223-1224.

39. Fables Moral and Political. 1703.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Volume I									
1.	216	15.	1228	29.	478		398		804
	129	16.	5	30.	12	40.	7	47.	375
2.	391	17.	56	31.	90	41.	252		196
3.	16	18.	1229	32.	38		234		249
4.	902	19.	17	33.	709		72		1238
5.	73	20.	169		40	42.	237	48.	51
6.	799	21.	1024	34.	275		19		101
7.	387	22.	1230		160	43.	82		389
8.	1225	23.	1231		23		629		1239
9.	45	24.	646		331	44.	762	49.	326
10.	30		1232	35.	1235	45.	302		267
11.	13	25.	1233	36.	1236	46.	696		315
12.	1226	26.	103	37.	1237		751	50.	1240
13.	31	27.	11	38.	102		651		1241
14.	1227	28.	1234	39.	352		674		362
Volume II									
1.	1242		1243		398	7.	1246	14.	1247
2.	239	5.	1244	9.	292		43	15.	228
3.	83	6.	77		294	12.	352		236
	248		52		42		398		243
	250	7.	260		36		647	16.	90
	313		48	10.	689	13.	55		116
4.	294		375		605		335		28
	225	8.	1245	11.	58		34		

Fables Moral and Political cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Volume II cont'd.									
17.	227	23.	61		305		808		233
	62	24.	255	35.	75		11		308
	109		630	36.	587		27	48.	84
18.	343	25.	1249	37.	577	44.	78		289
	93	26.	1250	38.	59		261	49.	254
	633	27.	1251	39.	681		79		97
19.	1248	28.	235	40.	181	45.	1256		770
	53	29.	1252	41.	242		123		590
	80	30.	240		390		1257	50.	303
20.	344	31.	349		662		305		173
	342	32.	1253	42.	206	46.	65		251
	7	33.	1254		378		158		223
21.	39	34.	324	43.	1255		1258		
22.	822		257		782	47.	558		

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40. John Locke. Aesop's Fables. 1703 and 1723.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	26.	270	51.	51	76.	76	101.	102
2.	2	27.	27	52.	52	77.	77	102.	103
3.	3	28.	28	53.	53	78.	78	103.	104
4.	4	29.	29	54.	54	79.	79	104.	78
5.	5	30.	30	55.	55	80.	80	105.	105
6.	6	31.	31	56.	56	81.	81	106.	106
7.	7	32.	32	57.	57	82.	82	107.	107
8.	8	33.	33	58.	58	83.	83	108.	108
9.	9	34.	34	59.	59	84.	84	109.	109
10.	10	35.	35	60.	60	85.	85	110.	110
11.	11	36.	36	61.	61	86.	87	111.	111
12.	12	37.	37	62.	62	87.	88	112.	112
13.	13	38.	38	63.	63	88.	89	113.	113
14.	14	39.	39	64.	64	89.	90	114.	84
15.	15	40.	40	65.	65	90.	91	115.	98
16.	16	41.	41	66.	66	91.	92	116.	114
17.	17	42.	42	67.	67	92.	93	117.	56
18.	18	43.	43	68.	68	93.	94	118.	115
19.	19	44.	44	69.	69	94.	95	119.	116
20.	20	45.	45	70.	70	95.	96	120.	117
21.	21	46.	46	71.	71	96.	97	121.	118
22.	22	47.	47	72.	72	97.	99	122.	119
23.	23	48.	48	73.	73	98.	82	123.	120
24.	24	49.	49	74.	74	99.	100	124.	90
25.	25	50.	50	75.	75	100.	101	125.	121

John Locke. Aesop's Fables cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
126.	122	151.	158	176.	185	198. [201.]	212	210. [226.]	51
127.	123	152.	160	177.	186	199. [202.]	213	211. [227.]	229
128.	124	153.	161	174. [178.]	187	200. [203.]	215	213. [228.]	230
129.	21	154.	162	175. [179.]	188	201. [204.]	216	[229.]	94
130.	40	155.	163	176. [180.]	189	202. [205.]	217	215. [230.]	46
131.	125	156.	164	177. [181.]	190	203. [206.]	218	209. [231.]	82
132.	126	157.	166	178. [182.]	191	204. [207.]	219	197. [232.]	55
133.	127	158.	169	179. [183.]	192	205. [208.]	220	218. [233.]	54
134.	128	159.	170	180. [184.]	193	205. [209.]	222	222. [234.]	231
135.	129	160.	171	181. [185.]	194	206. [210.]	221	220. [235.]	232
136.	130	161.	172	182. [186.]	195	199. [211.]	223	221. [236.]	47
137.	131	162.	33	183. [187.]	196	[212.]	224	219. [237.]	233
138.	132	163.	173	184. [188.]	199	204. [213.]	225	223. [238.]	234
139.	133	164.	174	[189.]	200	200. [214.]	58	224. [239.]	32
140.	134	165.	175	186. [190.]	201	202. [215.]	226	225. [240.]	235
141.	135	166.	176	187. [191.]	202	201. [216.]	28	226. [241.]	236
142.	136	167.	177	188. [192.]	203	198. [217.]	53	227. [242.]	237
143.	139	168.	82	189. [193.]	204	203. [218.]	227	228. [243.]	179
144.	137	169.	178	190. [194.]	205	206. [219.]	228	229. [244.]	238
145.	138	170.	179	191. [195.]	206	197. [220.]	83	230. [245.]	95
146.	142	171.	180	192. [196.]	207	205. [221.]	52		
147.	147	172.	181	193. [197.]	208	206. [222.]	109		
148.	149	173.	182	194. [198.]	209	207. [223.]	116		
149.	150	174.	183	196. [199.]	210	208. [224.]	50		
150.	154	175.	184	197. [200.]	197	209. [225.]	57		

John Locke. Aesop's Fables cont'd.

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41. Bernard Mandeville. Aesop Dress'd. 1704.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1259*	9.	1132	17.	335	25.	350	33.	2
2.	56*	10.	191	18.	375	26.	269	34.	12
3.	31*	11.	1	19.	43	27.	1024	35.	1262*
4.	1260*	12.	387	20.	109	28.	373	36.	1015*
5.	40*	13.	302	21.	262	29.	67 255	37.	754*
6.	790	14.	477	22.	83	30.	44	38.	583*
7.	554	15.	1261	23.	38	31.	6	39.	418*
8.	84	16.	594	24.	711	32.	17		

*Fables added to 1704 edition.

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1-2, 6, 12, 17, 31, 38, 40, 43-44, 56, 67, 83-84, 109, 191, 255, 262, 269, 302, 335, 350, 373, 375, 387, 418, 477, 554, 583, 594, 711, 754, 790, 1015, 1024, 1132, 1259-1262.

42. John Toland. The Fables of Aesop. 1704.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	26.	24	51.	66	76.	60	101.	107
2.	2	27.	48	52.	235	77.	62	102.	78
3.	3	28.	270	53.	45	78.	70	103.	105
4.	25	29.	27	54.	295	79.	267	104.	108
5.	4	30.	28	55.	79	80.	269	105.	109
6.	5	31.	29	56.	43	81.	237	106.	111
7.	6	32.	142	57.	578	82.	283	107.	113
8.	7	33.	30	58.	74	83.	51	108.	98
9.	8	34.	256	59.	106	84.	86	109.	116
10.	9	35.	31	60.	281	85.	87	110.	50
11.	10	36.	32	61.	84	86.	88	111.	234
12.	59	37.	34	62.	65	87.	90	112.	226
13.	11	38.	129	63.	82	88.	91	113.	53
14.	12	39.	35	64.	32	89.	92	114.	288
15.	13	40.	33	65.	647	90.	93	115.	119
16.	14	41.	36	66.	117	91.	94	116.	275
17.	15	42.	37	67.	598	92.	96	117.	164
18.	16	43.	38	68.	64	93.	85		
19.	17	44.	39	69.	597	94.	81		
20.	18	45.	56	70.	63	95.	99		
21.	19	46.	40	71.	225	96.	100		
22.	20	47.	41	72.	61	97.	101		
23.	21	48.	272	73.	240	98.	102		
24.	22	49.	44	74.	247	99.	83		
25.	23	50.	242	75.	255	100.	104		

44. Aesop the Wanderer. 1704.

Eleven original fables with catalogue numbers 1268-1278.

45. Aesop at Portugal. 1704.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1279	4.	282	7.	1284	10.	17		
2.	1280	5.	31	8.	1285	11.	1287		
3.	1281	6.	1283	9.	1286				

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

17, 31, 1279-1287

46. The Fables of Phaedrus. 1705.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book I									
1.	2	8.	6	15.	134	22.	380	29.	8
2.	17	9.	658	16.	25	23.	19	30.	664
3.	29 327	10.	379	17.	48	24.	31	31.	18
4.	4	11.	392	18.	660	25.	662		
5.	5	12.	36	19.	375	26.	27		
6.	374	13.	11	20.	661	27.	663		
7.	28	14.	659	21.	12	28.	59		
Book II									
1.	713	3.	230	5.	1290	7.	805		
2.	283	4.	801	6.	10	8.	42		
Book III									
1.	1151	5.	1291	9.	732	13.	711	17.	741
2.	388	6.	378	10.	1292	14.	749	18.	66
3.	712	7.	56	11.	1293	15.	376	19.	1294
4.	748	8.	679	12.	1	16.	695		

Fables of Phaedrus cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book IV									
1.	386	7.	-	13.	391	19.	858	25.	30
2.	67	8.	37	14.	387	20.	7	26.	1298
3.	272	9.	225	15.	1297	21.	692		
4.	45	10.	791	16.	1297	22.	-		
5.	1295	11.	788	17.	860	23.	838		
6.	1296	12.	825	18.	681	24.	21		
Book V									
1.	821	3.	377	5.	1300	7.	1302	9.	1304
2.	742	4.	1299	6.	1301	8.	1303	10.	22

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47. Aesop in Europe. 1706.

26 original fables with catalogue numbers 1305-1330.

48. [John Jackson]. A New Translation of Aesop's Fables.
1708.*

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	26.	232	80.	41	105.	87	130.	81
2.	284	27.	15	81.	51	106.	116	131.	65
3.	239	28.	104	82.	99	107.	114	132.	85
4.	330	29.	16	83.	48	108.	90	133.	238
5.	5	30.	17	84.	43	109.	56	134.	231
6.	3	31.	19	85.	50	110.	251	135.	233
7.	4	32.	109	86.	47	111.	250	136.	241
8.	92	33.	20	87.	69	112.	229	137.	264
9.	80	34.	105	88.	53	113.	67	138.	121
10.	13	35.	21	89.	45	114.	230	139.	246
11.	7	36.	110	90.	74	115.	66	140.	49
12.	88	37.	23	91.	44	116.	234	141.	56
13.	9	38.	72	92.	46	117.	94	142.	244
14.	8	39.	270	93.	55	118.	254	143.	185
15.	108	40.	24	94.	59	119.	60	144.	355
16.	6	41.	328	95.	58	120.	179	145.	106
17.	2	57.*	78	96.	54	121.	32	146.	271
18.	107	58.	75	97.	57	122.	235	147.	70
19.	10	59.	77	98.	61	123.	354	148.	265
20.	100	74.*	32	99.	252	124.	63	149.	240
21.	111	75.	2	100.	89	125.	236	150.	225
22.	112	76.	37	101.	86	126.	98	151.	242
23.	12	77.	36	102.	62	127.	64	152.	273
24.	11	78.	52	103.	115	128.	68	153.	272
25.	14	79.	40	104.	261	129.	237	154.	35

[John Jackson]. A New Translation of Aesop's Fables cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
155.	248	168.	275	181	289	194.	290	207.	291
156.	91	169.	243	182.	292	195.	71	208.	282
				182.	293				
157.	216	170.	269	183.	294.	196.	297	209.	76
158.	274	171.	276	184.	245	197.	296	210.	318
159.	266	172.	278	185.	247	198.	288	211.	333
160.	23	173.	280	186.	307	199.	300	212.	331
161.	113	174.	281	187.	260	200.	312	213.	316
162.	268	175.	283	188.	305	201.	303	214.	326
163.	95	176.	286	189.	299	202.	311	215.	344
164.	82	177.	279	190.	306	203.	310		
165.	277	178.	226	191.	304	204.	308		
166.	348	179.	287	192.	309	205.	321		
167.	79	180.	285	193.	295	206.	302		

The tabulation of this collection is based on the copy in the Bodleian Library. That copy is incomplete, and the copies from both the British Museum and the Boston Public Library have been reported as missing.

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49. Edmund Arwaker. Truth in Fiction or Morality in Masquerade. 1708.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book I									
1.	112	15.	218	29.	2	43.	99	57.	49
2.	331	16.	89	30.	127	44.	164	58.	51
3.	144	17.	271	31.	150	45.	38	59.	58
4.	199	18.	320	32.	367	46.	322	60.	59
5.	259	19.	66	33.	296	47.	187	61.	44
6.	197	20.	69	34.	47	48.	67	62.	9
7.	82	21.	200	35.	81	49.	352	63.	14
8.	321	22.	263	36.	97	50.	185	64.	79
9.	29	23.	33	37.	254	51.	22	65.	13
10.	124	24.	249	38.	65	52.	146	66.	40
11.	4	25.	333	39.	340	53.	39	67.	15
12.	12	26.	332	40.	152	54.	354	68.	11
13.	98	27.	140	41.	217	55.	18		
14.	137	28.	1	42.	82	56.	90		
Book II									
1.	78	11.	171	21.	222	31.	53	41.	36
2.	76	12.	304	22.	64	32.	189	42.	151
3.	298	13.	74	23.	224	33.	158	43.	210
4.	102	14.	116	24.	32	34.	41	44.	348
5.	21	15.	220	25.	62	35.	71	45.	242
6.	8	16.	184	26.	202	36.	10	46.	250
7.	5	17.	60	27.	280	37.	170	47.	46
8.	3	18.	186	28.	149	38.	213	48.	283
9.	176	19.	80	29.	356	39.	207	49.	117
10.	43	20.	165	30.	52	40.	6.	50.	83

Edmund Arwaker. Truth in Fiction cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book II cont'd.									
51.	125	55.	37	59.	28	63.	106	67.	244
52.	19	56.	169	60.	24	64.	185	68.	126
53.	63	57.	366	61.	297	65.	113		
54.	235	58.	226	62.	291	66.	111		
Book III									
1.	159	13.	88	25.	196	37.	72	49.	175
2.	243	14.	251	26.	59	38.	23	50.	73
3.	104	15.	362	27.	109	39.	179	51.	135
4.	355	16.	208	28.	1331	40.	35	52.	239
5.	96	17.	168	29.	1332	41.	311	53.	141
6.	95	18.	26	30.	7	42.	309	54.	258
7.	269	19.	372	31.	209	43.	85	55.	139
8.	360	20.	370	32.	230	44.	57	56.	216
9.	131	21.	368	33.	114	45.	1333	57.	260
10.	42	22.	195	34.	87	46.	31	58.	264
11.	225	23.	20	35.	219	47.	138		
12.	578	24.	182	36.	75	48.	594		
Book IV									
1.	17	8.	56	15.	48	22.	68	29.	330
2.	183	9.	145	16.	54	23.	292	30.	1334
3.	77	10.	351	17.	252	24.	30	31.	357
4.	134	11.	270	18.	84	25.	268		
5.	50	12.	285	19.	172	26.	45		
6.	25	13.	247	20.	34	27.	55		
7.	316	14.	223	21.	329	28.	147		

Edmund Arwaker. Truth in Fiction cont'd.

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 311, 316, 320-322, 329-333, 340, 348, 351-352, 354-357,
 360, 362, 366-368, 370, 372, 578, 594, 1331-1334.

50. Bickerstaff's Aesop. 1709.*

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1335	8.	1020	15.	196	22.	738	29.	1203
2.	1336	9.	147	16.	175	23.	234	30.	324
3.	16	10.	754	17.	857	24.	1144	31.	924
4.	316	11.	146	18.	1045	25.	1338		
5.	142	12.	1337	19.	855	26.	1339		
6.	264	13.	155	20.	170	27.	1340		
7.	151	14.	37	21.	352	28.	226		

*This is an expanded version of Aesop at Oxford, published in 1709.

Bickerstaff's Aesop cont'd.

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264, 316, 324, 352, 738, 754, 855, 857, 924, 1020, 1045,
1144, 1203, 1335-1340.

51. Aesop at the Bell Tavern. 1711.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1205	5.	18	9.	328	13.	1341	17.	1200
2.	1199	6.	264	10.	352	14.	196		
3.	63	7.	1338	11.	13	15.	857		
4.	1201	8.	1203	12.	855	16.	324		

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

13, 18, 63, 196, 264, 324, 328, 352, 855, 857, 1199-1201,
1203, 1205, 1338, 1341.

52. Aesop Naturaliz'd. 1711.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	26.	380	51.	196	76.	577	101.	494
2.	2	27.	59	52.	832	77.	112	102.	45
3.	4	28.	801	53.	103	78.	1342	103.	776
4.	5	29.	225	54.	761	79.	226	104.	249
5.	7	30.	858	55.	301	80.	1343	105.	283
6.	9	31.	348	56.	859	81.	229	106.	48
7.	11	32.	41	57.	619	82.	56	107.	860
8.	12	33. 33.	55 36	58.	375	83.	787	108.	38
9.	13	34.	89	59.	658	84.	247	109.	136
10.	14	35.	299	60.	30	85.	88	110.	60
11.	15	36.	738	61.	374	86.	1344	111.	297
12.	164	37.	314	62.	349	87.	61	112.	808
13.	391	38.	652	63.	274	88.	27	113.	58
14.	840	39.	755	64.	647	89.	756	114.	191
15.	176	40.	296	65.	373	90.	696	115.	572
16.	579	41.	728	66.	195	91.	224	116.	302
17.	220	42.	729	67.	202	92.	390	117.	1346
18.	767	43.	643	68.	724	93.	252	118.	354
19.	379	44.	350	69.	700	94.	1345	119.	34 335
20.	152	45.	757	70.	601	95.	794	120.	113
21.	267	46.	278	71.	28	96.	387	121.	253
22.	557	47.	339	72.	37	97.	326	122.	104
23.	793	48.	594	73.	64	98.	87	123.	418
24.	6	49.	182	74.	84	99.	66	124.	816
25.	362	50.	193	75.	82	100.	184	125.	283

Aesop Naturaliz'd (1711) cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
126.	251	137.	1347	148.	824	159.	1351	170.	622
127.	218	138.	348	149.	715	160.	216	171.	254
128.	256	139.	264	150.	1348	161.	90	172.	140
129.	394	140.	144	151.	262	162.	40	173.	809
130.	191	141.	672	152.	1349	163.	117	174.	811
131.	239	142.	307	153.	410	164.	661	175.	1352
132.	31	143.	76	154.	160	165.	285	176.	1353
133.	132	144.	133	155.	173	166.	554	177.	357
134.	822	145.	275	156.	1350	167.	306	178.	709
135.	143	146.	219	157.	50	168.	23	179.	223
136.	91	147.	636	158.	1362	169.	272	180.	598

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

1-2, 4-7, 9, 11-15, 23, 27-28, 30-31, 34, 36-38, 40-41, 45, 48, 50, 55-56, 58-61, 64, 66, 76, 82, 84, 87-91, 103-104, 112-113, 117, 132-134, 136, 140, 143-144, 152, 160, 164, 173, 176, 182, 184, 191(2), 193, 195-196, 202, 216, 218-220, 223, 225-226, 229, 233, 238-239, 247, 249, 251-254, 256, 262, 264, 267, 272, 274-275, 278, 283, 285, 296-297, 299, 301-302, 306-307, 314, 326, 335, 339, 348-350, 354, 357, 362, 373-375, 379-380, 387, 390-391, 394, 410, 418, 494, 554, 557, 572, 577, 579, 594, 598, 601, 619, 622, 636, 643, 647, 652, 658, 661, 672, 696, 700, 709, 715, 724, 728-729, 738, 755-757, 761, 767, 776, 787, 793-794, 801, 808-809, 811, 816, 822, 824, 832, 840, 858-860, 1262, 1342-1353.

56. One Hundred New Court Fables. By the Sieur De La Motte. Trans. R. Samber. 1721

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Pref	1361								
Book I									
1.	1362	5.	1366	9.	1370	13.	1394	17.	1327
2.	1363	6.	1367	10.	1371	14.	1374	18.	1378
3.	1364	7.	1368	11.	1372	15.	1375	19.	1379
4.	1365	8.	1369	12.	1373	16.	1376		
Book II									
1.	1380	5.	1384	9.	1388	13.	1392	17.	1396
2.	1381	6.	1385	10.	1389	14.	1393	18.	55
3.	1382	7.	1386	11.	1390	15.	1394	19.	1397
4.	1383	8.	1387	12.	1391	16.	1395	20.	1398
Book III									
1.	1399	5.	1403	9.	1406	13.	1410	17.	1414
2.	1400	6.	1403	10.	1407	14.	1411	18.	1415
3.	1401	7.	1404	11.	1408	15.	1412	19.	665
4.	1402	8.	1405	12.	1409	16.	1413		

One Hundred New Court Fables cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
Book IV									
1.	1416	5.	1420	9.	1424	13.	1428	17.	1432
2.	1417	6.	1421	10.	1425	14.	1429	18.	1433
3.	1418	7.	1422	11.	1426	15.	1430	19.	1434
4.	1419	8.	1423	12.	1427	16.	1431	20.	1435
								21.	1436
Book V.									
1.	1437	5.	1441	9.	1444	13.	1448	17.	1452
2.	1438	6.	666	10.	1445	14.	1449	18.	1453
3.	1439	7.	1442	11.	1446	15.	1450	19.	1454
4.	1440	8.	1443	12.	1447	16.	1451	20.	1455

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

55; 394, 665, 666, 798, 1361-1455.

57. Samuel Croxall. Aesop's Fables. 1722.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1	26.	21	51.	100	76.	53	101.	749
2.	2	27.	30	52.	101	77.	28	102.	327
3.	17	28.	22	53.	105	78.	285	103.	298
4.	29	29.	15	54.	106	79.	291	104.	658
5.	4	30.	23	55.	109	80.	801	105.	1290
6.	5	31.	14	56.	112	81.	78	106.	202
7.	6	32.	177	57.	113	82.	69	107.	19
8.	36	33.	39	58.	114	83.	102	108.	322
9.	11	34.	45	59.	116	84.	85	109.	88
10.	375	35.	9	60.	117	85.	235	110.	107
11.	31	36.	44	61.	226	86.	741	111.	269
12.	27	37.	40	62.	231	87.	240	112.	208
13.	59	38.	103	63.	232	88.	255	113.	243
14.	8	39.	86	64.	216	89.	242	114.	74
15.	664	40.	87	65.	239	90.	230	115.	713
16.	18	41.	89	66.	251	91.	254	116.	24
17.	283	42.	90	67.	262	92.	259	117.	379
18.	42	43.	91	68.	263	93.	256	118.	75
19.	56	44.	92	69.	265	94.	278	119.	237
20.	376	45.	93	70.	268	95.	289	120.	578
21.	66	46.	94	71.	83	96.	1151	121.	84
22.	272	47.	95	72.	392	97.	290	122.	295
23.	37	48.	96	73.	134	98.	695	123.	41
24.	225	49.	99	74.	227	99.	292	124.	13
25.	7	50.	82	75.	679	100.	115	125.	34

Samuel Croxall. Aesop's Fables cont'd.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
126.	164	141.	287	156.	26	171.	294	186.	98
127.	352	142.	43	157.	16	172.	302	187.	179
128.	61	143.	594	158.	55	173.	304	188.	238
129.	64	144.	73	159.	275	174.	309	189.	272
130.	48	145.	12	160.	612	175.	313	190.	282
131.	129	146.	51	161.	38	176.	316	191.	293
132.	665	147.	76	162.	50	177.	323	192.	296
133.	70	148.	274	163.	211	178.	90	193.	647
134.	63	149.	196	164.	52	179.	342	194.	326
135.	104	150.	71	165.	711	180.	244	195.	622
136.	58	151.	328	166.	598	181.	348	196.	1456
137.	80	152.	54	167.	35	182.	264		
138.	33	153.	20	168.	3	183.	46		
139.	246	154.	60	169.	380	184.	65		
140.	32	155.	62	170.	1294	185.	97		

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

1-9, 11-24, 26-46, 48, 50-56, 58-66, 69-71, 73-76, 78, 80-89, 90(2), 91-107, 109, 112-117, 129, 134, 164, 177, 179, 196, 202, 208, 211, 216, 225-227, 230-232, 235, 237-240, 242-244, 246, 251, 254-256, 259, 262-265, 268-269, 271-272, 274-275, 278, 282-283, 285, 287, 289-296, 298, 302, 304, 309, 313, 316, 322-323, 326-328, 342, 348, 352, 375-376, 379-380, 392, 578, 594, 598, 612, 622, 647, 658, 664-665, 679, 695, 711, 713, 741, 749, 801, 1151, 1290, 1294, 1456.

58. Allaire Ramsay. Fables in Tales and Fables. 1722.

Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.	Fable No.	Cat. No.
1.	1431	5.	1457	9.	1405	13.	1404		
2.	1374	6.	1458	10.	1390	14.	1437		
3.	1379	7.	1459	11.	1388	15.	348		
4.	1361	8.	1408	12.	1373	16.	1460		

Summary of contents by catalogue number:

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- 188 [Brindley, J.] Esops Fables Translated for the Grammar Schools. 1624.
- 188.1 [A., R.] The Fabulist Metamorphosed and Mythologized. 1634.
- 189 [Barret, William]. Aesop's Fables Translated into English Verse. 1639.
- 3114 Blage, Thomas. A Schole of Wyse Conceytes. 1569.
- 6815 Dialogues of Creatures Moralised. [c. 1535].

B. 1641-1700

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- A689 [Ogilby, John]. The Fables of Aesop Paraphras'd in English Verse. 1651.
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- A735 Aesop at Bathe. 1698.
- A736 Aesop at Epsom, by a Cit. 1698.
- A738 Aesop at Richmond. 1698.
- A739 Aesop at Tunbridge. 1698.
- A741 Aesop from Islington. 1699.
- A742 Aesop Improved. 1673.
- A743 Aesop in Select Fables. Viz. I. At Tunbridge. 1698.

- A744 Aesop Naturaliz'd and Expos'd to the Publick View, in his own Shape and Dress. 1697.
- A745 Aesop Return'd from Tunbridge. 1698.
- A746 Aesop's Last Will and Testament. 1698.
- C7311 [Crouch, Nathaniel]. Delightful Fables in Prose and Verse. 1691.
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- H6 ----- Fables of Young Aesop. 1697.
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